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COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE AND VALUABLE

TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

INTERESTING AND ENTERTAINING SUBJECTS:

BUT CHIEFLY SUCH AS RELATE TO THE

HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION

OF

THESE KINGDOMS.

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BY
WALTER SCOTT, Esq.

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VOLUME NINTH.

The bent and genius of the age is best known, in a free country, by the pamphlets and papers that come daily out, as the sense of parties, and sometimes the voice of the nation. PREFACE TO KENNET'S REGISTER.

Judex qui aliquid statuit, una parte audita tantum et inaudita altera, licet æquum statuerit, haud æquus fuerit.
LD. COOK & JUST. INST.

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TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF KING JAMES II.

FIRST CLASS.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

THE

SOMERS

COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

KING JAMES II.

FIRST CLASS.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

Two remarkable Paradoxes: I That the World was created in an Instant, and not in six Days. II. That the World at the last Day shall not intirely be consumed by Fire. 1681. *Reprinted* 1686.

This is an idle speculation upon subjects too deep for human research, and respecting which it is safest and wisest to rest upon the authority of Scripture.

THE first of these two has been a question much disputed among theologists, and yet remains undetermined, for it is not any article of faith. I confess the most common and most followed opinion is, that which is believed to be most conformable to the literal sense of the Book of Genesis; and I do grant withal, that those authors who will not admit of the literal sense of the words, are the fewer number. However they were men of admirable learning, and particularly St Austin, Philo Judæus, Procopius, Cajeton, and many of the rabbins, who best understood and allegorized the Bible, by means of their mysterious Keabbala and the traditions of their ancestors.

With submission, therefore, I shall here set down the following reasons, which seem to make it out, that the creation of the world was done in an instant.

First, It is an absurdity to say, that God created the world with distinction of time, for two reasons; for then the act itself could not be properly said, *creare*, to create, but *facere*, to make. In regard that creation is not only to raise a thing out of nothing, but to make it also without time; which is an infinite omnipotency only to be attributed to God, who acteth all things in an instant, and cannot be bounded by time.

Secondly, It would be an absurdity to assert that *time* should be before *time itself*; for *time*, which is the measure only of motion, began but with the motion of the celestial bodies, the sun, moon, and stars. Now, according to the literal sense in Genesis, the firmament, which God called Heaven, was created the second day, but the sun and stars were not created till the fourth day; how then could there be days and nights, which are nothing but time, before time itself?

To this purpose let us hear Philo Judæus upon this point. First, saith he, 'tis a simplicity too gross and rustick to believe the world was created in six days, or in certain time, because that time is no other than a vicissitude and continuation of days and nights, caused by the motion of the sun keeping his annual course about the earth. Secondly, observe the very text itself, which tells us, first, "In the beginning, *Bereshith*, God created the heaven and the earth," and yet after that it says again, that the heavens were not created till the second day, nor the earth till the third. In the same text it is written, that the light was created the first day, but that the sun, the moon, and the stars were not created till the fourth day; and yet it is not rational to believe, that either the day or the light could be without the sun and the stars; for that day is no other than the presence of the sun.

To which I shall add thus much more, that there seems to be a strange incoherence in the two verses concerning the creation of light, in the creating of which there seems to have been two days spent; which is an indecorum to imagine, that after Omnipotency itself had commanded, "Let there be light," that that command had not been sufficient for the creation of whatever pertained to light, which would insinuate a kind of *agens frustra*, to do the same thing twice over.

But to this there are some who object, that this light created the first day was a clear and bright shining cloud, which was dissipated when the sun was created. Nothing more irrational to believe, as if Omnipotency had been in the dark before, and could not begin his work without a light. So then, besides that the scripture makes no mention of it, if God could work without it, as we are bound undoubtedly to believe, for what should this cloud be good? Not for the Creator most assuredly; nor could it be useful to the creatures who were not created, as the letter declares, till after the sun: so that this must be a very useless cloud, which would not be serviceable either to the architect or to the workmanship. Moreover, since God "saw" that the "light was good," as it is written, wherefore did he dissipate it after the sun was created? for we must not allow ourselves to imagine any action of the Creator so irregular, as to call that good which he dissipated the fourth day of its being.

So that where faith does not bind us to believe otherwise, 'tis the most rational conjecture that by the first light was meant the sun itself, together with the moon and stars, which compleated that light, and were all included in the command.

In the next place, should we allow a separation and distinction of time, according to the common limitation of days, it would follow that the work of the creation was easier upon some days than upon other; and men might thence conclude, that some commands of God's omnipotency are more difficult to be accomplished by himself than others. For we may rationally conjecture, that it could not take up so much time to command light, and to distinguish it from darkness, as to expand the two firmaments of waters and consolidate them in their proper firmaments. Neither can it be thought so difficult a task to create the earth as to embellish the heavens with so many spheres, and so many orbs of individual stars: and thus, by making Omnipotency subject to such accidents as these, we give an inlet to those consequences which are not to be thought of in theology.

A fifth reason may be taken from the text itself, which positively says, that in the "Beginning," *that is*, at the beginning of the work, "God created the heavens and the earth," *that is to say*, by giving form to the rude mass, and creating the light; and yet in the third verse it tells us of the creation of the light before either. Whence it follows, that he bestowed two days, or at least the part of two days, in creating the earth as well as the light.

The sixth argument is deduced from the contrariety of the literal description, which allows no less than four days for the creation of the light, the heavens, the earth, and the celestial luminaries; and yet in the next chapter we find these words, "These are the generations of the heavens, and the earth, when they were created, *Bejom*," in the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens. So that what was before distinguished into the work of four days, is here said to be done in one and the same day.

Another argument may be gathered from hence, that in regard the world shall have an end in a moment, and in the twinkling of an eye, so sudden shall be our change from the sleep of death to immortality, there is the same likelihood and the same probability that it was created in a moment; since its creation and its end depend both upon the same cause, which is God, who still acts without circumstance of distinction of time.

Again we may rationally conclude, that the Almighty intending no less in the creation than to give us an undeniable evidence of his most incomprehensible omnipotency, it is not likely that he would delay to make that in six days which he could do in an instant,—*the effects of the Divinity being to us more miraculous and glorious in one degree than in another.*

Neither is this opinion altogether imaginary, but in some measure grounded upon powerful scripture, even upon the words of God himself, disputing out of the whirlwind with Job, in the xxxviiith chapter of that book, ver. 4, "Where wert thou, saith he, when I laid the foundations of the earth?" ver. 7, "When the stars of the morning sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy?" For what may we hence conjecture, but the angels, *Cocbe Boker*, stars of the morning, and *Bene Elohim*, the sons of God, beholding two such miraculous piles, together with their own as wonderful forms, commanded at such an instant into a glorious being, gave shouts of praise and acclamations of joy in admiration of the great Creator's omnipotency. And, indeed, we there find the voice of God delivering the story of his incomprehensible wonders with such a lofty brevity, that we may well believe he performed those wonders with the same swiftness that he spake them.

Now that man was created at the same instant with the rest, seems to be hinted by the prophet Ezekiel, speaking to the King of Tyrus, "Thou hast been in Eden, saith he, in the garden of God;" and presently after, "The workmanship of thy drums and thy flutes was prepared in thee, in the day that thou wast created." Whence we may infer, that man, and the creatures which were made for his sake, were all created in the same day; if then in the same day, much more in compliance with our conjecture, than with the literal description of the first chapter of Genesis.

But how then comes it to pass, that the first chapter of Genesis is so express and so careful in setting down the distinction of days?

The reason is this, saith Procopius, that the author might accommodate himself to the feebleness and rudeness of human understanding, which is so incapable of the mystery of the creation, being so high and difficult, that the Hebrews antiently would not permit it to be read but by aged persons, or such as were of a very ripe understanding. And this same premeditated compliance of the writer, with that means of human capacity, is evident by the order he kept in the description of the creation of the world, which is naturally apprehended in the generation of things; going *gradatim*, and beginning first with a description of the matter out of which all things were made, which he calls *tohu vabohu*, *abyssum et rem inanem*. After that he brings this rude mass into form, creates the light, fixes the firmaments, shapes and adorns the earth with plants and fruits, creates the sun, moon, and stars, replenishes the sea, fills the earth with all sorts of living creatures, and then with a more deliberate consultation creates man in his own image; and thus he measures the work of the great Creator by the rule of human apprehension. Such a progression of working falling most easily into the conjecture of fancy.

After all this, there is nothing more demonstrates the truth of what has been said, but that which the text tells us, that after the conclusion of his work, "God rested the seventh day." For to believe that God rested, or had need of rest, is to make him subject to the inconveniences of labour, and the advantages of recreation, which is to dishonour the omnipotency of the Creator in a most high nature. It remains then, that this was only spoken *more humano*, and allegorically, in condescension to human understanding, which is also to be understood in the same manner of all that went before; from whence we may fairly conclude, that the whole was no more than a conjectural moral compiled by the lawgiver, the more deeply to fix in the minds of his people a veneration of his intended Sabaoth, so divinely necessary for a separate day of holy worship, and so politically necessary for the reparation of human nature, spent with continual toil and labour. There is another thing which mainly stumbles me, and that is, how long that dark and formless matter had been before the Creator separated it into form? For if it were præ-existent, it might be præ-existent *ab eterno*, for any thing that is made out to the contrary. To say it was præ-existent, but not præ-existent *ab eterno*, for that God made it but a little before he made the world, is only to say that the Creator went to work more like an architect than a Deity, and that he could not create the universe with all its beauty out of nothing, as well as the chaos, and that he wanted a *primam materiam* before he could shape his design. From whence we must conclude, that the author of Genesis wrote this chapter rather in condescension to mean and ordinary capacities, who are more apprehensive of a leisurely gradation in the creation of the world, than of an instant and miraculous act.

I say the author of Genesis, because it is a thing stiffly controverted whether Moses were the author or no, and that among divines and other learned men of great value, by some of whom he is absolutely denied to be the sole author of those fine books; among the rest, by St Jerome and Masius, one of the most learned interpreters of the Bible of these latter ages. Nor is it said in any part of the Pentateuch of the Bible, that God did ever dictate to Moses the creation of the world as he did the ten commandments, or that he ever wrote by the spirit of prophecy.

Again, it can never be thought that the story of the creation of man could be written otherwise than as has been said, when we consider the relation so often discomposed, and find the same things repeated several times, which caused St Jerome to say, that some of the latter verses were only recapitulations, or rehearsals, of the former. For, in the first chapter, ver. 7, it is said, "So God created man in his own image, male and female created he them;" at what time Eve was not yet made, for we do not hear of her being taken out of Adam's rib till the latter end of the next chapter, which was after Adam was put into the garden of Eden. Nay, the command against eating the forbidden fruit must be either given to Eve before she had a being, or not at all; there being no such command given to her in particular, that we find, which seeming incongruities the most learned rabbins have solved, by means of a certain figure in the Greek, called *hysteron, proteron*, and by them *mokedam meuhar*, no way repugnant to reason or sense; so, that this being no article of our faith, rather than to run ourselves into absurdities and inconveniencies, we had better embrace a more probable opinion, especially being so much more for the honour of God's omnipotency, and the glory of the whole creation.

The second Paradox,—That the World, at the last Day, shall not be totally consumed with Fire.

Several of the antient philosophers, more especially the Pythagoreans and Peripateticks, affirmed that the world was incorruptible, and that it seemed to them that it was neither just nor reasonable that such a miraculous and glorious structure should be put out of frame and ruined.

Since them, some of the holy fathers and more modern philosophers have been divided into two contrary opinions; some of them asserting, that, in time, the world shall be totally ruined, burned, and consumed with fire; others alledging that it shall be only purged with fire, and, by that fierce refining, shall be renewed and rendered more perfect.

Both the one and the other of these opinions seem to be grounded upon the Holy Scripture.

The first derives its authority from these following texts:

Psal. cii. 25, 26, "The heavens are the work of thy hands, they shall perish, but thou shalt endure." Job xiv. 12, "So man lies down, and riseth not till the heavens shall be no more." Matth. xxiv. 35, "Heaven and earth shall pass away; but my words shall not pass away." 2. Pet. iii. 10, "But the day of the Lord shall come as a thief in the night, *in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also, and the works that are therein,* shall be burnt up."

To this purpose also, Seneca saith, that neither the earth nor the heavens, nor the frame and connexion of things (though supported and upheld by the Divinity) shall always keep this order, but that one day they shall discontinue their course.

And to the same purpose is that of Ovid:

> ——————— Besides by doom
> Of certain fate, he knew the time should come,
> When heaven, sea, earth, and all the curious frame
> Of this world's mass, should sink in purging flame.

Nor are the authorities aforementioned without some reasons, or at east some appearances of reason, to maintain and second them.

First, That the heavens and the elements were created to be assisting to the generation and corruption of mixed bodies which are in the world for the service of mankind; but that, after the day of judgment, there shall be neither generation nor corruption; neither shall there be any more mixed bodies, except human bodies, to be glorified or condemned to eternity.

The second reason is this, That if the world should remain after the great judgment, there would be time, and time depends upon the course and motion of the world. But "time shall be no more," Rev. x. 6; therefore the world shall continue no longer than time doth.

The last reason is taken from hence, That as the world had a beginning, so it shall have an end. The world, therefore, having had a beginning, must also have an end.

This is that which they alledge who are for the total consumption of the world; against whom, they who maintain the contrary opinion, believe themselves no less supported by the following arguments and authorities:

First, then, to give a general answer to the whole matter inclusively, there is this to be observed, That, when the Scripture tells us that the world shall "perish and pass away," it ought to be understood of the figure and accidents of the world, and not of the substance, as is literally explained by St Paul, 1. Cor. vii. 32, where he says, "that the fashion of this world passeth away;" παράγει τὸ σχῆμα, that is, the form and figure of the world; and this interpretation ought to be observed, in reference to the aforementioned places of the Psalmist, Job, St Matthew, and St Peter. And therefore the Psalmist, after he had said that the world should perish, he presently adds, by way of explanation, and, as it were demonstratively, that is to say, "They shall wax old as a garment, and as a vesture thou shalt change them." St Peter also, when he had said that the "heavens should pass away, and the earth should be burnt up," yet, saith he, we expect a new heaven and a new earth; that is, that the figure and form of the first should be refined and purify'd to receive those refined and purify'd bodies that were to possess them; otherwise it would be an absurdity to believe that God should create new heavens, and a new earth, to receive old creatures, there being nothing farther requisite but that as the creatures were refined, so their habitations should be purify'd.

By the way, St Peter says, that the "elements shall melt with fervent heat." Certainly he must intend only the elements of earth, water, and air. Now, what element is that which shall melt the fire? which being an element to which mortality owes as many of its prevailing and obstinate sins and miscarriages of passion as any other, has as much need of being melted as any other? A man might raise from hence many more questions upon the whole verse, I shall only put two questions, which I think may be done without any offence: First, whether in this particular verse it may not be thought a kind of paradox itself, that air and water *should be melted by fire?* Secondly, whether it be a thing necessary to inspiration to be so nice in the choice of words, and, as it were, *vacare exiguis?* However it be, certainly a fairer argument could not be made for our assertion, in regard that liquefaction or melting is no annihilation, but only a dissolution, and change of the form and figure of the substance liable to such an alteration.

Now, as to that of the Evangelist, where it is written, that "the heavens and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away," it is no more than if he had said, though the heaven and the earth shall be changed, yet my words shall continue certain and unalterable. Or else, as others expound this place, it ought to be understood by way of aggravation, and to imprint a greater assurance of the verity of the word of God, as if he had said, rather the heavens and the earth shall pass away than my words.

To descend from hence to particulars, and to give an answer to the above-recited arguments: As to the first, I say that the ceasing of the generation of mix'd bodies is no reason why the world should be unprofitable after the day of judgment, in regard that the new world is not made for generation, but for reception: for it is the corruption of mix'd bodies that renders it more unequally useful than the generation of mix'd bodies; for our own knowledge shews us, that were men now immortal, there would be no need of generation, since we find, by experience, that there still are enow alive at one time, and that one generation suffices to people the world, and more sometimes than the northern parts of the world can bear. And for those innumerable numbers of saints already departed, and yet to pass their pilgrimages in this world, who knows what receptacles may be requisite, and how far this world may be useful when refined. Nay, the Revelation itself tells us, that the new Jerusalem shall be adorn'd with the purify'd materials of this very world; as saphirs, smaragdys, emeralds, and the like, being parts of this world, demonstrate that the world is to be purify'd only, not destroy'd.

As to the second argument, that time would continue, should the world remain, that supposition does not follow; for time is not caused by the being of the world, but by the motion of the sun, and the other celestial bodies; so that, if it be proved that the celestial bodies shall then stand still and be fix'd, as being then ordain'd for no other use but to be the receptacles to receive the all enlightning glory that is hereafter to illuminate the new refined structures of heaven and earth, time must, of necessity, cease, because the motion which it measures ceases. And this seems to be intimated by the prophet Isaiah, who does not utterly destroy either sun or moon, but says they shall neither rise nor set, because the Lord shall be the everlasting light of his new-refined worlds. Nay, so far shall the sun and moon be from being destroy'd, as the same prophet says, that then "the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be seven-fold." Isaiah xxx. 26. By which number of seven-fold we are to understand the most perfect brightness which shall be convey'd through those organs to the ancient, but glorify'd inhabitants of the old, but glorify'd heaven and earth.

As to the third argument, that because the world had a beginning, it must therefore have an end, it is a very ill conclusion; for both the angels and our souls, nay, the very humanity of Christ, had a beginning, and yet we dare not believe they shall ever have an end.

In the last place, there is something of reason to be given why neither the heavens, nor the sun, nor the moon, should pass away otherwise than by suffering a change; for, if it be such a lovely prospect, and so inciting to the praises of God, to behold those great wonders of the great Creator at such a distance, and with an imperfect eye, what will it be to those renewed creatures, when they shall behold those astonishing miracles of their God and Redeemer with such a full, so near, and such a perfect view?

To go a little farther, and dive a little deeper into this matter: If the world were to be entirely destroy'd and consumed by fire, where must the bodies of men be at that very moment, which are then to be rais'd and rejoyn'd to their souls? Where those numbers of corporeal saints that shall be living at that time, and shall, in all probability, never taste of death? For certainly they must be in some certain place; place being no other than the interior surface of a body that contains and environs another.

And again, Where will be that residence in the heavens that has been so often promised to the saints, if there should be no more heavens? In what part of the world shall hell be placed, with which the reprobate are so often threatned, if there were to be no more world? For it cannot be imagined but that hell is a part of the universe; some vast abyss as far distant from the comfort of the sun as the sun is below the incomprehensible extent of divine glory, and yet within the verge and circumscription of the created mass. For, as the fall of the angels could not but be foreseen, so the place of their destruction could not be unprepared.

So then, upon the whole, I say, that there is no authority to be gathered out of the Holy Scripture that the substance and being of the world shall perish, but that only the figure and accidents thereof shall be changed; for which, St John, in his Revelation, writing upon this particular subject, gives us a most apparent evidence in the twenty-first chapter, where he says, "And I heard a voice from heaven, saying, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them;" which plainly denotes, that men shall not change their habitation, but that Christ will rather condescend to reside and dwell with them. Only, said he that sate upon the throne, "Behold, I make all things new," that is, by renovation, not by creation; for that the original implies, ϖάντα καινὰ ϖοιῶ, *I make*, not *I create*, all things new. And the word καινοποιεῖν, signifies *innovare aliquid novum in re quapiam*, not to annihilate, and create again.

St Jerome also interprets the words of the Psalmist in the same sense, Psal. cii. "*It* is easy," saith he, "to judge that these words do declare and foretell not an entire ruin, but only a better change." St Austin is also of opinion that the last fire shall only burn and consume mix'd bodies (those of men excepted which are destined to immortality,) for that, as for the elect of God, the fire shall have no more power to hurt them than it had to injure the three children in the fiery furnace; neither shall it consume the bodies of the damned, nor their souls, much less the more solid substance of the earth. And these are the reasons and authorities which incline me to believe that the world shall not be totally consumed, but only purify'd by fire, and which I do not find to be contrary to any article of our creed.

To the Most Reverend Fathers in God, William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, and John Lord Archbishop of York, Primate of England and Metropolitan.

The union between the crown and church of England, which had weathered so many storms, was soon to give way. The following directions from James, in his capacity of head of the church, are obviously calculated to encroach upon the liberty of the pulpit; and, like most of his ill-considered measures, gave great offence to the clergy, *without doing the crown the least service.* His wish was, if possible, to stifle all discussion of the catholic controversy, but his measures for this purpose only tended to excite the jealousy and suspicion of the English clergy and their hearers.

JAMES R.

MOST Reverend Fathers in God, We greet you well. Whereas the bold abuses and extravagancies of preachers in the pulpit, have, not only by the experience of former ages, been found to tend to the dishonour of God, the scandal of religion, and disturbance of the peace both of church and state, but did also (through the licentiousness of the late rebellious times) much increase, to the inflaming, fomenting, and heightening of the sad distempers and confusions that were then among us; and whereas, even at this present, (notwithstanding the merciful providence of God so signally manifested in restoring our royal family, and the lawful government of these realms, and putting an end to the great rebellion, and notwithstanding the pious care and endeavours of our late dear brother, and ourself ever since, to govern our realms in peace and tranquillity) it may justly be feared, that, in sundry parts of this realm, there want not men of unquiet and factious spirits, who, instead of preaching the pure word of God, and building up the people in faith and holiness, will (if they be not restrained) make it a great part of their business to beget in the minds of their hearers an evil opinion of their governors, by insinuating fears and jealousies, to dispose them to discontent, and to season them with such unsound and dangerous principles as may lead them into disobedience, schism, and rebellion: And whereas also sundry young divines and preachers, either out of a spirit of contention and contradiction, or in a vain ostentation of their learning, take upon them, in their popular sermons, to handle the deep points of God's eternal councils and decrees, or to meddle with the affairs of state and government, or to wrangle about forms and gestures, and other fruitless disputes and controversies, serving rather to amuse than profit the hearers, which is done, for the most part, and with the greatest confidence, by such persons as least understand them: *We*, out of our princely care and zeal for the honour of God, the advancement of piety, peace, and true religion, and for the preventing for the future, as much as lieth in us, the many and great inconveniences and mischiefs that will unavoidably ensue, if a timely stop be not given to these and the like growing abuses, do, according to the examples of several of our predecessors, of blessed memory, by these our special letters, straitly charge and command you to use your utmost care and diligence that these directions, which, upon long and serious consideration, our late dear brother thought good to give concerning preachers,[1] and which we, upon like consideration, have approved, and caused to be re-printed, and herewith sent unto you, be from henceforth duly and strictly observed by all the bishops and others concerned therein within your provinces. And, to this end, our will and pleasure is, that you forthwith send them copies of these our directions, to be by them speedily communicated to every parson, vicar, curate, lecturer, and preacher in every cathedral, collegiate, and parish-church within their several diocesses; and that you earnestly require them to employ their utmost endeavour for the due observation of the same, whereof we shall expect a strict account, both of you, and every one of them: And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the 5th day of March, 1685, in the second year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,
SUNDERLAND, P.

Directions concerning Preachers.

I. That no preachers, in their sermons, presume to meddle with matters of state, to model new governments, or take upon them to declare, limit, or bound out the power and authority of sovereign princes, or to state and determine the differences between princes and the people; but that upon all good occasions they faithfully instruct the people in their bounden duty of subjection and obedience to their governours, superiour and subordinate of all sorts, and to the established laws, according to the word of God, and the doctrine of the church of England, as it is contained in the homilies of obedience and the articles of religion set forth by publick authority.

II. That they be admonished not to spend their time and study in the search of abstruse and speculative notions, especially in and about the deep points of election and reprobation, together with the incomprehensible manner of the concurrence of God's free grace, and man's free will, and such other controversies as depend thereupon; but howsoever that they presume not positively, and doctrinally, to determine any thing concerning the same.

III. That they forbear in their sermons, ordinarily and causelessly, to enter upon the handling of any other controversies of less moment and difficulty; but whensoever they are occasioned, by invitation from the text they preach upon, or that in regard of the auditory they preach unto, it may seem requisite or expedient so to do, that, in such cases, they do it with all modesty, gravity, and candour, asserting the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, from the cavils and objections of such as are adversaries to either, without bitterness, railing, jeering, or other unnecessary or unseemly provocation.

IV. That for the more edifying of the people in faith and godliness, (the aforesaid abuses laid aside) all ministers and preachers, in their several respective cures, shall not only diligently apply themselves to catechise the younger sort according as in the Book of Common Prayer is appointed, but also shall, in their ordinary sermons, insist chiefly upon catechetical doctrines, (wherein are contained all the necessary and undoubted verities of Christian religion) declaring withal unto their congregations what influences such doctrines ought to have into their lives and conversations, and stirring them up effectually, as well by their examples as their doctrines, to the practice of such religious and moral duties as are the proper results of the said doctrines, as self-denial, contempt of the world, humility, patience, meekness, temperance, justice, mercy, obedience, and the like; and to a detestation and shunning of sin, especially such sins as are so rife among us, and common to the age we live in; such are those usually stiled the seven deadly ones, in short, all kind of debauchery, sensuality, rebellion, profaneness, atheism, and the like. And because the late licentious times have corrupted religion, even in the very roots and foundations, that where there is an afternoon's exercise, it be especially spent either in explaining some part of the Church Catechism, or in preaching upon some such text of scripture as will properly and naturally lead to the handling of something contained in it, or may conduce to the exposition of the liturgy and prayers of the church, (as occasion shall be offered) the only cause they grew into contempt amongst the people being this, that they were not understood. That also the minister, as often as conveniently he can, read the prayers himself; and when he cannot so do, he procure or provide some fit person, in holy orders, who may do it with that gravity, distinctness, devotion, and reverence, as becomes so holy an action: and whensoever, by reason of his infirmity, or the concurrence of other offices, the time may seem too short, or he unable to perform the office of both prayers and sermon at length, he rather shorten his discourse or sermon than omit any thing of the prayers, lest he incur the penalty of the act for uniformity, requiring them to be read according as the book directs.

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[1] Anno 1662.

V. And further, our will and pleasure is, that all ministers within their several cures, be enjoined publickly to read over unto the people such canons as are or shall be in force, at least once, and the thirty nine articles twice every year, to the end they may the better understand, and be the more thoroughly acquainted with the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, and not so easily drawn away from it, as formerly they have been.

VI. Since preaching was not anciently the work of every priest, but was restrained to the choicest persons for gravity, prudence, and learning, the archbishops and bishops of this kingdom are to take great care whom they licence to preach, and that all grants and licences of this kind heretofore made by any chancellor, official, commissary, or other secular person, (who are presumed not to be so competent judges in matters of this nature) be accounted void and null, unless the same shall likewise be allowed by the archbishop or the bishop of the diocess, and that all licences of preachers, hereafter to be made or granted by any archbishop or bishop, shall be only during pleasure; otherwise to be void, to all intents and purposes, as if the same had never been made nor granted.

VII. Lastly, that, for the better observing of the Lord's day, too much neglected of late, they shall, as by often and serious admonitions and sharp reproofs, endeavour to draw off people from such idle, debauched, and profane courses as dishonour God, bring a scandal on religion, and contempt on the laws and authority, ecclesiastical and civil, so shall they, very earnestly, persuade them to frequent divine service on the Lord's day, and other festivals appointed by the church to be kept solemn; and in case any person shall resort unto any taverns or ale-houses, or use any unlawful sports and exercises on such days, the minister shall exhort those which are in authority, in their several parishes and congregations, carefully to look after all such offenders in any kind whatsoever, together with all those that abet, receive, or entertain them, that they may be proceeded against according to the laws and quality of their offences, that all such disorders may, for the time to come, be prevented.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the 5th day of March, 1685, in the second year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,
SUNDERLAND, P.

A short Discourse upon the Reasonableness of Men's having a Religion, or Worship of God. By his Grace George Duke of Buckingham. 1685.

The witty George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, celebrated by Dryden for the versatility of his pursuits, has, in the present tract, plunged into the depths of metaphysics, and that upon a question which, however important, was far remote from his usual pleasures and subjects of occupation. It would seem, from some passages, that it was intended for the benefit of the protestant dissenters, with whom, notwithstanding the licence of his life, the duke had always kept up some connection.

To the Reader.

WHEN I began to write upon this subject, it was out of a curiosity I had to try what I could say in reason, against the bold assertions of those men, who think it a witty thing to defame religion; and I have seen so few writings of late which are not very tedious, that I was desirous at least to avoid that fault in this, by making it as short as I could.

The reason why I have suffered it to be printed is, indeed, because I could not help it; copies having been taken of it, and sent to the press, by the negligence of some to whom I lent it to read. I was as much ashamed to forbid the printing of it as I should have been to have order'd it, or as I should be, now it is printed, to disown what I have written; and therefore I have here set my name to it.

By the nature of this discourse, I was forced to conclude with an opinion, which I have been long convinced of, That nothing can be more antichristian, nor more contrary to sense and reason, than to trouble and molest our fellow-christians, because they cannot be exactly of our minds in all the things relating to the worship of God.

And who will but examine what multitudes of men there are now amongst us of different persuasions in religion, and how inconsiderable any one part of them is compared to the rest, must, I am confident, be convinced, that the practice of it, at this time, would be of no advantage to the publick.

If a serious consideration of the present state of this kingdom can sink deep enough into men's hearts, to make them endeavour now to promote a true liberty of conscience, I shall yet hope to enjoy happy days in England. But otherwise, without pretending to be a prophet, I can easily foresee, that the contrary must of necessity terminate in this: A general discontent, the dispeopling of our poor country, and the exposing us to the conquest of a foreign nation.

BUCKINGHAM.

THERE is nothing that gives men a greater dissatisfaction, than to find themselves disappointed in their expectations, especially of those things in which they think themselves most concerned; and therefore all who go about to give demonstrations in matters of religion, and fail in the attempt, do not only leave men less devout than they were before, but also, with great pains and industry, lay in their minds the very grounds and foundations of atheism: For the generality of mankind, either out of laziness, or a diffidence of their being able to judge aright in points that are not very clear, are apt rather to take things upon trust than to give themselves the trouble to examine whether they be true or no. But when they find, that what a man undertakes to give them for a demonstration is really none at all, they do not only conclude they are deceived by him, but begin also to suspect, they have been ill used by those who first imposed upon them a notion, for which no demonstration can be given; and from that suspicion proceed to this other of a more dangerous consequence, That what is not demonstrable may perhaps too not be true.

I shall therefore, in this discourse, make use of another method, and content myself with endeavouring to shew what, in my opinion, is most probable; demonstration being, as to matters of faith, absolutely unnecessary: Because if I can convince a man that the notions I maintain are more likely to be true than false, it is not in his power not to believe them; no man believing any thing because he has a mind to believe it, but because his judgment is convinced, and he cannot choose but believe it, whether he will or no; and belief is all that is required of us in the speculative part of religion.

Besides, demonstration being such an evidence of a thing as shews the contrary of it to be impossible, it is, if you mark it, a whimsical kind of expression to say, that a man does but believe a thing to be so, which he is sure cannot possibly be otherwise. It is just as ingenuous as if one should profess that he hopes he shall but begin to have a thing to-morrow which he is already this day in possession of: Belief and faith being as intirely swallowed up in demonstration, as hope is in fruition.

My design in this paper is to induce men to a belief of religion by the strength of reason; and therefore I am forced to lay aside all arguments which have any dependence upon the authority of scripture, and must fashion my discourse as if I had to do with those that have no religion at all.

The first main question, upon the clearing of which I shall endeavour to ground the reasonableness of men's having a religion, or worship of God, is this, Whether it is more probable that the world has ordered itself to be in the form it now is, or was contrived to be so by some other being of a more perfect and more designing nature? For whether or no the world has been created out of nothing, is not material to our purpose; because if a supreme intelligent agent has framed the world to be what it is, and has made us to be what we are, we ought as much to stand in awe of it, as if it had made both us and the world out of nothing. Yet because this latter question ought not to be totally pass'd by, I shall take the liberty to offer some conceptions of mine upon it.

The chief argument used against God Almighty's having created the world, is, that no man can imagine how a thing should be made out of nothing; and that, therefore, it is impossible he should have made the world, because there is nothing else out of which it could be made.

First, then, I cannot choose but observe, that to say, because we are not able to imagine how a thing should be, therefore the being of that thing must be impossible, is in itself a disingenuous way of argumentation; especially in those, who at the same time declare they believe this world to be eternal, and yet are as little able to comprehend how it should be eternal, as how it should be made out of nothing.

In the next place, I conceive that nothing can be properly said to endure any longer than it remains just the same; for in the instant any part of it is changed, that thing, as it was before, is no more in being.

In the third place, that every part of this world we live in is changed every moment; and by consequence, that this whole world is so too, because the whole is nothing else but what is composed of every part; and that therefore we cannot properly say, this world has continued for many ages, but only that all things in this world have been changed for several years together.

To evade which opinion, those who maintain the eternity of the world are forced to say, that the matter of it is not changed, but the accidents only, though this be a sort of argument which they will not allow of in others: For when it is by the Romanists urged, in defence of transubstantiation in the sacrament, That the accidents of the wafer remain, though the substance of it be changed, they reject that as a ridiculous notion; and yet it is not one jot more absurd to say, That the accidents remain when the matter is changed, than that the matter remains when the accidents are changed; nay, of the two, the assertors of this latter opinion are the least excuseable, because they boldly attribute it to a natural cause, whereas the Romanists have the modesty at least to own it for a mysterious miracle.

But that the weakness of this imagination, of separating accidents from bodies, may the plainer appear, let us examine a little what the meaning of the word accident is. Accident then does not signify a being distinct from body or matter, but is only a word whereby we express the several ways we consider of what is in a body or matter that is before us. For example: If we perceive a body to have length, then we consider of that length as an accident of that body; and when we perceive a body to have a smell or taste, then we consider of that smell and that taste as accidents of that body: But in none of these considerations we mean that any thing can have length, or smell, or taste, but what really is body; and when any thing that had a smell or taste has left off to have a smell or taste, it is because that part of it which had a smell or taste is no more in it. So that, upon an examination of the whole matter, I am apt to believe, that there can be naturally no change of accidents, but where there is a real change of bodies.

But to proceed a little further, the question being, Whether it be more probable, that the world or that God Almighty has been from all eternity? I think I may venture to affirm, that of two propositions, the least probable is that which comes nearest to a contradiction: Now nothing can come nearer to a contradiction than eternity, or abiding the same for ever, and a continued changing, or not abiding the same one moment: And therefore I conclude, it is less probable that this changeable world should have been from all eternity, than that some other being of more excellence and greater perfection should be so, whose very nature is incapable of change.

That Being, of more excellence and greater perfection, I call God; and those, who, out of a foolish aversion they have for the name of God, will call it Nature, do not in any kind differ from this notion of that Being, but only change its name, and rather shew they have a vain mistaken ambition of being thought atheists, than that they have any reason strong enough to convince them to be so.

The next question I shall take into consideration is this, Whether, though there be a God, it is probable, that he should take a more particular care of mankind than he does of beasts and other animals? To which I have this to offer, that though there are several sorts of animals which give us occasion to imagine they have some kind of reason in them, though not to so great a perfection as men have, yet, since no other animal did ever any one thing that could give us the least cause to believe they have a conception of another world, or of a Deity; and that no man was ever yet born but had a conception, or, at least, a suspicion of it, more or less; I say, for this reason, it is probable, in my opinion, that there is something nearer a-kin to the nature of God in men, than there is in any other animals whatsoever; and for that reason, that God Almighty does take a more particular care of us than he does of them.

If then God be eternal, and it is probable there is something in our nature which is a-kin to the nature of God, it is also probable, that that part of us never dies.

It is also probable, that what by it we are prompted most to value and esteem, as the highest perfections, good qualities, and virtues, are parts of the essence and nature of God.

Now, of all good qualities, or virtues, it is justice which all men do most highly esteem and value in others, though they have not all the good fortune to practise it themselves. For justice is that good quality, or virtue, which causes all other good qualities or virtues to be esteemed; nay, it is that virtue, without which all other virtues become as vices; that is, they all come to be abhorred.

For he who wants justice, and has wit, judgment, or valour, will, for the having wit, judgment, or valour, be the more abhorred; because the more wit, judgment, or valour he has, if he wants justice, the more he will certainly become a wicked man; and he who wants justice, and has power, will, for the having that power, be the more abhorred, because the more power he has, if he wants justice, the more he will certainly become a wicked man: and, therefore, in my opinion, it is a very unreasonable thing for men, out of a design of extolling God Almighty's power, to rob him of justice,—the quality without which even power itself must necessarily be abhorred. And pray what can be more disrespectful to God Almighty, than to fancy that he shall punish us for doing that which he has from all eternity predestinated, that is, compelled us to do? It is an act that I can hardly believe there ever was yet born a man cruel enough to be guilty of, even in the depth of his revenge; and shall we make that an attribute of the most perfect and the most high God, which is beneath the effect of the meanest of passions in the worst of men? It is, in my opinion, more reasonable to believe that God Almighty, out of his love to mankind, has given us an eternal soul; that an eternal being and free-will are things in their nature inseparable one from the other; and that, therefore, according to our actions proceeding from our wills, God Almighty, in justice, will reward and punish us in another world for the good and ill deeds we perform in this. I do not say that the best of our actions here are good enough to make us deserve the utmost joys of heaven; we must owe them to God Almighty's grace and favour, as indeed we owe all things else.

Neither will I take upon me to guess at the several degrees of joys there are in Heaven; our dull senses making it as impossible for us to discourse well of those things, as it is impossible for a man born blind to talk well of colours. Nor will I pretend to judge how long, or how much God Almighty will punish us hereafter, because, for the same reason that we think him to be a God of justice, we must also conclude him to be a God of mercy.

This only I do verily believe, that the more we love him, the more he will love us; and the less we love him, the worse it will be for us.

Again, if this instinct, or conception, we have of a Deity be the ground of our religion, it ought also to be the guide of our religion; that is, if the strongest reason we have to believe that God Almighty does take a more particular care of us than he does of other animals, is, because there is something in our nature nearer a-kin to the nature of God than any thing that is in any other animal; I say, in all reason, that part of us, which is nearest a-kin to the nature of God, ought to be our guide and director in chusing the best way for our religious worship of God.

There is also this other consequence, which, in my opinion, does naturally depend upon what has been said, that one of the greatest crimes a man can be guilty of, is to force us to act or sin against that instinct of religion which God Almighty has placed in our hearts; for, if that instinct be somewhat a-kin to the nature of God, the sinning against it must be somewhat a-kin to the sin against the Holy Ghost.

If then it be probable that there is a God, and that this God will reward and punish us hereafter for all the good and ill things we act in this life, it does highly concern every man to examine seriously, which is the best way of worshipping and serving this God, that is, which is the best religion.

Now, if it be probable, that the instinct which we have within us of a Deity, be a-kin to the nature of God, that religion is probably the best whose doctrine does most recommend to us those things which, by that instinct, we are prompted to believe are virtues and good qualities, and that, I think, without exceeding the bounds of modesty, *I may* take upon me to affirm is the Christian religion.

And for the same reason it does also follow, that the religion amongst Christians, which does most recommend to us virtue and a good life, is, in all probability, the best religion.

And here I must leave every man to take pains in seeking out and chusing for himself, he only being answerable to God Almighty for his own soul.

I began this discourse as if I had to do *with those who have* no religion at all; and now, *addressing myself to Christians, I* hope they will not be offended at me for ending it with the words of our Saviour,—

"Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you."

I shall beg leave farther only to propose a few questions to all those in general who are pleased to call themselves Christians.

First, Whether there be any thing more directly opposite to the doctrine and practice of Jesus Christ, than to use any kind of force upon men in matters of religion? and consequently, whether all those that practise it (let them be of what church or sect they please) ought not justly to be called Anti-christians?

Secondly, Whether there can be any thing more unmanly, more barbarous, or more ridiculous, than to go about to convince a man's judgment by any thing but by reason? It is so *ridiculous*, that boys at school are whipped for it; who, instead of answering an argument *with* reason, are loggerheads enough to go to cuffs.

And, thirdly, Whether the practice of it has not always been ruinous and destructive to those countries *where it* has been used, either in monarchies or commonwealths? and whether the contrary practice has not always been successful to those countries where it has been used, either in monarchies or commonwealths?

I shall conclude with giving them this friendly advice,—If they would be thought men of reason, or of a good conscience, let them endeavour, by their good counsel and good example, to persuade others to lead such lives as may save their souls, and not be perpetually quarrelling among themselves, and cutting one another's throats, about those things which they all agree are not absolutely necessary to salvation.

The Duke of Buckingham his Grace's Letter to the unknown Author of a Paper, entituled, "A short Answer to his Grace the Duke of Buckingham's Paper concerning Religion, Toleration, and Liberty of Conscience."

To the foregoing tract an Answer shortly after appeared, turning chiefly upon a common argument adopted by the duke against the eternity of the world, from its mutability. From Buckingham's mode of employing this argument, the Answerer alleged, that, had his grace been contending with atheists, he would have urged the impossibility of the world's being eternal, because it was not invisible. This called forth the following letter, to which a reply was immediately published by the Answerer.

My nameless, angry, harmless, humble Servant,

I HAVE twice read over, with a great deal of patience, a paper of yours, which you call an answer to a discourse of mine; and, to my confusion, must own, that I am not able to comprehend what part of my discourse it is you do answer, nor in all yours, what it is you mean. But in this you are even with me, for I perceive you do as little understand any part of what I have written, though I thought it had been in so plain a stile that a child of six years old might very well have done it. Yet I do not take ill from you this art you have of misunderstanding plain things, since you have done the same in his majesty's promise to the church of England. The true meaning of which (without this misunderstanding art of yours) would easily have appeared to be, that he would not suffer any body to injure the church of England, but he did not promise that he would have the church of England persecute every body else.

Having confessed that I cannot understand your writing, you ought not to be offended at me if I cannot remember it neither. And yet there is one passage in it which I shall never forget, because it does, in a most extraordinary manner, delight me; it is this shrewd convincing argument of yours, which you say, "Had you been to treat with atheists, you would have urged to them that it is impossible this world should be eternal, because then it must also be invisible." It is, I swear, a refined, quaint kind of notion, which (to do you justice) I do verily believe is entirely your own: yet, for all this, I cannot be absolutely convinced that I am now the same George Duke of Buckingham which I was forty years ago. And to shew you I am in earnest, I do here promise you, that if you will do for me a favour less difficult, which is, to make me the same George Duke of Buckingham I was but twenty years ago, I will (as poor a man as I am) give you a thousand guineas for your pains; and that is somewhat more, I am afraid, than you will ever get by your writing.

You have done me the honour to call yourself my humble servant, and, therefore, in gratitude, I shall offer you an advice, which I am confident, upon second thoughts, you will not find to be altogether unreasonable; that hereafter, before you take upon you to write French, you will be pleased to learn the language, for the word *opinionatre* which you are so infinitely charmed with in your paper, has the misfortune to be no French word; the true French word, which, I suppose, you would have used, is *opiniatreté*, and yet I protest I do not see how (though you had written it right) it would have much more graced your discourse, than if it had been expressed in English. Stick therefore to your English metaphors, at which you are admirable; and be always careful of not *turning* (according to your own words) the wine of hopes into the vinegar of despair, and then you cannot fail of being sufficiently applauded by every body, as you are by

Your grateful friend,
BUCKINGHAM.

A Remonstrance, by way of Address, from the Church of England to both Houses of Parliament, upon the Account of Religion. Together with some Remarks upon Dr Sherlock's Sermon, preached the 29th of May, 1685.

King Charles died *February 6, 1684-5*: The same day his brother James, Duke of York, whose succession had been so long and so violently opposed, was peaceably proclaimed king, and entered on the regal office with a voluntary declaration, that he would make the law the rule of his government, both in church and state. Now, by law, several branches of the revenues expired with the king; the reformed religion was that of the state; and yet on the second day of his reign he went publicly to mass; and on the third, he caused those revenues to be levied by the authority of a proclamation without awaiting the consent of parliament. On the 19th of May, he met his people in parliament for the first time. In his speech from the throne on the 22d, he repeated the declaration which he had before made to the council, and communicated the news which he had received of the Earl of Argyle's landing in Scotland, which produced a joint vote of thanks from both houses; the settlement of revenue on him for life; a solemn tender of lives and fortunes; and as solemn a resolution to take his majesty's gracious word for the security of the church of England. On the 29th, Dr Sherlock, having been appointed to preach before the Commons, took occasion to suggest, that a papist, because of his religion, could never be a loyal subject. The next day Mr Richard Baxter, who had refused a bishopric in the beginning of King Charles's reign for conscience sake, was tried at the King's Bench bar, for what was called a scandalous libel (under the title of a Paraphase of the New Testament) on the bishops and clergy, Jefferies being judge, who took occasion to say, that, by the grace of Almighty God, he would crush the whole party; and soon after were published the two following extraordinary pieces, the object of which decidedly is to pave the way for an union between the church of England and Rome at the expence of the former.

His majesty having so often and so solemnly declared he would maintain me, as by law established, I cannot but rely upon his royal word, according to your prudent and generous vote, and think myself sufficiently secured by having the word of a king, who, whilst a subject, was never known to break it.' Yet, notwithstanding, seeing you, my children, here assembled to consult and advise about the most important matters

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[*] It was the cant of the tories upon James's accession, that they had the "word of a king" for the preservation of their religion and liberties. Dryden enlarges upon this topic in the Threnodia Augustalis :—

of the kingdom, I hope it may be lawful and seasonable for me to represent to your wise considerations my serious thoughts, concerning the means to establish my own and the nation's future quiet and tranquillity.

You cannot be ignorant, that, ever since my separation from the church of Rome, I have been attacked by all sorts of dissenters; so that my fate, in this encounter, may be compared to that of a city besieged by different armies, who fight both against it and one another, where, if the garrison make a salley to endamage one, another presently takes an advantage to make an attack. Thus, whilst I set myself vigorously to suppress the papist, the puritan seeks to undermine me; and whilst I am busied to oppose the puritan, the papist gains ground upon me. If I tell the church of Rome I did not forsake her but her errors, which I reformed, my rebellious subjects tell me the same, and that they must make a thorough reformation; and let me bring what arguments I please to justify my dissent, they still produce the same against me. If, on the other hand, I plead against the puritan dissenter, and shew that he ought to stand to church authority, where he is not infallibly certain it commands a sin, the papist presently catches at it, and tells me I destroy my own grounds of reformation, unless I will pretend to that infallibility which I condemn in them.

Matters standing thus betwixt me and them, why would it not be a point of prudence in me, (as I doubt not but you would esteem it in a governor of that city I lately mentioned,) to make peace with one of my adversaries, to the end I may with more ease resist the onsets of the other?

I am the easier induced to believe this may be effected, because my enemies are at mortal feuds with one another, and would rather join with me than against me; and what advantages such an union would bring to this nation need not be offered in detail to your view, who cannot but at the very first see them.

Our next consideration then must be to find out whether of these two parties may be the sooner induced to sign these articles of agreement, and will give the best security for their performance of them.

In order to which, if I cast back my eye upon the transactions which have happened in this kingdom these last fifty years, I cannot but observe my puritan dissenting adversaries to be a company of people, for the most part, without justice, loyalty, conscience, or religion, tho' they pretend to them all, for a cloak to their villanies. I cannot but look upon them as implacable enemies, and tyrannical too, where they once get the upper-hand; and if I admit them into my bosom, I may assure myself of being stung by them, when they are once warm and have recovered strength.

I need not mention all their hellish practices against me and my loyal children from 1641 until 1648, nor by what wiles they undermined me first, and then never ceased until they had ruined the three kingdoms, and embrued their hands in the blood of the best of kings. It is apparent enough what favour I may expect from them, if once again (which God forbid) the power should come into their hands, by the liberty they denied me in the usurper's wicked reign. Have they not also of late endeavoured to play the same game over again, and to disturb mine and the kingdom's quiet, by plots hatched in their own brains? What was the popish plot, but a blind for a presbyterian one? Were not all their endeavours to trepan us into an ambush they had laid for us, whilst we, with blind heat, were in pursuit of that chimerical phantom? Had

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"In all the changes of his doubtful state,
His truth, like Heaven's, was kept inviolate;
For him to promise is to make it fate;
His valour can triumph o'er land and main;
With broken oaths his fame he will not stain;
With conquest basely bought, and with inglorious gain."—*Threnodia Augustalis.*

Most of the numerous addresses of the period profess the same implicit reliance upon the monarch's word.

they not at that time all their machines at work to involve us in a common ruin? Did they not, under pretence of securing the king from a popish gun and silver bullet, endeavour to let fly at him with a true protestant blunderbuss? What did they aim at, under pretence of securing the protestant religion, but to strike at episcopacy? At which time no person, that was either dutiful to me, or loyal to the king, but was presently branded with the name of papist, popishly affected, papist in masquerade, French pensioner, or the like. Had they not made a catalogue of all persons any ways eminent in the kingdom, and ranked them under two heads, of worthy men and men worthy, meaning by the latter, men worthy to be made away, because true to their king and country? When they were caught in their villanies, did they repent, or did they not rather with their dying words testify their approbation of the intended conspiracy? And (which is yet worse) are they not still at work to embroil the nation, and by rebellion disturb our quiet, and hinder the full enjoyment of that happiness we have now the greatest prospect of, under the reign of a king, whose example discountenances vice and teaches virtue; whose justice will not let him abandon his own, nor invade his subjects rights; whose courage prompted him at all times to dare any thing for his country's good, if it were not in itself evil; whose study is to render his reign both easy and happy to us;[1] and who has a true English heart, jealous of the honour of the nation; and pleases himself with the hopes, that by God's blessing, and your assistance, he may carry the reputation of it yet higher in the world, than ever it has been in the time of any of his ancestors.[2]

On the other hand, if, with an impartial eye, we look upon the papists, we shall find them honest, just, conscientious, and loyal in their practices, though we are frequently *told their principles are otherwise*: but this (they say) is not the only calumny falsely *laid upon* them. And for my own part, as I cannot think a man's principles good when I see his practices otherwise, so am I easily induced to believe that good practices proceed from good principles. Neither would I have even my greatest enemies accused of holding ill principles, when they themselves renounce them, both in speculation and in practice; for though it be a hard matter to wash off all the mire with which one has been grievously bespattered, yet no doubt in time calumny will appear, to the credit of the innocent and disgrace of the calumniator. Wherefore I cannot but condemn those accusations, with which that otherwise ingenious and loyal discourse made to you, my children of the lower house, was finished, viz. I deny not but some, who are papists, in some junctures of affairs, may, and have been very loyal; but I am sure the popish religion is not; the Englishman may be loyal, but not the papist; and yet there can be no security of those mens loyalty, whose religion in any case teaches them to rebel.[3] For what reason has any man to say their religion teaches them to rebel, when they are so jealous of their religion, that they voluntarily suffer the loss of their estates, their liberties, and their lives, rather than renounce the least tittle of it; do, both in their public writings, and private discourses, declare and maintain, that their religion teaches no such doctrine; and that they are ready to maintain and practise true loyalty, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes? It is true, some persons, in communion with Rome, have broached tenets inconsistent with loyalty;[4] but it is true likewise their books have been condemned and burned (as they often tell us) by the public executioner. Seeing therefore the Roman Catholics do frequently declare, "[5] That it is an article of faith in their church, and expressly declared in the council of Constance, that the king-killing doctrine, or murder of princes, excommunicated for heresy, is damnable and heretical; as being contrary to the known laws of God and nature: As also, that no catholic, as catholics, believe, that the pope hath any direct or indirect authority over the temporal power and jurisdiction of princes: So that if the pope should pretend to absolve, or dispense with his majesty's subjects from their allegiance, upon account of heresy or schism, such dispensation would be vain and null, and all catholic subjects (notwithstanding such dispensation and absolution) would be still bound in conscience to defend their king and country, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, even against the pope himself, in case he should invade the nation." I say, seeing Roman Catholics do thus generally declare their loyalty, I think they ought no more in justice to be charged with disloyal principles, for the extravagance of some few of that vast body, and those censured and condemned too by them, than I am to be charged with principles of the like disloyalty and injustice, because some of my children have been for the bill of exclusion, and others, who communicated with me, have written scandalous pamphlets, narratives, &c. tending to treason and rebellion. But what, in one word, seems to me a convincing argument, that the papists do not hold such pernicious doctrines is, that I see so many kings and princes, in other countries, no less jealous of their lives and authorities than others, who yet profess and maintain that religion, and think themselves secure by her principles, when they dare not trust the Calvinist. And, if we may descend to particulars, can we imagine that his present majesty, who could not but know that the Roman church was frequently taxed with disloyal principles, would embrace her faith without examining so necessary a tenet? Or can we imagine, after such an examination, that he who has promised to maintain me (as I may say) only because he knew I was for monarchy and loyalty, would himself embrace a religion which teaches the contrary principles? So that to condemn the Roman Catholic religion, of *principles of disloyalty*, is either to condemn the king of ignorance in *his own religion*, or of carelessness of *his own security*. These things thus considered, I cannot but say it was a reasonable complaint of one of them, in these words: [*] "Is it not strange and severe, that principles, and those pretended of faith too, should be imposed upon men, which they themselves renounce and detest? If the Turk's Alcoran should, in like manner, be urged upon us, and we hanged up for Mahometans, all we could do or say in such a case, would be to die patiently with protestations of our own innocence. And this is the posture of our condition (continues he ;) we abhor, we renounce, we abominate such principles; we protest against them, and seal our protestations with our dying breaths. What shall we say? What can we do more? To accuse men as guilty in matters of faith, which they never owned, is the same thing as to condemn them for matters of fact which they never did." It is sufficiently known to all the ingenious, who have either read or observed any thing, that in King Charles the First's reign, when so great a number of Englishmen rebelled against their prince, not one papist (those of Ireland being, it seems, out of the question) was observed, who was not ready to, or actually did not, hazard his life and fortune for the support of monarchy. How many of them, in that wicked rebellion, sealed their loyalty with their last blood? And after the martyrdom of that glorious king, were not they, as well as my dutiful children, forced to seek a refuge in foreign countries; where (if I may eye their other virtues) they maintained a mutual friendship with my children, as being tied with the common bands of fellow subjects, soldiers, or sufferers? And after his late majesty's happy restoration, how long did we live together in peace and tranquillity, till those wicked emissaries of hell animated us against our brethren, by narratives and informations of I know not what plots and conspiracies, of which, now at last, we find them innocent? During which very time, with what patience did the Romanists suffer all those injurious and contumelious proceedings, even to the very loss of their estates, their liberties, and their lives; when we saw them go like sheep to the slaughter, who scarce bleated all the time, unless it were to declare their innocence, to pray for their king and kingdom, and to fore-warn us of our approaching ruin: in which certainly they were our best friends, if we could have been friends to ourselves, and hearkened to their advice, which we found to be good and solid, though it was almost too late before we would believe it.

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[1] King's speech, May 22.

[2] King's speech, May 30.

[3] Dr Sherlock's Sermon, May 29, 1685.

[4] Mariana.

[5] Roman Catholic Principles, 3d edit. 1680.

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[*] Preface to Roman Catholic Principles.

Let us likewise reflect how they behave themselves at present, now we look upon them to enjoy the greatest advantages they have had this many years, and we shall find it to be with unexpected moderation. We, who were formerly almost frighted into *Bedlam*, for fear of a popish successor, find, under James the great and the just, our liberties, our properties, our rights, and our religion secured, and may expect to see our kingdom become glorious, and the old English bravery once more flourish under so great an English king, if his subjects will but shew themselves true Englishmen, as his majesty was pleased to express it to some of you.

You *see*, my dearest children, that our fears were vain, and our jealousies without grounds. This very stone, which was once rejected by the architects, is now become the chief stone in the corner: We may truly see in it the hand of God, and look upon it with admiration, and may expect (if fears and jealousies hinder not) the greatest blessings we can wish for,—an union betwixt these two walls, which have been thus long separated, and now in a fair way to be united and linked together by this corner-stone, after which, how glorious a structure may we hope for upon such foundations?

Shall we then, my lords and gentlemen, still wage a war against these our brethren, who would live peaceably amongst us, and seek by all means to endear us? Shall we continue to put the rigour of the laws equally in execution against these who would live at union with us, and not disturb our government, and those whom we have so often, and *do at present find to be restless and implacable enemies?* Let it not be said, we *love dissention, or* that we delight in severity and blood, lest it be objected, our cause is not to be sustained, unless the rigour of the laws be put in execution, as if neither truth nor justice were on our side. I cannot think those to be good-foundations, which must be cemented with penalties and with blood: neither can I think those, who are reduced to my embraces, or retained in them by rigour, will prove faithful to me in the conflict. They are rather slaves than sons, hypocrites not converts, who, having forsaken their God for interest, cannot be true to me or man. Let truth sustain me, not rigour; truth will endure for ever, and shine in the midst of darkness, so that it is well compared to the diamond, which sparkles in the obscurest night, resists the file, the hammer, and the flame, but yet may be softened with the blood of goats. This truth flourished in the greatest persecutions, and prevailed when the professors of it suffered the most horrid torments, their blood being the seed of the church, which brought forth an hundred fold. But should a church endeavour once to propagate her truth by persecutions and by blood, she may have reason to fear the diamond's lot, and that blood will tarnish all its lustre, and destroy the solidity, the splendor, and the value of it all at once. Let truth then be my solid foundation, and let us leave the sanguinary and the penal laws to those who are not built upon it.

If we cannot assure ourselves of a perfect peace and union with Rome, we may hope for a truce, a cessation of arms, a happy correspondence and mutual commerce.

Yet some overtures of peace have been frequently made by the Romanists; and I may say with truth, if it had not been for some hot-headed zealots, and other ignorant polemics, our breaches had never been so wide; yea, on the contrary, would have been long since healed. Our zealots cry perpetually against the idolatry of the church of Rome, and yet the Romanists, it's well known, cry as much against idolatry as we. If they would paint a papist, they besmear him with the ugly colours of [1] equivocations, mental reservations, dispensations to lye, forswear, and massacre their neighbours;

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[1] Roman Catholic Principles.

when, on the contrary, the Roman Catholics recommend *simplicity* and godly sincerity, as truly christian virtues, necessary to the conservation of justice, truth, and common society: And tell us, that all pardons and dispensations granted, or pretended to be granted, in order to any such ends or designs, have no other validity or effect, than to add sacrilege and blasphemy to the above-named crimes. And as for our common controvertists, how often are we told they mistake the Roman Catholic tenets, misrepresent their doctrines, fight against chimeras of their own brains, and most commonly either spend whole volumes in refuting errors, which they condemn as well as we, or establishing truths which they affirm? How often have they told us, we must separate their articles of faith from their theological disputes, and take their doctrines from their councils, not their schools? And yet how little profit have our polemics reaped from this admonition? How often have they formerly urged us to an oral or pen combat, upon condition security and freedom might be given them, the questions *rightly* stated, and the other common laws of disputation strictly observed; but still either the real or pretended interest of state put a stop thereto; insomuch that in their public writings, they have often told us, we behave ourselves like persons diffident of our cause, decline disputes on equal terms, and either misrepresent their tenets, (as appears manifestly in their doctrines of justification and merit, satisfaction, and indulgences) or else play the buffoons, joking, scoffing, and relating stories, which, if true, would not touch religion. I must confess, many of our young divines (if I may call them divines, who have not spent above a year or two in the universities) are to blame in this, who, having obtained a good benefice, by the solicitation of friends, and not by their merit, are forced to preach to others what they scarce understand themselves. Such as these, for want, it may be, of matter, are *glad to fly to the common topic of railing* at Rome and hell, the pope and the devil; for which being applauded by their *zealous* and ignorant auditors, and moved with an itch of being in print, they publish their own puerile conceptions, or such as they have gleaned from others of the like learning, judgment, and reading; and though it be all to no purpose, yet they flatter themselves, as if from thence the downfall of popery, and the utter destruction of the whore of Babylon, must necessarily ensue.

Upon these considerations, my Lords and Gentlemen,

My humble request to you in this assembly is, that you would advise about some means for our quiet, concord, and agreement; and take care, that what may widen our breaches may be rejected, and what may close them, embraced. The best way to effect which, in my thoughts, are these:

First, That it may be provided, that those who are known to be faithful *friends* to the king and kingdom's good, may, equally with us, enjoy those favours and blessings we may hope for under so great and so just a king, without being *liable* to the sanguinary or penal laws for holding opinions no ways inconsistent with loyalty and the peace and quiet of the nation: And that they may not be obliged, by oaths and tests, either to renounce their religion, which they know they cannot do without sacrilege, or else to put themselves out of capacity of serving their king or country.

Secondly, That for healing our differences, it be appointed, that neither side, in their sermons, touch upon matters of controversy with animating reflections; but that those discourses may wholly tend to peace and piety, religion and sound morality: And that in all public catechisms, the solid grounds and principles of religion may be solely explicated and established, all reflecting animosities being laid aside.

Thirdly, That some learned, devout, and sober persons may be made choice of on both sides, who may truly state matters of controversy betwixt us, to the end each one may know the others pretensions, and the tenets they cannot abandon, without breaking the chain of apostolic faith: which if it be done, we shall, it may be, find that to be true, which the papists often tell us, that the difference betwixt them and us, is not so great as many make it; nor their tenets so pernicious, but, if we saw them naked, we should, if not embrace them as truths, yet not condemn them as errors, much less as pernicious doctrines. Yet if, notwithstanding all this, we cannot perfectly agree in some points, let us, however, endeavour to live together in the bonds of love and charity, as becomes good Christians and loyal subjects, and join together to oppugn those known maxims, and pernicious errors, which destroy the essence of religion, loyalty, and good government.

This is, my dearest children, the remonstrance I thought good to make you, and I doubt not but your wisdoms will so order it, that if not by this method, at least by some other efficacious means, all our differences may be soothed; and when heats about religion cease, we may hope for a future stable quiet in the nation. This is what I shall daily pray for, and that God would by his grace so guide this great assembly, that all their acts, votes, and councils, may tend to his honour and glory, the good of his church, and the prosperity and lasting peace of the kingdom.

God save King James the Second.

A Second Remonstrance, by way of Address, from the Church of England, to both Houses of Parliament.

This Tract appears to have been published during Monmouth's invasion, and after his having assumed the title of King at Taunton.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I HOPE the tender concern of a mother for her children's safety, and the tye of nature for self-preservation, will sufficiently apologise for this my second remonstrance: and I hope, if either piety towards my children, or solicitude for myself, or both, should make me seem importunate, or, as you may think, too apprehensive, nature will be my plea; which cannot hinder the one, and also commands the other.

Yet I cannot think my apprehensions vain, nor my importunity unseasonable, when I consider what mischief the basilisk may do, if not crushed in the egg; what conflagrations have been occasioned from neglected sparks, and what countries and kingdoms have been embroiled and ruined, for not obviating small beginnings.

I am concerned for you and all my children, and you ought also to be concerned with me, both for me and for yourselves; I am concerned for the king and the kingdom's good and quiet, and you ought equally to share with me in this concern; for when I see rebellion begin to appear bare-faced, and my fanatic enemies flock to an ungrateful aspiring wretch,[1] I cannot but think, that though his and their cry be, The security of the protestant religion, yet it is not the protestant religion as by law established; it is not me they mean thereby, but a religion composed of all dissenters; it is not episcopacy they would secure, but, on the contrary, I fear, pull down, under the name of popery; or rather, if we look upon their practices, though religion be in their mouths we may assure ourselves it is not in their intentions, seeing they destroy the very foundation of it by rebellion. No, no, it is not religion, it is ambition and despair animate the unthinking tool, their leader. It was not religion, it was the hatred of monarchy excited the republicans to invite him in and lend him their assistance: It is not religion, it is a delight to fish in troubled waters, and to enrich themselves by the spoils of others, causes the crowd to follow him. And if some be led by a zeal (no less criminal than blind) for religion, they are but like their leaders, tools in the hands of knaves, who, should they obtain their ends, (which God forbid) would throw them by as useless.

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[1] The Duke of Monmouth.

When, therefore, I see ambition grasping at a crown as the last refuge of desperation; when I see republican spirits lending their assistance to pull down monarchy; when I see the discontented hungry rabble flock together, in hopes once more to enrich themselves by the ruin both of church and state; and when I see blinded zealots cry up religion, with all the other damned crew of rebels, whilst they all join hands to pluck it down, I think I have great reason to fear my own, and my dearest children's ruin, and to offer up my poor endeavours towards our common security, from the rage of those plodding knaves and hood-winked fools.

I know no thinking persons, who are either zealous for mine or the kingdom's good and quiet, will ever join with them; for they cannot but see the methods these pretended zealots take to secure religion are the only means to ruin it. We find ourselves safely sheltered under the promise of our most great and gracious sovereign, and we see and experience in this, as in all other things, his constancy to his promise; but it behoves us to reflect this *promise was conditional, if we were true to monarchy: Those*, therefore, who join with or abet rebellion against their lawful prince, have neither right nor title to his promise, as having broken the necessary conditions required by it.

Religion is, and always has been, the common cry of rebels; but what religion must that be which takes its rise and its security from rebellion? I am sure it cannot be orthodox which does so manifestly thwart the gospel that teaches due submission. No, no, it is not religion, but interest, sways such monsters as this ungrateful rebel; and we may assure ourselves also, that those republicans who help to set up such a tool, and lead the rabble-rout by the plausible cry of religion, intend no other but a republican religion, as well as government; and then a farewell being given to monarchy, we must give a farewell also to episcopacy, and your mother, the church of England.

Can we imagine a person, who has no religion but debauchery, will be a fit instrument to protect or establish truth and piety? Can we imagine he, who never sought any thing but his own private ends, will have any generous thoughts for the public? Can we imagine he who plotted the death of a tender and a royal father, and preferred the lives of those conspirators who seduced him before the safety of the king and kingdom, has any sense of piety, honesty, or religion in him? Can we think he, who declares against all you my children here assembled, as a packed company of papists, because you have shewn yourselves true and loyal subjects to your king, and zealous for the welfare and honour of the nation, can intend any thing but your and my destruction, with the kingdom's ruin? In a word, can we imagine he who is a monster of ingratitude, of impiety, of debauchery, and of all the ills imaginable, as appears by this, and all his late attempts, carries any thing but the seeds of these crimes, under the goodly husks of liberty, property, and religion? Or can we imagine those who abet such villanies, have either better or more religious designs, though they cloak them under that most specious appearance? It is not an age since we sufficiently experienced the effects of rebellion. That tree, though it may for some time spread and flourish, yet the fruits thereof are always bitter; it may promise much in the blossom, but the fruit (though fair in appearance) is poisonous in the effect.

It behoves you, *therefore*, (my dearest children) to endeavour, by all means, to defend his sacred majesty against his enemies, upon whom the future quiet and glory of the nation does *depend*. It behoves you to defend him upon whom depends my peace and my *support*. It behoves you to defend him upon whose security your own lives and fortunes do depend, and to obviate all those evils which make haste to ripen, if they be not nipped in the bud. This it behoves you to do, if you love your king, if you love your country, if you love me, if you love yourselves; and, when so many motives excite you to resist those rebels, and to quell them to secure our quiet, methinks nothing that is conducing thereunto but may be seasonably represented to you.

My own thoughts I told you in my last remonstrance, which I must here again repeat. The only way, and most secure is, without doubt, to procure a union with those who are undoubtedly the king and kingdom's friends, and whose interest, as well as principles, oblige them to be faithful to him. We ought to secure all the friends we can, and not to exclude those who are both able and willing to assist us by oaths and tests, which are so far from assuring us of their fidelity, that we cannot firmly rely upon their allegiance who take them. The Romanists have often offered to swear allegiance to their king in any form, so it thwart not what is due to God; and, as we may assure ourselves that they who break their allegiance due to God, under pretence of serving their king, are led by nothing but their interest, which would biass them to any thing; so those who are known to be faithful to their God, and prefer their religion and conscience before their interest, will, no doubt, make a conscience likewise to serve their king and country, when the same God and religion obliges them to do it.

Our former Christian kings were, for many ages, secure even under the Roman religion, when *their subjects were tyed by oaths, no less obliging, 'tis true, than these, but couched in other terms.* Other kings and kingdoms think themselves no less secured than we, when such an allegiance is sworn unto them; and shall we alone endeavour to fetter the consciences of those who make a conscience to serve their king and country, though tyed by no other bonds than the true principles of religion and sound morality? We know it is not allegiance they boggle at, for that they are always ready to pay, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes; but it is their religion they would not abandon, their faith they would not quit, their God, to whom they would not be rebellious. Shall we, therefore, when we know they are persons will be faithful to a king who has promised us his protection, and under whose protection alone we can ever hope to subsist,—shall we, I say, refuse their assistance in these conjunctures? We know many of the Romanists have shewn their valour and their conduct in foreign countries, where they learned military discipline by practice, not by speculation only; and shall we, when we know them to be fit persons to be employed, so far injure ourselves and the nation, as to exclude them from assisting us for niceties in religion? We cannot doubt of their fidelity to their own king, who fought so faithfully for foreigners: We cannot doubt their courage, who shewed their valour in the greatest hazards; and we may hope their conduct will be no less advantageous, having learned it in so great a school. Those, no doubt, who are either for his majesty's security, for my safety, or the kingdom's good, will be desirous to see them employed. None, certainly, but those who care not if they saw me again pulled down, and the kingdom turned into a commonwealth, can be against it: Both they and I, and all those who are for monarchy, are concerned in the preservation of his sacred majesty; and, where our concern is common, why should we not be at perfect union?

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It depends wholly upon your generous action to see this great thing effected. We see his majesty is not willing to infringe the laws, nor alter any thing without your counsel, nor give occasion to the discontented to esteem him arbitrary; but you, methinks, should prevent him in this, and, before you break up this assembly, freely desire him to employ any that are known to be his friends. If you be afraid of persons who are not tyed by oaths, either take those old ones which secured his predecessors, or frame new ones with all the tyes imaginable to fidelity, so they touch not upon religion: Then will you shew yourselves true subjects to your king, truly concerned for me, your tender mother, who run the same fate with him, true friends to monarchy, and may therefore expect his majesty's protection, under God's. I hope you will be unanimous in this step to our unity, peace, and security, which I shall perpetually pray for in giving you my blessing.

God save King James the Second.

" It is now to be observed, 1. That the king, in the November following, met his parliament the second time, and in the stile of a master, gave them to understand, not only that a standing army was necessary for the support of government, but also that he had already established one, which he expected them to provide for; that among the commanders some were not qualified, according to the late test, for their employment; and that, to deal plainly with them, the said officers having approved the loyalty of their principles by their practices, he would not expose them to disgrace, nor himself to the want of them. 2. That the Commons not proving so tractable as the king expected, but, on the contrary, addressing him, though in very respectful terms, against the said officers, and reducing the supply demanded from 1,200,000 to 700,000*l.* his majesty thought fit to prorogue them without accepting the said supply. And, 3dly, That in this interval, probably, as a previous step to another favourite measure of the court, (for Mr Penn, the famous Quaker, was a known privado of his majesty's) the following case was set forth."

The favourite measure hinted at by the former editor was the repeal of the test and penal laws, in prosecuting which, James had in view the benefit of the popish religion only, although he affected the language of general toleration. As for Penn, the settler of Pennsylvania, through whose medium the following petition seems to have been procured, he was so much favoured by James, and attended Whitehall so regularly, that he incurred suspicions of being a papist, from which he was at pains to vindicate himself by two letters to Dr Tillotson. Burnet tells us he was even employed by the king on a mission to the Prince of Orange, in hopes his eloquence might place the repeal of the test in a favourable light to that court.

To the King, and both Houses of Parliament, the suffering Condition of the peaceable People called Quakers, only for tender Conscience towards Almighty God, humbly present,

SHEWING, That of late **one thousand five hundred** of the said people (both men and women) having been detained prisoners in England, and part of them in Wales, (some of which being since discharged by the judges, and others freed by death, through their long and tedious imprisonment) there are now remaining (according to late accounts) about **one thousand, three hundred, eighty-and-three**, above **two hundred** of them **women**; many under sentence of **premunire**, (both men and women,) and more than three hundred near it, not for denying the duty, or refusing the substance of allegiance itself, but only because they dare not swear. Many on writs of excommunication and fines for the king, and upon the act for banishment. Besides, above three hundred and twenty have died in prison and prisoners, since the year 1660; near one hundred whereof, by means of this long imprisonment, (as it is judged) since the account delivered to the late king and parliament, in 1680, thereby making widows and fatherless, and leaving them in distress and sorrow; the two last hard winters restraint, and the close confinement of great numbers in divers gaols, unavoidably tending towards their destruction, their healths being evidently impaired thereby.

And here, in London, the gaol of Newgate hath been from time to time crowded, within these two years, (sometimes near twenty in one room) to the prejudice of their health; and several poor innocent tradesmen, of late, have been so suffocated by the closeness of the prison, that they have been taken out sick of a malignant fever, and died in a few days after.

Besides these long continued and destructive hardships upon the persons of men and women, as aforesaid, great violences, outragious distresses, and woeful havock and spoil have been and still are frequently made upon our goods and estates, both in and about this city of London and other parts of this nation, by a company of idle, extravagant, and merciless informers, and their prosecutions upon the conventicle act, many being convicted and fined unsummoned and unheard in their own defence. As also on *qui-tam* writs at the suit of informers, (who prosecute for one-third part for themselves) and on other processes, for twenty pounds a-month, and two-thirds of estates seized for the king; all tending to the ruin of trade, husbandry, and farmers, and the impoverishing of many industrious families, without compassion shewn to widows, fatherless, or desolate. To some not a bed left to rest upon; to others, no cattle to till their ground, nor corn for bread or seed, nor tools to work withal; the said informers and sheriffs' bailiffs in some places being outragious and excessive in their distresses and seizures, breaking into houses, and making great waste and spoil. And all these and other severities done against us by them, under pretence of serving the king and the church, thereby to force us to a conformity, without inward conviction or satisfaction of our tender consciences, wherein our peace with God is concerned, which we are very tender of.

The statutes on which we, the said people, suffer imprisonment, distress, and spoil, are as followeth:

The 5th of Eliz. chap. 23, *de excommunicato capiendo.*

The 23d of Eliz. ch. 1, for twenty pound per month.

The 29th of Eliz. ch. 6, for continuation.

The 35th of Eliz. ch. 1, for abjuring the realm, on pain of death.

The 1st of Eliz. ch. 2, for twelve pence a-Sunday.

The 3d of King James I. ch. 4, for *præmunire,* imprisonment during life, and estates confiscated.

The 13th and 14th of King Charles II., against Quakers, &c. transportation.

The 22d of King Charles II., ch. 1, against seditious conventicles.

The 17th of King Charles II., ch. 2, against con-conformists.

The 27th of Henry VIII., ch. 20, some few suffer thereupon.

Upon indictments at common law, pretended and framed against our peaceable, religious assemblies, for riots, routs, breach of the peace, &c., many, both men and women, thereupon fined, imprisoned, and detained for non-payment, some till death. Instance the city of Bristol, what a great number have been these divers years straitly confined and crowded in gaol, mostly above one hundred on such pretence, about seventy of them women, many aged; and in the city of Norwich, in the years 1682 and 83, about seventy kept in hold, forty-five whereof in holes and dungeons for many weeks together, and great hardships have been, and are in other places. So that such our peaceable meetings are sometimes fined on the conventicle act, as for a religious exercise, and other times at common law, as riotous, routous, &c., when nothing of that nature could ever be proved against them, there being nothing of violence or injury either done, threatened, or intended against the person or property of any other whatsoever.

The during and tedious imprisonments are chiefly on the writs *de excommunicato capiendo*, upon the judgment of *præmunire*, and upon fines said to be for the king.

The great spoil, and excessive distresses and seizures, are chiefly upon the conventicle act, and for twenty pounds a-month, two-thirds of estates, and on *qui-tam* writs. In some counties, diverse have suffered by seizures and distresses above eight years last past; and writs lately issued out for further seizures in several counties, for twenty pounds a-month, amounting to the value of many thousands of pounds, sometimes seizing for eleven months at once, and making sale of all goods and chattels within doors and without, both of household goods, beds, shop goods, moveables, cattle, &c., and prosecution hereupon still continued, and in diverse counties much increased; so that several, who have long employed some hundreds of poor families in manufacture, and paid considerable taxes to the king, are greatly disabled from both, by these writs and seizures, as well as by long imprisonments. So many serge-makers of Plymouth, as kept above five hundred poor people at work, disabled by imprisonment. Many in the county of Suffolk, under a long imprisonment, sentenced to a *præmunire*, one whereof employed at least two hundred poor people in the woollen manufacture when at liberty. Omitting other instances, that we may not seem too tedious, these may evince how destructive such severities are to trade and industry, and ruinous to many poor families.

On the conventicle act, within these two years last past, many in and about this city of London have been extremely oppressed, impaired, and spoiled in their estates and trades, upon numerous convictions and warrants made against them in their absence, upon the credit of informations sworn by concealed informers, diverse of them impudent women, who swear for their profit in part of the fines and seizures, their husbands being prisoners for debt through their own extravagancies. The warrants commonly made to break open and enter houses, which is done with rigour and great spoil, not sparing widows, fatherless, or poor families, who are sustained by their daily care and industry, not leaving them a bed to rest upon: the fines, upon one justice's warrants, amounting to many hundreds of pounds, frequently ten pounds a warrant, and two warrants at once for twenty pounds executed upon one person; and three warrants at once from another justice, for sixty pounds, upon another person, and all his goods carried away in about ten cart loads; and five warrants at once for fifty pounds, upon another, &c., besides what we have suffered by others in the like kind. And in this destructive course the informers have encouragement, and are suffered still to go on, to the ruining many families in their trades and livelihoods; diverse so discouraged and disabled, that they are forced to give over their shops and trades.

These informers being accepted for credible witnesses, yet parties swearing for their own profit and gain, in the absence of the persons prosecuted; this, we think, is a very hard and undue proceeding, and not consistent with common law or justice.

As also convicting and fining us, upon their depositions, unsummoned and unheard in our own defence, and so keeping us ignorant of our accusers, unless upon traverse of our appeals. This procedure appears contrary to the law of God,[1] common justice and equity, and to the law and justice of the ancient Romans,[2] and of nations.

And although it has been openly manifested, upon trial of appeals, at several quarter sessions, both for Middlesex and London, and other places, that the depositions of diverse informers have been false in fact, yet the great trouble and charge in the traverse of appeals, and the great encouragement informers have from him who grants the most warrants, hath been a discouragement to many from seeking such difficult remedy. considering also the treble costs against the appellant, in case he succeeds not, or is not acquitted upon trial, whereas there is no costs nor restitution awarded or given against the informers for unjust prosecution. Some also having refused to grant appeals, others denied copies of warrants to prevent appeals; which, whether this be equal or just, pray consider, ye that are wise and judicious men, and whether it be for the king's honour and the people's interest that idle, drunken, extravagant informers should either be encouraged, or suffered to go on thus, to ruin trade, husbandry, and families, or to command and threaten justices of peace with the forfeiture of an hundred pounds, if they do not make convictions, and issue out warrants upon their bare informations and uncertain depositions, frequently in the absence of the accused.

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[1] Deut. xix. 17, 18. John vii. 51. Prov. xxvi. 2. Job. xxix. 16, 17. Gen. iii. 8. Judges xix. 30.

[2] Acts xxv. 6, 7, 8, 10, 16.

And, lastly, One-third part of the fines being assigned to the king, he can only remit that; but the informers and poor being assigned two-third parts, seems not to allow him to remit them, how much cause soever may appear to him to extend his favour in that case: Is not this against the king's prerogative, to restrain his sovereign clemency? And how far it reflects upon the government, and is scandalous thereto, for beggarly rude informers (some of them confident women) not only to command, threaten, and disquiet justices, peace-officers, &c., but to destroy the king's honest, industrious, and peaceable subjects in their properties and estates, is worthy of your serious consideration? and whether the said conventicle act ought not therefore justly to be repealed? A noted instance of the like case we have concerning the statute of the 11th Hen. VII. ch. 3, (for determining certain offences and contempts, only upon informers prosecutions) *being repealed in the first year of King Hen. VIII. ch. 6, though that, in some respects, was more tolerable than this.*

Be pleased to make our case your own, and "Do to us as you would be done unto." As you would not be oppressed or destroyed in your persons or estates, nor have your properties invaded and posterities ruined for serving and worshipping Almighty God (that made all mankind) according to your persuasions and consciences, but would, no doubt, enjoy the liberty thereof, so we intreat you to allow the same liberty to tender consciences, that live peaceably under the government, as you would enjoy yourselves, and to disannul the said conventicle act, and to stop these devouring informers, and also take away all sanguinary laws, corporal and pecuniary punishments, merely on the score of religion and conscience, and let not the ruin and cry of the widow, fatherless, and innocent families lie upon this nation, nor at your door, who have not only a great trust reposed in you for the prosperity and good of the whole nation, but also do profess Christianity, and the tender religion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

And, notwithstanding all these long sustained extremities, we, the said suffering people, do openly profess and declare, in the sight of the all-seeing God, who is the searcher of hearts, that as we have never been found in any seditious or treasonable designs, (they being quite contrary to our Christian principle and profession,) so we have nothing but a zealous and true affection to the king and government, sincerely desiring his and the kingdom's prosperity and concurrence in mercy and truth, for the good of the whole community.

Having thus given you, in short, the general state of our suffering case, in matter of fact, without personal reflection, we, in Christian humility and for Christ's sake, intreat that you will tenderly and charitably consider of the premisses, and find out some effectual expedient or way for our relief from prisons, spoil, and ruin.

Mr Alsop's Speech.

" Whether, in consequence of the moving representation of the quakers, any measures were immediately taken for the relief of those who made it, does not appear; but if, as before surmised, the recusants of one communion were spirited up to remonstrate their sufferings, at once to furnish out pretences to shew favour to all, and to fasten the charge of a persecuting spirit on the church of England, it is certain the latter shewed no disproportion to embrace the league offered to them by the Roman catholics, though backed with the example which had been made of Baxter, purposely to demonstrate the sincere intentions of the court to purchase their good will, at the expence of the protestant nonconformists: on the contrary, discerning the drift of that offer, and resolving to contribute nothing on their part to render it effectual, they not only rejected every measure towards a compromise, but made use of all their skill and address to widen the breach if possible, and to make their interest in the laws, and their credit with the people, outweigh the favour of the crown. This steady attachment to the constitution the courtiers called an attachment to their temporal interests, and a departure from that loyalty which they had hitherto gloried in as their distinguishing characteristics. To the same effect pamphlets, under the warrant of the licensers, were daily uttered against them, but without the desired success: they had both the majority of the nation and of the House of Commons on their side; and so sincere was the union, that neither menaces nor flatteries could bend or break it. In vain his majesty in person became the solicitor of his party, and all the arts of the closet were tried to make proselytes. Those who had never shewed any sensibility of conscience before, now affected such a tenderness as could not bear the least violation; and those who had shewn no conscience to their fellow-subjects, would not give way to the smallest pressure on their own. In this situation of things, his majesty was pleased, all at once, to change his whole system, and to form such a confederacy among the nonconformists of all denominations, as, in conjunction with his own power, should overbalance the church. In order to which he declared it was his pleasure, in council, That the parliament, which stood prorogued to the 28th of April, 1686, should be farther prorogued to the 22d of November: and that having observed, that the endeavours of four of his royal predecessors, assisted by their parliaments, to establish an uniformity of religion had not only proved ineffectual, but the laying a restraint on the consciences of dissenters had proved sadly prejudicial to the nation, he had resolved to issue out a declaration for a general liberty of conscience.

" It set out most laudably with asserting, that there was nothing which his majesty so earnestly desired as to make his subjects happy; and to unite them to himself by inclination as well as duty, and that this could only be done by granting them the true exercise of their religion, in addition to the perfect enjoyment of their property, which had never been invaded by him since his accession to the crown, and which should ever be preserved to them during his reign, as the truest methods of their peace and his glory. His majesty then proceeds to say in substance, that though he could not but heartily wish that all his subjects were members of the catholic church, yet he had always declared that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion; that force was contrary to the interest of government, and never obtained the end for which it was employed; that this was become manifest by the experience of the four last reigns, and that this shewed the necessity of his present declaration, which, by virtue of his royal prerogative, he had thought fit to issue forth, and which, he made no doubt, the two houses would concur with him in, when he should think convenient for them to meet. Descending then to particulars, his majesty in the first place declared, that he would protect the archbishops, bishops, &c. of the church of England in the free exercise of their religion, as by law established, and in the quiet enjoyment of their possessions, without any molestation or disturbance whatsoever. 2. That the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, should be immediately suspended. 3. That he gave his free leave to all his loving subjects to serve God their own way, either in public or private, provided they took special care that nothing was preached or taught among them to alienate the hearts of the people from his government; that it was his command that no disturbance of any kind should be given to them under pain of his displeasure, and of being proceeded against with the utmost severity. 5. That it was his royal will and pleasure that the oaths, commonly called the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, as also the several tests and declarations mentioned in the acts of parliament of the 25th and 30th of Charles II. should not, for the future, be required to be taken by any person who was, or should be, employed in any place of trust; and that it was his farther pleasure and intention to grant his royal dispensations under the great seal to all persons so employed, who should not take the said oaths. 6. That he did thereby give his free pardon to all nonconformists, recusants, and other his loving subjects for all crimes and things by them committed against the said penal laws; and that the pardon so given should be as good and effectual to all intents and purposes as if every individual had been therein named, or had received particular pardons under the great seal; and, lastly, that he would maintain his loving subjects in all their properties and possessions, as well of church and abbey-lands, as any other."—RALPH, I. 945.

This declaration was issued on the 18th of March; on the 4th of April the said declaration was issued accordingly, which produced addresses of thanks from all the bodies of nonconformists, the anabaptists leading the way, and the presbyterians (though not the whole body) and the quakers following; and it was on this occasion that Mr Alderman Alsop, for the presbyterians, and William Penn, for the quakers, made the following speeches to his majesty."—*Orig. Edit.*

Great Sir,

WE could wish your majesty had a window in our breasts, through which you might discern how our souls embrace your royal clemency with the highest admiration, and yet with the profoundest veneration.

For we look upon ourselves truly transplanted from a hotter climate, and happily seated under the temperate zone of your majesty's most mild and gentle government, where, instead of the scorching beams of severity, which had almost calcined us to ashes, we now feel the cool breezes of your majesty's favour to revive and refresh us.

Really, sir, though we pretend not to any refined intellectuals, nor presume to philosophize upon the mysteries of government, neither to pry into the mysteries of state, which things, as they are far above, so they belong not to us at all, yet we make some small pretence to the sense of feeling; whatever our dullness may be, we can easily distinguish between a wound and a plaister, and know the difference between the smart lashes of some of our fellow-subjects, and the healing clemency of our sovereign.

We now (dear sir) silently wait for some such happy juncture, to give your majesty some essential proofs of our loyalty, and the sincerity of this our humble address, as may demonstrate that the greatest things we have been able to express or promise in this poor paper, is the least thing we shall chearfully perform for your majesty's service and satisfaction.

Go on (great sir) in this your royal line, (that is,) your own proper way and method of grace and clemency, that the world may be more fully and farther convinced that you are the best, as well as the greatest, and therefore the greatest because the best of princes; that so if there should remain any seeds of disloyalty in any of your subjects, this transcendent goodness of yours may mortify and kill them; or if any sparks of duty should be almost smothered in well-meaning, tho' mistaken minds, some sovereign grace may awaken and revive them, which, above all regalias, will most gloriously adorn your majesty's imperial crown and diadem.

The Speech of William Penn.

May it please the King,

It was the saying of our blessed Lord to the captious Jews, in the case of tribute, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." As this distinction ought to be observed by all men in the conduct of their lives, so the king has given us an illustrious example in his own person, that excites us to it; for while he was a subject he gave Cæsar his tribute, and now he is a Cæsar, gives God his due, viz. the sovereignty over consciences. It were a great shame then for any English-man (that pretends to Christianity) not to give God his due. By this grace he has relieved his distressed subjects from their cruel sufferings, and raised to himself a new and lasting empire, by adding their affections to their duty. And we pray God to continue the king in this noble resolution; for he is now upon a principle that has good nature, Christianity, and the goodness of civil society on its side; a security to him beyond all the little arts of government.

I would not that any should think that we came hither with design to fill the Gazette with our thanks; but as our sufferings would have moved stones to compassion, so we should be harder if we were not moved to gratitude.

Now, since the king's mercy and goodness have reached to us, throughout the kingdom of England and principality of Wales, our general assembly from all those parts, met at London about our church affairs, has appointed us to wait upon the king with our humble thanks, and me to deliver them, which I do by this address, with all the affection and respect of a dutiful subject.

His Majesty's most gracious Answer.

Gentlemen,

I thank you heartily for your address.[1] Some of you know (I am sure you do, Mr Penn) that it was always my principle, that conscience ought not to be forced; and that all men ought to have the liberty of their consciences: and what I have promised in my declaration I will continue to perform as long as I live; and I hope, before I die, to settle it so that after ages shall have no reason to alter it.

[*Both these Speeches were preserved in Lord Somers's Collection.*]

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[1] In the address from the London quakers, presented some time before this, were these words: "And tho' we entertain this act of mercy with all the acknowledgments of a persecuted and grateful people, yet we must needs say it doth the less surprize us, since it is what some of us have known to have been the declared principle of the king, as well long before, as since he came to the throne of his ancestors."—*Orig. Note.*

The humble Address of the Presbyterians, presented to the King by Mr Hurst, Mr Chester, Mr Slater, Mr Cox, Mr Roswell, Mr Turner, Mr Franklin, Mr Deal, and Mr Reynolds; with his Majesty's gracious Answer.

May it please your most sacred Majesty,

To believe the thankfulness of our hearts beyond any expressions of our lips or pens, for your most gracious declaration for liberty for us in the worship of God, which, we trust, we shall ever value above our property, as that without which we could enjoy nothing which we could call our own without the greatest uneasiness imaginable: but your majesty, having in the same declaration also secured that unto us, both by your royal word and act, what could your majesty have done more for us? or what is left for us further to ask of the king? And forasmuch as it hath pleased your most excellent majesty to give this safe port to your poor subjects, so long tossed with tempests, and justly to believe that loyalty is not intailed to a party, as we hope we shall ever justify the credit which your majesty's charity in that point hath given us, so we shall not cease to bow our knees to the God whom we serve, and by whom kings reign, beseeching him to recompense this royal favour to your majesty with length of days, uninterrupted health, felicity in your royal relations, success in your great councils and affairs, and, finally, with the most glorious liberty of the sons of God, heartily crying, as with one voice, Let the king live for ever.

Subscribed on the behalf of ourselves and the rest of our persuasion.

The King's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I have already found two good effects of my declaration; the easing and pleasing my subjects you speak of, and my restoring to God the empire over conscience: It has been my judgment a long time, that none has, or ought to have, any power over the conscience but God. I understand there are some jealousies among my subjects, that I have done this in a design; but you look like gentlemen of too great ingenuity to entertain any such suspicion.

Gentlemen, I protest before God, and I desire you to tell all manner of people of all persuasions, as you have opportunity to converse with them, that I have no other design than that I have spoke of.

And, gentlemen, I hope to live to see the day when you shall as well have Magna Charta for the liberty of conscience, as you have had for your properties.

And now, gentlemen, do you so preach to your hearers as they may be good Christians, and then I do not question but they will be good subjects.

A Copy of an Address to the King by the Bishop of Oxon, to be subscribed by the Clergy of his Diocess; with the Reasons for the Subscription to the Address, and the Reasons against it.

That the declaration might be so much the less unpalatable to the people, and that those of the legal church might not be rendered desperate, his majesty had been advised to open it with a clause that seemed to be in their favour, viz. 'In the first place, we do declare that we will protect and maintain our archbishops, bishops, and clergy, and all other our subjects of the church of England, in the free exercise of their religion as by law established; and in the quiet and full enjoyment of all their possessions, without any molestation or disturbance whatsoever.' Now there wanted not undertakers, even among the bishops themselves, to procure addresses of thanks from the clergy of their respective dioceses to his majesty, for the instances of his gracious regard towards them. Those of Durham, Chester, Lincoln, Litchfield and Coventry, and St David's, had their endeavours countenanced at least, if not fully answered; for after the [*] form which had been set by the first of those right reverend fathers, the rest, at different times, made their compliments to the throne. But Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, not satisfied with this simple mode of proceeding, insisted upon his clergy joining him in the address which produced the following controversy.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

WHEREAS, in your majesty's royal declaration lately published, you have been graciously pleased to declare, that your majesty will protect and maintain the archbishops, bishops, and clergy, and all other subjects of the church of England, in the free exercise of their religion, as by law established, and the full and quiet enjoyment of all their possessions, without molestation or disturbance whatsoever,—we cannot but think ourselves obliged in duty and gratitude to return your majesty our most hearty-thanks for those gracious expressions of your kindness, and for all your former assurances of your royal favour to the church of England, and to express our loyalty as becomes the true sons of the church of England, and your majesty's obedient subjects and servants.

The reasons for the subscription to the address are but two.

I. That it may continue the king's favour, whereas the omission may irritate the treasury to call upon the fifth bond for first-fruits at full worth.

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[*] Viz. "Whereas in your majesty's royal proclamation, lately published, you have been graciously pleased to declare, That your majesty will protect and maintain your archbishops, &c., we cannot but think ourselves obliged, in duty and gratitude, to return your majesty our hearty thanks for those gracious expressions of your kindness, and for all your former assurances of your royal favours to the church of England, and humbly to express our loyalty, as true sons of the church of England, and your majesty's most obedient subjects and servants."—*Orig. Note.*

II. That it will testify our unity with and submission to the bishop requiring their address, and perhaps expecting it upon our canonical obedience, there being nothing in the address *præter licitum et honestum.*

The reasons against it are many, to instance in four.

I. As our possessions, 'tis but thanks for his majesty's continuing our legal rights, which either equally concerns all states of men in the kingdom, and ought properly to be considered in parliaments; or else it supposes our possessions less legal and more arbitrary than other subjects.

II. As to the free exercise of our religion, it unnecessarily herds us among the various sects under the toleration, who for that favour in suspending the laws, have led the way to such addresses, depending for protection upon no legal establishment, but entirely upon sovereign pleasure and indulgence, which at pleasure is revocable.

III. This address, when subscribed, is either designed in the name of the church of England, and then ought to have had its birth at Lambeth, or a synodal convocation, or else in the name of this diocese only, which will disjoint us both among ourselves, who differ about it, and the body of the national clergy, who, as we are assured, dislike it in the present circumstances; so that the inevitable consequences of this address (set on foot by two or three bishops, independent upon their metropolitan, and without the previous concurrence of the rest of their order) must be a fatal division among the clergy, and either beget a new schism or widen the old ones, which are already deplorable, which, above all things, is likely to hasten our ruin, and promote the intriguing projects of our adversaries.

IV. It forfeits the present reputation we have with the nobility, gentry, and commonality of our communion, and may tempt them not only to disgust us for our rash compliance with suspected artifices, (which may rise up hereafter against us to our own and the church's prejudice,) but also to waver in the stedfastness of their profession, when they see us owning the exercise of our established own religion to be precarious.

Wherefore may it not be expedient humbly to remonstrate ourselves in this affair to our diocesan, and humbly desire and beseech him not to (without consulting us) act in a thing of so public and national a concernment, in which we conceive ourselves obliged to proceed upon mature deliberation and united measures, which, under God and the king, are likely to be our greatest safeguard.

As to the continuance of the king's favour.

If the known loyal principles and practices of the church of England, peculiarly evident to this prince in the Bill of Exclusion and Monmouth, will not secure it, this address (which only copies out fanatical thanksgiving) will not. Yet it might be thought expedient for the church of England to address for the contents of that declaration, which promises to engage the two houses of parliament in concurrence to so excellent a work, as if the favour of continuing the laws (which perhaps cannot be repealed) were as great as the abrogating the laws for the dissenters' sakes, which is the reason of the thanks in the presbyterian and independant addresses.

As to the Bishop.

This address is no instance of canonical obedience that we know of; neither is our unity with him such as to oblige us to disjoint from our metropolitan and national clergy; neither seems our bishop to have had any paternal regard for us, unless it be in treating of us like children of a very weak and passive minority, when he requires our subscription to a formed address, wherein he hath neither consulted us, nor given us leave to word ourselves, or speak our own sense.

And till bishops at their confirmation declare what faith they are of, as they did in the primitive church, (for which there are the same reasons now) our unity with him must either be with communication as to the whole church, or we may follow him we know not whither.

A Reply to the Reasons of the Oxford Clergy against Addressing.

The clergy having decidedly the better in their contest with the bishop, Sir Roger L'Estrange, the Coryphaeus of his party, was invoked to the prelate's support, and produced the following defence of the proposed address.

Sir,

The copy you sent us of some reasons for addressing, with an answer to them, and several arguments against it, drawn up by the Oxford clergy, doth most extremely afflict and surprize us; for what man of sense could in the least imagine that our clergy, who once had obtained the highest applauses for their loyalty, should at last do any thing that may seem to justify the insinuations of those who always said, That church-of-England loyalty would continue no longer than the prince was of their religion: For now it looks as if our loyalty must be no longer lived than our church is in a flourishing state; why else do our clergy thus remonstrate against rendering his majesty their humblest thanks for the assurances he has given them of protection in the free exercise of our religion, and in the full enjoyment of their ecclesiastical possessions? Don't they know, that they are owing to his majesty's grace for this much, and that, unless his majesty had embraced that most Christian and heroic principle, that[1] conscience ought not to be constrained, and had also excelled all his royal predecessors in clemency, he could never forgive the church of England, by whom so many sanguinary laws have been made against men of his religion; or have forborn the exercising that prerogative in matters ecclesiastical, which our church hath often recognised to be inherent in the crown, and by which our church may be, in a great measure, legally subverted?

What then can be more manifest, to a person of the least thoughtfulness, than that our church is infinitely obliged to his majesty for her present standing? Or what more certain, than that she is most disingenuously ungrateful, if she acknowledges not so much?

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[1] See the Declaration.

This paper, therefore, which is sent abroad on purpose to ensnare the members of our church, must not escape our animadversions; and, that we may the more effectually prevent its designed mischief, we will lay down every argument in the words of the paper, and endeavour that our discussing them may be with the greatest evenness and moderation.

In the first place then, we must make our remarks on the method taken to abuse the reader, by proposing but two considerations, and that very lamely too, for addressing; but as many more, with all the advantages imaginable, against it; thereby tempting the unwary to conclude, that the rendering his majesty their thanks was a thing most ridiculous: However, we'll propose those feeble arguments that are for addressing, with the clergy's answer, and try whether it is so easy a matter to blow them off the stage, as these gentlemen would have us think.

Reasons for this Address may be Two.

First, "That it may continue his majesty's favour; and the omission may irritate the treasury to demand a review of the first-fruits, to the full value, upon the fifth bond."

The Clergy's Answer.

As to the king's favour, if the known loyal principles and practices of the church of England, which evidenced themselves (one would think) so acceptable to this prince in the instance of the exclusion, and Monmouth, will not secure us, so not this address (which only copies out fanatical loyalty and gratitude) can continue it.

Yet our thanks at this time might not seem improper, if the favour of continuing the laws to us (which, perhaps, with all the endeavours to the contrary, cannot be repealed) were as great as the repealing those for the dissenters sake; which the presbyterian and independent addresses say, his majesty will engage his parliament to, and for which they principally give thanks.

Our Reply.

1. These gentlemen think they have done enough already to merit the continuance of his majesty's favour, because some of them were against the bill of exclusion, and endeavoured the suppression of Monmouth; not considering how many of our communion were the active persons, both in the matter of the exclusion and Monmouth. It is true, at that time some were very loyal, and but some. Consult the late king's narrative, and observe the rise and progress of that conspiracy, and you will find 'twas, from first to last, begun and carried on by church-of-England men: For, though the fanatics had their hand in it, yet they were not the only, nor the chief actors. If you go back so far as the excluding parliament, they were, five to one, church-of-England-men. Or, if you look on the contests about the sheriffs, you will find the church of England to be the chief in that transaction; and in truth, no one that had been a dissenter could act as a sheriff or common-council-man, until he had forsaken his communion with the dissenters, and incorporated himself with our church: So that what-

ever they did in these public capacities, they did it not as dissenters, but as members of the church of England. Come nearer home, to the late rebellion, and consider who were the heads of it, and it will appear that they were of the church of England. Or go down to Winchester, where were above four hundred of the meaner sort, and, except twenty or thirty, all declare themselves to be of the church of England. Or read Julian, a church-of-England divine, in which the doctrine of non-resistance is so much exploded, and you may soon be convinced, that the whole is said for resistance, is only for the encouragement of church-of-England-men to fight in defence of the religion by law established; not a word to affect a dissenter, whose religion is by statute-laws condemned.

So that our church must take the shame of all these things to herself, and confess she has more reason to insist on his majesty's grace than her own merit for the continuance of the king's favour. But,

2. It is granted by these gentlemen, That if the favour of continuing the laws to us were as great as the repealing those against the dissenters, it might not be improper to give thanks. So that it is confessed to be but just in the dissenters to make their addresses. And we doubt not but that we shall make it manifest, that such is the present state and constitution of the church of England, that 'tis as much in the power of the king to humble our clergy as 'tis to comfort the dissenter; and that our clergy are as much owing to the king's grace for the present exercise of their religion and enjoyment of their possessions, as the dissenters are for the indulgence. We mention not this to lessen his majesty's favour to the dissenter, but that you may see the transcendency of the king's grace to our church.

[1] The several acts of parliament recognizing the king's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical; the doctrine of the church of England seen in her articles, and the histories of Queen Elizabeth, and King James, and Charles I., relating to this very thing, do sufficiently declare, that such is the plenitude and fulness of the king's power in matters ecclesiastical, that he can by his ecclesiastical commissioners make new laws concerning rights and ceremonies, and impose new articles on the clergy, requiring their subscription on pains of suspension and deprivation. [2] Before the 13 Eliz. c. 12. subscriptions were enjoyn'd by the regal power; and though this statute required subscription, yet it being to the articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, comprized in a book imprinted and entitled, "Articles, &c." 'twas deemed by the bishops to be insufficient, who therefore apply themselves to their prince, that, by her majesty's power ecclesiastical, they might enjoin a fuller subscription; which accordingly they did, appointing subscription, not only to [3] the articles of faith and doctrines of the sacraments, but unto the government, the rites and ceremonies of the church; and such as refused this larger subscription, though they would readily subscribe, as by the same statute required, were suspended and deprived. And has not his present majesty the same power Queen Elizabeth had? Why then may he not make new laws about ceremonies, and require subscription to new articles? Besides, 'tis acknowledged, that whatever power ecclesiastical the popes did *de facto* exercise in this kingdom according to the canons,

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[1] See 1 Eliz. c. 2. towards the end. The queen's majesty, by the advice of her commissioners, or metropolitan, may ordain and publish such ceremonies and rites as may be most for the advancement of God's glory, &c. *Rex potest novas leges condere circa cæremonias et ritus, cum concilio metropolitani vel commissariorum in causis ecclesiasticis. Zouch. Descrip. Jur. Ecclesiast. par. 1. Sect. 2. Cosin. Tab. c. 1.*

[2] Subscriptions required before the 13 Eliz. c. 12. Heyl. Hist. Q. Eliz. an. 5. pag. 331.

[3] Not only the complaints of the nonconformists in their prints, but our histories so frequently mention it, that 'twould be troublesome to quote them all. We'll therefore mention what the lawyers say of it, and it is this, A subscription to the 39 articles, so far forth, as the articles do agree with the law of God and the land, is not good, as was adjudged in 33 and 34 Eliz. B. R. Clark against Smithfield. So Godolph. Abridg. Eccles. Laws, c. 13 §. 8. Besides the canon 36. enjoins this fuller subscription, That the king, as supream head, may do whatever the pope might formerly do within this realm, by canon law, is asserted, by all our lawyers generally. See Coke, 4 Instit. 341. Cawley. 1. Q. Eliz. c. 1. Godolph. Abridg. c. 1. §. 5, 6, 7. Zouch. Descrip. jure Eccles. p. 1. §. 1. Cosin, Tab. c. 16.

that same power *de jure* belongs to our kings; and 'tis also granted, that the canons of general councils, and the decrees of the Roman pontiffs, so far forth as they have been received by the permission of our kings and ancient custom, are still in force; and that these canons are daily violated by our clergy cannot be denied, especially in the matter of pluralities, which cannot be held but by a dispensation from the king, or at least by his confirming the archbishops. And will any say, that though the dispensation by which [1] any of our clergy hold their pluralities is derived from the king, yet the king cannot revoke them? Or may not his majesty's ecclesiastical commissioners make enquiry after those who have above 8l. per annum, and by a dispensation hold a second benefice, and judge of the first benefice, not according to the value in the king's books, but according to the very value of the church, as has been formerly adjudged? Or, as in the argument for addressing, may not the treasury demand a review of the first-fruits according to the full value? In a word, may not the king send out a *quo warranto* against the bishops, and demand by what power they hold courts in their own names, and finding nothing but prescription to be their plea, which can be no bar against the king, sufficiently humble our clergy? And, seeing his majesty, notwithstanding the many provocations he has met with from some of our clergy, is so far from exercising this power against our church, that, on the contrary, he is so unexpressibly gracious as to promise his protection, have we not the greatest reason gratefully to acknowledge it to the king?

Their affirming these addresses to copy out only fanatical loyalty and gratitude, is so very indecent, that we think it unworthy of further notice, judging their confidence also about the impossibility of repealing their laws to bear some proportion to the extravagance of their censure.

The Paper.

"Secondly, That it seems our duty to maintain unity with our bishop requiring it, and perhaps expecting it upon our canonical obedience, there being nothing *præter licitum et honestum.*"

Answer.

As to the bishop, 'tis conceived, that this is no instance of canonical obedience; nor is the duty of our unity with him apprehended to be such as disunites us from the most, the best, and soundest of the national clergy, who, we think, ought not, and, we believe, will not move in an affair which concerns the whole church equally, without their metropolitan and his bishops. Neither hath our bishop shewed any pastoral regard to us, unless it be in a treating us like children, in a very weak and passive minority, by requiring our submission to an address formed and worded to our hands, without our knowledge, not leaving us the liberty, and thinking us able to express the sense of our acts (or hearts) and therefore till bishops upon their consecration declare what faith they are of, as they did in the primitive church, for which the reasons are the same as then, to maintain unity with a bishop without caution is a principle that may lead us further than we ought to go.

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[1] The Lord C. J. Hobart asserts, That although the statute of 25 Hen. 8. c. 21, doth say, That all dispensations, &c. shall be granted in manner and form following, and not otherwise, yet the king is not thereby restrained, but his power remains as full and perfect as before. Colt and Glover against the Bishop of Covent. and Litchfield. Godolph. Abridg. c. 26. §. 12. *Nullum tempus occurrit regi.*—Orig. Note.

Reply.

I. There being so much reason why our clergy ought to make their address of thanks to the king, it would be very strange if such a practice cannot be found amongst the *licita* and *honesta* of our church; and if it comes within this pale, and the ordinary commands it, it's beyond us to conceive how disobedience in the clergy can escape the guilt of perjury. For the oath express'd in the instrument of the clergy's institution is in these words: *Te primitùs de legitima et canonica obedientia nobis et successoribus nostris, in omnibus licitis et honestis mandatis per te præstanda et exhibenda, ad sancta evangelia ritè juratum admittimus.* So that they are sworn to perform lawful and canonical obedience to their ordinary in all his lawful and honest mandates. The bishop then commands 'em to thank the king for his grace and clemency in a matter for which once heretofore they did it. Is this lawful or unlawful? honest or dishonest? Not unlawful nor dishonest; because when the king declared only to the council he would protect the church of England, they then judged it their duty; now the king doth but make the same declaration to the whole kingdom, and if not unlawful, and their ordinary commands it, they are bound by their oath to obey; how then can they disobey and not be at least forsworn? But,

II. How comes it to pass, that their obeying their ordinary disunites 'em from the most, the best, and soundest of the national clergy? What! are the whole clergy so insensible of the king's grace, that they'll not acknowledge it? what a prodigious change is this! And why must they not rather regard their own ordinary than the sense of others? If the matter required be (as we have proved it to be) lawful and honest, do they make nothing of an oath? and is church-of-England unity in danger of being broken? That surely is ominous, and no doubt will open the mouth both of papist and protestant dissenter. Is the church of England's case so desperate, that they must either be ungrateful to their prince or be divided among themselves? Furthermore,

[1] III. "Their bishop shews no pastoral regard to 'em, unless it be in treating 'em like children, by requiring their submission to an address worded to their hands, not leaving 'em the liberty to express the sense of their hearts." So the paper. And what hurt in all this? It's to be presumed, they will make more bold with their prince than with God: and therefore seeing they are not to be trusted when they make their addresses to God, how can they expect to be trusted when they apply themselves to their prince? Are not their prayers all worded to their hands? Have they liberty to express the sense of their hearts in publick? No, they have solemnly promised, they'll use the church-prayers, and none other; why then should they expect a liberty of expressing their sense when they are to address to the king? Ay, but,

IV. "Bishops upon their consecration should declare what faith they are of, as they did in primitive times." What's this but too high a reflection upon our church, an accusation that we are fallen from the primitive purity? Though it must be acknowledged that all the clergy subscribe, assent, and consent to the thirty-nine articles, &c. And is not that enough? Or have they forgotten how solemnly they did swear canonical obedience to their ordinary, that they now tell us, they must maintain unity with their bishop with caution; thereby encouraging even the nonconformists in their dissent?

But to the arguments against addressing.

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[1] They declare, That the Book of Common Prayer, and of Ordering of Bishops, &c. containeth nothing in it contrary to the word of God, and that it may be lawfully used, and that they will use the form in the said book prescribed, in public prayer and administration of the sacraments, and none other. Can. 36. Art. 2.
Orig. Note.

The Paper.

" Reasons against it are many; under the present circumstances, to instance in four.

First, "*As to our possessions*, it either equally concerns all estates of men in the kingdom, and ought then to be most particularly considered in parliament; or it supposes our possessions less legal, and more arbitrary, than other subjects."

Answer.

As for their possessions, they are settled on them in no other manner than they were on the clergy in Q. Elizabeth's and K. James the First's days, when, for not subscribing to articles never then enjoined by act of parliament, many hundreds of the clergy were suspended and deprived of all their ecclesiastical possessions: And should a strict enquiry be made into our clergy, it's to be feared that too many of 'em would be found so very guilty, as to deserve not only a suspension, but also a deprivation; and we therefore cannot think it to be the wisdom of our clergy to provoke the ecclesiastical commissioners to make a close search after their miscarriages, especially seeing deprivations have been anciently for dilapidations, and such like offences.

Argument II.

Secondly, " *As to* our religion, This address (referring to the declaration) necessarily herds among the various sects under the toleration, who, for suspending the laws have led the way in these addresses, owing their exercise of their religion to no legal establishment, but only to sovereign pleasure and indulgence, which at pleasure is revocable."

Answer.

I. They'll not deny but that they now agree with the other sects in dissenting from his majesty's religion, and are equally with them owing to the king's grace, and his most Christian principle, that conscience ought not to be constrained, for the protection the king vouchsafes them in the enjoyment of the free exercise of our religion. They see how easily the king can humble them; and, had he not been for liberty of conscience, he must esteem himself under the most powerful obligations of endeavouring it, and a change of our religion: Why then should they be so much against concurring with the various sects among us in rendering the king their thanks? What, shall the fanatic outdo us in point of ingenuity and gratitude?

II. They say that the dissenters owe the exercise of their religion to no legal establishment, but only to sovereign pleasure.

What a strange change is this! The other day, in the late king's reign, the cry, the general cry was, That the very legislative power was lodged in the breast of the king; but now, contrary to the very vitals of our government, they'll not allow him the entire enjoyment of the executive power. That the king may grant a dispensation, with a *non obstante* to any act of parliament,[1] as well as give out a particular pardon to the transgressors of any statute, and these particular dispensations and pardons may be given out to every particular subject that needs 'em, has been the avowed principle even of the greatest opposers of arbitrary government. Besides, in matters ecclesiastical, which comprehend the dissenters case, the sovereignty of the king is as full and compleat as any of his majesty's royal predecessors, and theirs the same with that power the popes did, *de facto,* exercise according to canon law, with a *non obstante* to a particular act of parliament.

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[1] If an act of parliament forbiddeth, under a penalty, and it prove inconvenient to divers particular persons, the law gives power to the king to dispense therewith. So Rolls and Coke. See 22 Car. 2. The author of

But what need we insist on these things? Have not the clergy gone higher in exalting the sovereign pleasure above all laws, even in civils, when, in the declaration that all our clergy subscribe, they distinguish between the sovereign pleasure of our king, and his authority or law; and that the law or authority, if it at any time falls in competition with the sovereign pleasure, must defere to sovereign pleasure, it being a traitorous practice to observe the law in opposition to any commissioned by sovereign power!

The Paper:

Thirdly, "This address is either designed in the name of the church of England, and then it ought to have had its birth at Lambeth, or a synodal convocation, or in the name of this diocese only, which then will both disjoint us one from another who differ about it, or from the rest of the national clergy, the best part of which, we are assured, dislike it in the present circumstances; so that the inevitable consequence of this address (set on foot by a few bishops independently on their metropolitan, and without the previous concurrence of the rest of their order) must be a fatal division among the clergy, and either beget a new schism, or widen the old ones, which are already too deplorable."

Answer.

One would think that the bishop and clergy of a diocese might safely enough make their address of thanks to the king, without the previous concurrence of the rest of their order, or consulting the metropolitan. For the union between bishop and bishop, and the dependence of all the bishops in a province on their metropolitan, ought to be comprehended within those matters that relate to purity of faith and manners; but is non-addressing a matter of faith, or addressing contrary to the rule of good manners, that it must not be adventured on without the advice of a college of bishops, or the leave of a metropolitan? But if we do more closely pursue this point, we shall find the constitution of our church to be such, that in all matters of consultation, the birth must not be at Lambeth, but at Whitehall. For what power superior to a single bishop hath the metropolitan, but what is *juris positivi,* and derived from the king, the fountain and source of all provincial and national church-power in these kingdoms? This surely must be granted by those that are not for a power derived either from a general council,[1] or from the Roman pontiff, and then it will inevitably follow, that his majesty in the first place is to be consulted, whose mind in this matter is sufficiently known; and it's as much the duty of the metropolitan to consult and obey the king,

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Jovian assures us, that the government of this kingdom consists in the imperial as well as the political laws; and whatever is required by the imperial laws, if not contrary to the laws of God, must be observed; so that, unless acts of parliament be *jure divino,* and the imperial law, or the word of the king, is to act contrary, we must obey.—*Jovian,* edit. 2. p. 205, 206.—*Orig. Note.*

[1] *Synodus provincialis vel nationalis convocari non debet absque principis rescripto; nec tractari, nec determinari aliquid potest in synodo, nisi consentiente et assentiente principe.* Cosin. Tab. c. 1.—*Orig. Note.*

the supreme ordinary of this national church, as it can be for a single bishop to regard his metropolitan; *for which reason* we think it a presumption, *very near* to what is unpardonable in the inferior clergy, to dispute what is agreeable to the sense both of their ordinary and supreme ordinary.

And as for the talk of schism, as if these, who are for addressing, must needs be schismatics, we only say, that making differences about matters of this nature to be schismatical, will tempt thoughtful men to conclude, that the outcries of schism against the non-conformists have been grounded on as little reason, and with as little justice.

The Paper.

Fourthly, "It will forfeit our reputation with the nobility, gentry, and commonalty of our communion, and may tempt them to disgust us for our rash compliance with suspected artifices, (which may rise hereafter against us, to our own and the church's prejudice) and to waver in the stedfastness of their own profession, when they see us owning the exercise of our established religion to be so precarious."

Answer.

Above twenty years together, without any regard to the nobility, gentry, and commonalty, our clergy have *been publishing to the world that the king can do greater* things than *are done in* his declaration; but now the scene is altered, and they are become more concerned to maintain their reputation even with the commonalty than with the king: Ay, they insinuate as if the nobility and gentry had taken up their religion on such a foundation as would be shaken by an address; and do moreover suggest as if the nobility and gentry are as little affected with his majesty's grace as themselves.

The Paper.

"May it not therefore be expedient humbly to remonstrate our scruples in this affair to our diocesan, and beseech him not to require our act, without consulting us in a thing of so public and national concernment, wherein we conceive ourselves obliged to proceed upon mature deliberation and united measures, which, under God and the king, are like to be our greatest safeguard?"

Answer.

Their duty is to consider whether they are more obliged to their metropolitan than to their diocesan. If they ought to regard their diocesan most, it's their duty to submit unto his sense of things, and not to revive the old way of remonstrating thus; but, if they judge themselves bound to regard their metropolitan more than their diocesan, we are sure that their obligation to the king, the supreme ordinary of the church of England, is much greater; and that they ought not to bring what he approves of under debate, especially considering the transcendency of his majesty's favour towards them, and that such discoveries of ingratitude may justly provoke the king to exercise his just prerogatives in matters ecclesiastical, and humble them.

In a word, we would, if possible, inculcate this on your thoughts, that our church of England lawyers have resolutely affirmed the king to be supreme ordinary,[1] and, by the ancient laws of this realm, may, without an act of parliament, make ordinances and institutions for the government of the clergy,[2] and may deprive them if they obey not. Moor, 755. c. 1043. Cro. Trin. 2 Jac. 37. Cawly, 1 Eliz. c. 1. And when the prince zealously espoused our churches quarrel, 'twas deemed by our clergy to be almost treason to suggest the contrary; and if you consult our histories, you'll see that Queen Elizabeth, in favour of our clergy, did many a *time* exercise this power. On her entering the throne, she sent out a proclamation, That no man (of what persuasion soever he was in the points of religion) should be suffered to preach in publick, but only such as should be licensed by her authority; on which occasion no sermon was preached at Paul's Cross,[3] or any publick place in London, from December until the Easter following; and by it, those that could not subscribe the articles enjoined merely by regal power were suspended and deprived. Whence we observe, that if this power be inherent in the imperial crown of England, as hitherto our clergy, in opposition to fanatick clamours, have over and over asserted, the clergy are undoubtedly owing to his majesty's clemency for the free exercise of their religion; for had not the king excelled Queen Elizabeth, of precious memory, in compassion and grace, their mouths would have been stopped long ago; on the other hand, if this power be not inherent in the crown, 'twill inevitably follow, that the non-conformists have been most unjustly treated by our clergy. To conclude, The last result will be this, our clergy must abide by their old avowed doctrine, defend the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, and acknowledge that it is to his majesty's grace they are owing for their present liberty, or condemn all their former practices against the dissenter, and turn over unto them: *Utrum horum.* Farewell.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

The humble Address of the Atheists, or the Sect of the Epicureans.

The king's extreme anxiety to obtain countenance for his favourite measure of a general indulgence, led him to solicit addresses from almost every class of men. For, as we learn from De Foe, even the Master, &c., of the Incorporated Body of Cooks about London were graciously received upon this pressing occasion. Their language was somewhat professional; for they compared the tolerating declaration to the Almighty's manna, which suited every one's palate, and professed the penal laws might be as well employed to regulate men's taste in eating as their ideas of religion.

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[1] In the address of the benchers and barristers of the Middle Temple, on occasion of the king's declaration, and which they signed with their several names, are the following extraordinary expressions: "And as for this compassion and goodness, thanks ought to be paid your majesty by all your subjects; so we especially of the profession of the law, have most reason to be thankful for the honour you have done us, by asserting your own royal prerogatives, which is the very life of the law, and our profession. Which prerogatives, as they were given by God himself so we declare that no power on earth can diminish them, for they must always remain entire, and inseparable to your royal person. Which prerogatives, as we have study'd to know them, so we are resolved to defend them, by asserting with our lives and fortunes that divine maxim, *a deo rex, a rege lex.*" *London Gazette, No.* 2250.

[2] See Cowley, 1. Eliz. c. I.

[3] Heylin's Hist. of Q. Eliz. p. 276.—*Orig. Notes.*

When such were the real addresses, exaggeration was impossible; ridicule, however, is attempted in the following tract.

Great Sir,

SINCE men of all factions and mispersuasions of religion have presented their thanks for your majesty's gracious declaration of liberty of conscience, we think ourselves obliged, as gentlemen, to bring up the rear, and become addressers too. We are sure there is no party of men more improved and advanced by your indulgence, both as to principles and proselytes of England, and our cabals are as full as your royal chapel; for your unlimited toleration has freed the nation from the troublesome bigotries of religion, and has taught men to conclude, that there is nothing sacred or divine but trade and empire, and nothing of such eternal moment as secular interest. Your majesty's universal indulgence hath introduced such unanswerable objections towards all religion, that many have given over the troublesome enquiry after truth, and set down that easy and happy inference, That all religion is a cheat. In particular, we can never sufficiently congratulate and admire that generous passage in your majesty's gracious declaration, wherein you have freed your people from the solemn superstition of oaths, and especially from those slavish ceremonious ones of supremacy and allegiance; and are pleased to declare, that *you expect no more from your people than what they are obliged to by the ancient law of nature*, and so have bravely given them leave to preserve and defend themselves according to the first chapter of nature's *magna charta.* Your majesty was pleased to wish that all your subjects were of your own religion, and perhaps every division wishes you were of theirs; but, for our parts, we freely declare, that if ever we should be obliged to profess any religion, we would prefer the church of Rome, which does not much trouble the world with the affairs of invisible beings, and is very civil and indulgent to the failings of human nature. That church can ease us from the grave fatigues of religion, and, for our moneys, allow us proxies both for piety and penances; we can easily swallow and digest a wafer deity, and will never cavil at the mass in an unknown tongue, when the sacrifice itself is so unintelligible. We shall never scruple the adoration of an image, when the chiefest religion is but imagination; and we are willing to allow the pope an absolute power to dispense with all penal laws in this world and in another. But, before we return to Rome, the greatest origin of atheism, we wish the pope and all his vassal princes would free the world from the fear of hell and devils, the inquisition and dragoons, and that he would take off the chimney-money of purgatory, and custom and excise of pardons and indulgencies, which are so much inconsistent with the flourishing trade and grandeur of the nation. As for the engagements of lives and fortunes, the common compliment of addressers, we confess we have a more peculiar tenderness for those most sacred concernments, but yet we will hazard them in defence of your majesty, with as much constancy and resolution as your majesty will defend your indulgence; that is, so far as the adventure will serve our designs and interest.

From the Devil Tavern, the fifth of November, 1688. Presented by Justice Baldock, and was graciously received.

From the Earl of Oxford's Collection.

Some sober and weighty Reasons against prosecuting Protestant Dissenters for Difference of Opinion in Matters of Religion. Humbly offered to the Consideration of all in Authority.

This tract seems designed to reconcile the church of England to the toleration, as if it were chiefly intended for the benefit of the protestant dissenters. But the truth is, that the protestant dissenters were, at the first publication of the indulgence, so elated with their victory over the church of England, so irritated at the remembrance of past severities, and so dazzled with the unexpected and unusual blaze of royal favour, that they were for a time ready to throw themselves into the arms or at the foot of the monarch. Wiser councils, and the considerations so admirably urged in the next treatise, made them sacrifice their triumph to security, and unite cordially with the church against the papists.

I. *Reason.* Because the great and mighty God, who is King of kings, and Lord of lords, hath not imposed matters of religion upon the consciences of men and women by any outward force; God hath not appointed death, nor banishment, nor imprisonment, nor loss of goods, as a means to bring persons to conform to the way of his worship; but God hath given his word, and favoured the world with such as can preach it, whose work is to invite, intreat, persuade, and not in a lordly way to domineer over the consciences of men and women, whether they be rich or poor.

II. *Reason.* Because all sorts of mankind are fallible in some divine matters, even in all countries; the princes, the priests, and the people, are yet short of infallibility in many matters of divinity; yea, the most eminent ministers of the gospel in the primitive time, confessed they saw but in part, and they knew but in part, and said to their fellow-Christians, that they would not lord or domineer over them, but be helpers of their joy.

III. *Reason.* Because all sorts of persons do desire this as a great good for themselves; even those that are for distressing of, and imposing upon others, would not be so dealt with themselves, but would account it hard measure, yea cruelty, to be forced to such things in religion as are against their consciences, or else to suffer in their purse or persons. As, for instance, the episcopal protestant would deem it great persecution to be punished if he would not turn presbyterian, independant, baptist, or quaker; and why then should the episcopal protestant take pleasure in punishing of, and so force any of the others to be of his mind? And therefore great and good reason it is to walk by that blessed rule Christ hath given, "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you, and what you would not others should do unto you, do not to them."

IV. *Reason.* Because forcing the conscience is the ready way to make men hypocrites; for, if persons conform to any way of worship unwillingly, they cannot serve God acceptably, though the matter and form of worship be never so right, because the heart of the worshippers is not right, the service being performed by man's compulsion; God requireth that his service should be performed with a perfect heart, and a willing mind: but he that conforms by compulsion, instead of being God's servant, he is but man's slave, and the conformity is to man, and not to God.

V *Reason.* Because his majesty did solemnly promise liberty of conscience in matters of religion, when he was at Breda, just upon his restoration to his throne and kingdoms, in April 1660, in these words: "We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence."

VI. *Reason* Because the prosecuting the protestant dissenters for matters of conscience, is a great disquieting of the minds of great numbers of his majesty's good subjects, and a great hindrance to the trade of the kingdom, the dissenters being a great part of the trading people of this kingdom; and something of this his majesty was graciously pleased to take into his princely consideration, when he put forth his indulging declaration, by the advice of his privy-council, in March 1672, after a violent prosecution of that act against conventicles, in these very words: "But it being evident by the sad experience of twelve years, that there is very little fruit of all those forcible courses, we think ourselves obliged to make use of that supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been declared and recognized to be so by several statutes and acts of parliament; and therefore we do now accordingly issue this our declaration, as well for the quieting of the minds of our good subjects in these points, as for inviting of strangers, in this conjuncture, to come and live under us, and for the better encouragement of all to a *chearful following of their trade and callings, from whence we hope, by the blessing of God, to have many good and happy advantages to our government.*"

VII. *Reason.* Because the lords and commons, assembled in parliament, since these declarations, have, upon mature deliberation, considered the ill consequences of prosecuting the protestant dissenters by the penal laws, and have shewed their willingness to a toleration, and prohibiting of a prosecution of protestants for matters of conscience.

VIII. *Reason.* Because the French protestants, who are the dissenters from the established worship of that kingdom, are graciously received by the king, and kindly received and succoured by the people of England, and the French king is highly blamed for persecuting his peaceable subjects; and therefore much more reason that protestants should not persecute one another, for it is to do the same things that is condemned in others: Therefore let the words of the Apostle Paul be well considered, Rom. ii. 1, "Thou art inexcusable, O man, whoever thou art, that judgest another, thou condemnest thyself, for thou that judgest doest the same things thyself;" ver. 3, "And thinkest thou, O man, that judgest them which do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?"

IX. *Reason.* There is a good and great agreement between the conforming and nonconforming protestants, in the chief things of the protestant religion; as, for instance, 1. Both parties believe in the Holy Trinity, viz. the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: 2. That Jesus Christ is very God and very man, and the only saviour of sinners: 3. That salvation doth depend upon the miraculous birth, the holy life, the painful death, the wonderful resurrection, the joyful ascension, the constant intercession, and the second coming of Jesus Christ: 4. Both parties believe that the worship of God, and the conversations of men, ought to be according to the Holy Scriptures, and not according to the inventions of any sort of mankind: 5. Both parties do deny all mediators but only Jesus Christ, and abhor praying to deceased saints: 6. Both parties deny a purgatory, and do believe and profess a heaven of eternal joy for the godly, and a hell of eternal woe for the wicked. All these things more largely and plainly are made manifest in confessions of faith, printed by the dissenting protestants, as well as by the conforming protestants. Now, the matters wherein they differ from each other being smaller than the former things, and yet such as each party cannot conform unto without wronging their conscience, and so sinning against God, therefore they ought not to be forced.

X. *Reason.* Because persecution for matters of conscience is a breach of the good rules of humanity, and common civility among all sorts of men, which is carefully observed in smaller matters; as, for instance, among the many creatures of God that are food for men's bodies, some things that are very pleasing and comfortable food for some men, the same things are very destructive to the health of other men. Now, in this case, there is such civility among all sorts of men, that they hate and scorn to force one another's stomachs, looking upon it to be an inhuman practice, and therefore do friendly say to each other, Pray eat that which will best go down, and agree with your stomach. Now, forasmuch as conscience is greater than stomach, and the hurt of the soul greater than the hurt of the body, how much more should persons, especially protestants, be thus friendly one to another in matters of conscience?

XI. *Reason.* Because all protestants ought to behave themselves towards each other as brethren, there being so good and great agreement between them in the chief things of religion, especially they being all in a like danger of the bloody papists, who, if ever the government should fall into their bloody hands, (which God of his mercy prevent) then the same miseries that may befal the protestant dissenters, will certainly befal the conforming protestants; if they prove true to their protestant principles, they will all be deemed heretics, and must suffer as much in their estates and persons; and, therefore, instead of persecuting one another, they should love each other, and pray for each other, and say, as Abraham said to Lot, "*Let there be no strife between me and thee, for we are brethren;*" and more especially because the popish Canaanite and Perrizite are now too much in the land.

XII. *Reason.* Because the protestant dissenters do not belong to any foreign power, but do abhor, detest, and protest against all foreign power or jurisdiction over the king, the kingdom, or any of his majesty's subjects; neither are they covetous of preferment in church or state, but willingly leave that to his majesty's wisdom, and desire only that they may live a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, under authority, as God's word doth direct.

A Letter to a Dissenter, upon occasion of his Majesty's late gracious Declaration of Indulgence. By George Marquis of Hallifax. 1687.

The Marquis of Hallifax, whose dexterity had been the active cause of throwing out the Bill of Exclusion, was in active opposition to King James ere he had held the throne two years, on which Ralph has the following sensible remarks:—"It is no uncommon thing for statesmen to look one way and row another: and yet there is scarce any circumstance of this reign more worthy of remark, than the inconsistent parts now acted by two such eminent men as the Marquis of Hallifax and the Earl of Sunderland, and the inconsistent behaviour of his majesty towards them. The latter, who had gone warmly into the exclusion, under a seeming conviction of the many evils likely to befal the public under a catholic king, and who was now the oracle of the cabinet, laboured with all his might to introduce those very evils, if not to entail them on posterity. The marquis, on the contrary, who had been indefatigable to shew that the exclusion alone was a greater evil than all those put together, and yet was now out of place and favour, for that reason probably, took as much pains to convince the world that his former triumph was but a lucky mistake, and rather owing to the superiority of his parts than the goodness of his cause. It is true, he talks in his letter to the dissenters against his being laughed out of his non-resistance and passive-obedience principles; but it is certain, from these meetings and measures, and his concern in them, he could not help foreseeing the next probable revolution he speaks of, nor being conscious that his own intrigues had a tendency to hasten it"—Ralph's *History, I.* 953.

Hallifax's object in the present tract is to prevent that dissention between the protestant non-conformists and the church of England, which the declaration was so likely to produce, and to unite them firmly against the papists.

Sir,

Since addresses are in fashion, give me leave to make one to you. This is neither the effect of fear, interest, or resentment; therefore you may be sure it is sincere: and for that reason it may expect to be kindly received. Whether it will have power enough to convince, dependeth upon the reasons, of which you are to judge; and upon your preparation of mind, to be persuaded by truth, whenever it appeareth to you. It ought not to be the less welcome for coming from a friendly hand, one whose kindness to you is not lessened by difference of opinion, and who will not let his thoughts for the publick be so tyed or confined to this or that sub-division of protestants as to stifle the charity, which, besides all other arguments, is at this time become necessary to preserve us.

I am neither surprised nor provoked, to see that in the condition you were put into by the laws, and the ill circumstances you lay under, by having the exclusion and rebellion laid to your charge, you were desirous to make yourselves less uneasy and obnoxious to authority. Men who are sore, run to the nearest remedy with too much haste to consider all the consequences: grains of allowance are to be given where nature giveth such strong influences. When to men under sufferings it offereth ease, the present pain will hardly allow time to examine the remedies: and the strongest reason can hardly gain a fair audience from our mind, whilst so possessed, till the smart is a little allayed.[1]

I do not know whether the warmth that naturally belongeth to new friendships may not make it a harder task for me to persuade you. It is like telling lovers, in the beginning of their joys, that they will in a little time have an end. Such an unwelcome stile doth not easily find credit: but I will suppose you are not so far gone in your new passion, but that you will hear still; and therefore I am under the less discouragement, when I offer to your consideration two things. The first is, the cause you have to suspect your new friends. The second, the duty incumbent upon you, in Christianity and prudence, not to hazard the publick safety, neither by desire of ease, nor of revenge.

To the first: Consider that, notwithstanding the smooth language which is now put on to engage you, these new friends did not make you their choice, but their refuge: they have ever made their first courtships to the church of England, and when they were rejected there, they made their application to you in the second place. The instances of this might be given in all times. I do not repeat them, because whatsoever is unnecessary must be tedious, the truth of this assertion being so plain as not to admit a dispute. You cannot therefore reasonably flatter yourselves, that there is any inclination to you. They never pretended to allow you any quarter, but to usher in liberty for themselves under that shelter. I refer you to Mr Coleman's letters, and to the journals of parliament, where you may be convinced, if you can be so mistaken as to doubt; nay, at this very hour, they can hardly forbear, in the height of their courtship, to let fall hard words of you. So little is nature to be restrained; it will start out sometimes, disdaining to submit to the usurpation of art and interest.

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[1] "It was hoped at court, that this fury against the church would have animated the dissenters to turn upon the clergy with some of that fierceness with which they themselves had been lately treated. Some few of the hotter dissenters answered their expectations. Angry speeches and virulent books were published, yet those were disowned by the wiser men among them: and the clergy, by a general agreement, made no answer to them."—Burnet, iii. 1221.

This alliance between liberty and infallibility is bringing together the two most contrary things that are in the world. The church of Rome doth not only dislike the allowing liberty, but by its principles it cannot do it. Wine is not more expressly forbidden to the Mahometans, than giving hereticks liberty is to papists: they are no more able to make good their vows to you, than men married before, and their wife alive, can confirm their contract with another. The continuance of their kindness would be a habit of sin, of which they are to repent, and their absolution is to be had upon no other terms, than their promise to destroy you. You are therefore to be hugged now, only that you may be the better squeezed at another time. There must be something extraordinary, when the church of Rome setteth up bills, and offereth plaisters, for tender consciences: By all that hath hitherto appeared, her skill in chirurgery lieth chiefly in a quick hand to cut off limbs; but she is the worst at healing of any that ever pretended to it.

To come so quick from another extreme is such an unnatural motion, that you ought to be upon your guard; the other day you were sons of Belial, now you are angels of light. This is a violent change, and it will be fit for you to pause upon it, before you believe it: If your features are not altered, neither is their opinion of you, whatever may be pretended. Do you believe less than you did, that there is idolatry in the church of Rome? Sure you do not. See then how they treat, both in words and writing, those who entertain that opinion. Conclude from hence, how inconsistent their favour is with this single article, except they give you a dispensation for this too, and by a *non obstante*, secure you that they will not think the worse of you.

Think a little how dangerous it is to build upon a foundation of paradoxes. Popery now is the only friend to liberty, and the known enemy to persecution: The men of Taunton and Tiverton are above all other eminent for loyalty.[1] The quakers, from being declared by the papists not to be Christians, are now made favourites, and taken into their particular protection; they are on a sudden grown the most accomplished men of the kingdom, in good breeding, and give thanks with the best grace, in double-refined language. So that I should not wonder, though a man of that persuasion, in spite of his hat, should be a master of the ceremonies.[2] Not to say harsher words, these are such very new things that it is impossible not to suspend our belief, till, by a little more experience, we may be informed whether they are realities or apparitions: We have been under shameful mistakes if these opinions are true; but for the present, we are apt to be incredulous; except we could be convinced, that the priests words in this case too, are able to make such a sudden and effectual change; and that their power is not limited to the sacrament, but that it extendeth to alter the nature of all other things as often as they are so disposed.

[1] Taunton and Tiverton were looked upon as most fanatical places, and their inhabitants had been forward in Monmouth's insurrection. But the citizens of both addressed the king upon the declaration of indulgence, and had been very favourably received.

[2] Alluding to the high favour of the celebrated William Penn, who used to be at Whitehall at least once a-day, as appears from his letter to Mr Popple, secretary to the Plantation Office.

Let me now speak of the instruments of your friendship, and then leave you to judge whether they do not afford matter of suspicion. No sharpness is to be mingled where healing only is intended; so nothing will be said to expose particular men, how strong soever the temptation may be, or how clear the proofs to make it out. A word or two in general, for your better caution, shall suffice: Suppose then, for argument's sake, that the mediators of this new alliance should be such as have been formerly employed in treaties of the same kind, and there detected to have acted by order, and to have been impowered to give encouragements and rewards, would not this be an argument to suspect them?

If they should plainly be under engagements to one side, their arguments to the other ought to be received accordingly; their fair pretences are to be looked upon as part of their commission, which may not improbably give them a dispensation in the case of truth, when it may bring a prejudice upon the service of those by whom they are employed.

If there should be men who, having formerly had means and authority to persuade, by secular arguments, have, in pursuance of that power, sprinkled money amongst the dissenting ministers; and if those very men should now have the same authority, practise the same methods, and disburse where they cannot otherwise persuade; it seemeth to me to be rather an evidence than a presumption of the deceit.

If there should be ministers amongst you, who, by having fallen under temptations of this kind, are in some sort engaged to continue their frailty, by the awe they are in, lest it should be exposed, the persuasions of these unfortunate men must sure have the less force; and their arguments, though never so specious, are to be suspected, when *they come from men who have mortgaged themselves to severe creditors*, that expect a rigorous observation of the contract, let it be never so unwarrantable.

If these, or any others, should at this time preach up anger and vengeance against the church of England, may it not without injustice be suspected, that a thing so plainly out of season springeth rather from corruption than mistake; and that those who act this cholerick part do not believe themselves, but only pursue higher directions, endeavour to make good that part of their contract which obliged them, upon a forfeiture, to make use of their inflaming eloquence? They might apprehend their wages would be retrenched if they should be moderate: And therefore, whilst violence is their interest, those who have not the same arguments, have no reason to follow such a partial example.

If there should be men, who, by the load of their crimes against the government, have been bowed down to comply with it against their conscience; who, by incurring the want of a pardon, have drawn upon themselves the necessity of an intire resignation: Such men are to be lamented, but not to be believed. Nay, they themselves, when they have discharged their unwelcome task, will be inwardly glad that their forced endeavours do not succeed, and are pleased when men resist their insinuations; which are far from being voluntary or sincere, but are squeezed out of them by the weight of their being so obnoxious.

If, in the height of this great dearness, by comparing things, it should happen, that at this instant there is much a surer friendship with those who are so far from allowing liberty, that they allow no living to a protestant under them; let the scene lie in what part of the world it will, the argument will come home, and sure it will afford sufficient ground to suspect. Apparent contradictions must strike us; neither nature nor reason can digest them: self-flattery, and the desire to deceive ourselves, to gratify a present appetite, with all their power, which is great, cannot get the better of such broad conviction as some things carry along with them. Will you call these vain and empty suspicions? Have you been at all times so void of fears and jealousies as to justify your being so unreasonably valiant, in having none upon this occasion? Such an extraordinary courage, at this unseasonable time, to say no more, is too dangerous a virtue to be commended.

If then, for these and a thousand other reasons, there is cause to suspect, sure your new friends are not to dictate to you, or advise you; for instance, the addresses that fly abroad every week, and murther us with another to the same; the first draughts are made by those who are not very proper to be secretaries to the protestant religion; and it is your part only to write them out fairer again. Strange! that you, who have been formerly so much against set forms, should now be content the priests should indite for you. The nature of thanks is an unavoidable consequence of being pleased or obliged; they grow in the heart, and from thence shew themselves either in looks, speech, writing, or action: No man was ever thankful, because he was bid to be so, but because he had, or thought he had, some reason for it. If then there is cause in this case to pay such extravagant acknowledgments, they will flow naturally, without taking such pains to procure them; and it is unkindly done, to tire all the post-horses with carrying circular letters, to sollicit that which would be done without any trouble or constraint: If it is really in itself such a favour, what needeth so much pressing men to be thankful, and with such eager circumstances, that where persuasions cannot delude, threatnings are employed to fright them into a compliance? Thanks must be voluntary, not only unconstrained, but unsollicited, else they are either trifles or snares; they either signify nothing, or a great deal more than is intended by those that give them. If an inference should be made, that whosoever thanketh the king for his declaration, is by that engaged to justify it in point of law, it is a greater stride than I presume all those care to make who are persuaded to address: if it shall be supposed, that all the thankers will be repealers of the test, whenever a parliament shall meet, such an expectation is better prevented before, than disappointed afterwards; and the surest way to avoid the lying under such a scandal, is not to do any thing that may give a colour to the mistake: These bespoken thanks are little less improper than love letters that were sollicited by the lady to whom they are to be directed; so that, besides the little ground there is to give them, the manner of getting them doth extremely lessen their value. It might be wished, that you would have suppressed your impatience, and have been content, for the sake of religion, to enjoy it within yourselves, without the liberty of a publick exercise, till a parliament had allowed it; but since that could not be, and that the artifices of some amongst you have made use of the well-meant zeal of the generality, to draw them into this mistake, I am so far from blaming you with that sharpness, which, perhaps, the matter in strictness would bear, that I am ready to err on the side of the more gentle construction.

There is a great difference between enjoying quietly the advantages of an act, irregularly done by others, and the going about to support it against the laws in being: The law is so sacred, that no trespass against it is to be defended; yet frailties may in some measure be excused when they cannot be justified. The desire of enjoying a liberty, from which men have been so long restrained, may be a temptation that their reason is not at all times able to resist. If, in such a case, some objections are leapt over, indifferent men will be more inclined to lament the occasion, than to fall too hard upon the fault, whilst it is covered with the apology of a good intention; but where, to rescue yourselves from the severity of one law, you give a blow to all the laws, by which your religion and liberty are to be protected, and instead of silently receiving the benefit of this indulgence, you set up for advocates to support it, you become voluntary aggressors, and look like counsel retained by the prerogative against your old friend Magna Charta, who hath done nothing to deserve her falling thus under your displeasure.

If the case then should be, that the price expected from you for this liberty, is giving up your right in the laws, sure you will think twice before you go any further in such a losing bargain. After giving thanks for the breach of one law, you lose the right of complaining of the breach of all the rest, you will not very well know how to defend yourselves when you are pressed; and having given up the question when it was for your advantage, you cannot recall it when it shall be to your prejudice. If you will set up at one time a power to help you, which at another time, by parity of reason, shall be made use of to destroy you, you will neither be pitied, nor relieved against a mischief you draw upon yourselves, by being so unreasonably thankful. It is like calling in auxiliaries to help, who are strong enough to subdue you: In such a case your complaints will come too late to be heard, and your sufferings will raise mirth instead of compassion.

If you think, for your excuse, to expound your thanks so as to restrain them to this particular case, others, for their ends, will extend them further; and in these differing interpretations, that which is backed by authority will be the most likely to prevail; especially when, by the advantage you have given them, they have in truth the better of the argument, and that the inferences from your own concessions are very strong and express against you. This is so far from being a groundless supposition, that there was a late instance of it, the last session of parliament, in the House of Lords, where the first thanks, though things of course, were interpreted to be the approbation of the king's whole speech, and a restraint from the further examination of any part of it, though never so much disliked; and it was with difficulty obtained, not to be excluded from the liberty of objecting to this mighty prerogative of dispensing, meerly by this innocent and usual piece of good manners, by which no such thing could possibly be intended.

This sheweth that some bounds are to be put to your good breeding, and that the constitution of England is too valuable a thing to be ventured upon a compliment. Now that you have for some time enjoyed the benefit of the end, it is time for you to look into the danger of the means; the same reason that made you desirous to get liberty, must make you solicitous to preserve it; so that the next thought will naturally be, not to engage yourself beyond retreat, and to agree so far with the principles of all religions as not to rely upon a death-bed repentance.

There are certain periods of time, which, being once past, make all cautions ineffectual, and all remedies desperate. Our understandings are apt to be hurried on by the first heats, which, if not restrained in time, do not give us leave to look back till it is too late. Consider this in the case of your anger against the church of England, and take warning by their mistake in the same kind, when, after the late king's restoration, they preserved so long the bitter taste of your rough usage to them in other times, that it made them forget their interest, and sacrifice it to their revenge.

Either you will blame this proceeding in them, and for that reason not to follow it, or, if you allow it, you have no reason to be offended with them; so that you must either dismiss your anger, or lose your excuse, except you should argue more partially than will be supposed of men of your morality and understanding.

If you had now to do with those rigid prelates who made it a matter of conscience to give you the least indulgence, but kept you at an uncharitable distance, and even to your more reasonable scruples continued stiff and inexorable, the argument might be fairer on your side; but, since the common danger hath so laid open that mistake, that all the former haughtiness towards you is for ever extinguished, and that it hath turned the spirit of persecution into a spirit of peace, charity, and condescension, shall this happy change only affect the church of England? And are you so in love with separation as not to be moved by this example? It ought to be followed, were there no other reason than that it is a virtue; but when, besides that, it is become necessary to your preservation, it is impossible to fail the having its effect upon you.

If it should be said that the church of England is never humble but when she is out of power, and therefore loseth the right of being believed when she pretendeth to it, the answer is, first, it would be an uncharitable objection, and very much mistimed, an unseasonable triumph, not only ungenerous, but unsafe; so that, in these respects, it cannot be urged without scandal, even though it could be said with truth. Secondly, This is not so in fact, and the argument must fall, being built upon a false foundation; for whatever may be told you, at this very hour, and in the heat and glare of your present sun-shine, the church of England can, in a moment, bring clouds again, and turn the royal thunder upon your heads, blow you off the stage with a breath, if she would give but a smile or a kind word; the least glympse of her compliance would throw you back into the state of suffering, and draw upon you all the arrears of severity which have accrued during the time of this kindness to you; and yet the church of England, with all her faults, will not allow herself to be rescued by such unjustifiable means, but chuseth to bear the weight of power rather than lie under the burthen of being criminal.

It cannot be said that she is unprovoked; books and letters come out every day to call for answers, yet she will not be stirred. From the supposed authors and the stile, one would swear they were undertakers, and had made a contract to fall out with the church of England. There are lashes in every address, challenges to draw the pen in every pamphlet; in short, the fairest occasions in the world given to quarrel, but she wisely distinguisheth between the body of dissenters, whom she will suppose to act, as they do, with no ill intent, and these small skirmishers picked and sent out to picqueer and to begin a fray amongst the protestants, for the entertainment as well as the advantage of the church of Rome.

This conduct is so good, that it will be scandalous not to applaud it; it is not equal dealing to blame our adversaries for doing ill, and not to commend them when they do well.

To hate them because they persecuted, and not to be reconciled to them when they are ready to suffer, rather than receive all the advantages that can be gained by a criminal compliance, is a principle no sort of Christians can own, since it would give an objection to them never to be answered.

Think a little who they were that promoted your former persecutions, and then consider how it will look to be angry with the instruments, and, at the same time, to make a league with the authors of your sufferings.

Have you enough considered what will be expected from you? Are you ready to stand in every borough by a virtue of a *conge d' eslire*, and, instead of election, be satisfied if you are returned?

Will you, in parliament, justify the dispensing power, with all its consequences, and repeal the test, by which you will make way for the repeal of all the laws that were made to preserve your religion, and to enact others that shall destroy it?

Are you disposed to change the liberty of debate into the merit of obedience, and to be made instruments to repeal or enact laws, when the Roman consistory are lords of the articles?

Are you so linked with your new friends as to reject any indulgence a parliament shall offer you, if it shall not be so comprehensive as to include the papists in it?

Consider that the implied conditions of your new treaty are no less than that you are to do every thing you are desired, without examining, and that, for this pretended liberty of conscience, your real freedom is to be sacrificed; your former faults hang like chains still about you; you are let loose only upon bail; the first act of non-compliance sendeth you to jail again.

You may see that the papists themselves do not rely upon the legality of this power which you are to justify, since they being so very earnest to get it established by a law, and the doing such very hard things in order, as they think, to obtain it, is a clear evidence that they do not think that the single power of the crown is in this case a good foundation, especially when this is done under a prince so very tender of all the rights of sovereignty, that he would think it a diminution to his prerogative where he conceiveth it strong enough to go alone to call in the legislative help to strengthen and support it.

You have formerly blamed the church of England, and not without reason, for going so far as they did in their compliance, and yet, as soon as they stopped, you see they are not only deserted, but prosecuted; conclude, then, from this example, that you must either break off your friendship, or resolve to have no bounds in it. If they do not succeed in their design, they will leave you first; if they do, you must either leave them when it will be too late for your safety, or else, after the squeaziness of starting at a surplice, you must be forced to swallow transubstantiation.

Remember that the other day those of the church of England were trimmers for enduring you, and now, by a sudden turn, you are become the favourites; do not deceive yourselves; it is not the nature of lasting plants thus to shoot up in a night; you may look gay and green for a little time, but you want a root to give you a continuance. It is not so long since as to be forgotten that the maxim was, It is impossible for a dissenter not to be a REBEL. Consider at this time in France even the new converts are so far from being employed, that they are disarmed; their sudden change maketh them still to be distrusted, notwithstanding that they are reconciled; what are you to expect then from your dear friends, to whom, whenever they shall think fit to throw you off again, you have in other times given such arguments for their excuse?

Besides all this, you act very unskilfully against your visible interest, if you throw away the advantages of which you can hardly fail in the next probable revolution. Things tend naturally to what you would have, if you would let them alone, and not by an unseasonable activity lose the influences of your good star, which promiseth you every thing that is prosperous.

The church of England, convinced of its error in being severe to you; the parliament, whenever it meeteth, sure to be gentle to you; the next heir bred in the country which you have so often quoted for a pattern of indulgence; a general agreement of all thinking men, that we must no more cut ourselves off from the protestants abroad, but rather enlarge the foundations upon which we are to build our defences against the common enemy; so that, in truth, all things seem to conspire to give you ease and satisfaction, if, by too much haste to anticipate your good fortune, you do not destroy it.

The protestants have but one article of human strength to oppose the power which is now against them, and that is, not to lose the advantage of their numbers, by being so unwary as to let themselves be divided.

We all agree in our duty to our prince; our objections to his belief do not hinder us from seeing his virtues, and our not complying with his religion hath no effect upon our allegiance; we are not to be laughed out of our passive obedience and the doctrine of non-resistance, though even those who perhaps owe the best part of their security to that principle are apt to make a jest of it.

So that if we give no advantage by the fatal mistake of misapplying our anger, by the natural course of things, this danger will pass away like a shower of hail; fair weather will succeed, as lowring as the sky now looketh, and all by this plain and easy receipt. Let us be still, quiet, and undivided, firm at the same time to our religion, our loyalty, and our laws; and, so long as we continue this method, it is next to impossible that the odds of two hundred to one should lose the bett, except the church of Rome, which hath been so long barren of miracles, should now, in her declining age, be brought to bed of one that would out-do the best she can brag of in her legend.

To conclude, the short question will be, Whether you will join with those who must in the end run the same fate with you. If protestants of all sorts, in their behaviour to one another, have been to blame, they are upon the more equal terms, and, for that very reason, it is fitter for them now to be reconciled. Our dis-union is not only a reproach, but a danger to us; those who believe in modern miracles have more right, or at least more excuse, to neglect all secular cautions; but for us, it is as justifiable to have no religion, as wilfully to throw away the human means of preserving it.

I am,
Dear Sir,
Your most affectionate
Humble servant,
T. W.

Roman Catholic Principles, in reference to God and the King.

The declaration of indulgence was both preceded and followed by one of the most fierce polemical controversies between catholics and protestants which ever agitated England. Burnet, who was deeply engaged in it, gives the following account of the manner in which it was carried on by the church of England:—" Many of the clergy acted now a part that made good amends for past errors. They began to preach generally against popery, which the dissenters did not. They set themselves to study the points of controversy; and, upon that, there followed a great variety of small books that were easily purchased and soon read. They examined all the points of popery with a solidity of judgment, a clearness of arguing, a depth of learning, and a vivacity of writing, far beyond any thing that had before that time appeared in our language. The truth is, they were very unequally yoked; for, if they are justly to be reckoned among the best writers that have yet appeared on the protestant side, those they wrote against were certainly among the weakest that had ever appeared on the popish side. Their books were poorly, but insolently writ, and had no other learning in them but what was taken out of some French writers which they put into very bad English; so that a victory over them might have been but a mean performance.

" This had a mighty effect on the whole nation: Even those who could not search things to the bottom, yet were amazed at the great inequality that appeared in this engagement. The papists, who knew what service the Bishop of Meaux's book had done in France, resolved to pursue the same method here, in several treatises, which they entitled, ' Papists Represented and Misrepresented;' to which such clear answers were writ, that what effect soever that artifice might have where it was supported by the authority of a great king, and the terror of ill usage and a dragoonade in conclusion, yet it succeeded so ill in England, that it gave occasion to enquire into the true opinions of that church, not as some artful writers had disguised them, but as they are laid down in the books that are of authority among them, such as the decisions of council received among them and their established offices, and as they are held at Rome, and in all those countries where popery prevails without any intermixture with hereticks, or apprehension of them, as in Spain and Portugal. This was done in so authentical a manner, that popery itself was never so well understood by the nation as it came to be upon this occasion.

" The persons who managed and directed this controversial war were chiefly Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tennison, and Patrick; next them were Sherlock, Williams, Claget, Gee, Aldrich, Atterbury, Whitby, Hooper; and, above all these, Wake, who, having been long in France chaplain to the Lord Preston, brought over with him many curious discoveries that were both useful and surprising. Besides the chief writers of those books of controversy, there were many sermons preached and printed on those heads that did very much edify the whole nation. And this matter was managed with that concert, that, for the most part once a-week, some new book or sermon came out which both instructed and amused those who read them."—Burnet, *ut supra*, III. 1148.

The above quotation may serve as a general introduction to most of the polemical tracts which follow. The first is a vindication of the principles of the Roman catholic church.

PARAGRAPH I.

Of the Catholick Faith, and Church in general.

Redemption in Christ.

I. The fruition of God, and remission of sin, is not attainable by man, otherwise then [1] in and by the merits of Jesus Christ, who (gratis) purchased it for us.

Applicable by faith.

II. These merits of Christ are not apply'd to us otherwise than by a right [2] faith in Christ.

Which is but one.

III. This faith is but [3] one, entire and conformable to its object, being divine revelations; to all which [4] faith gives an undoubted assent.

Supernatural.

IV. These revelations contain many mysteries [5] transcending the natural reach of human wit or industry; wherefore,

By the Divine Providence to be learnt.

V. It became the divine wisdom and goodness to provide man of some [6] way or means whereby he might arrive to knowledge of these mysteries; means [7] visible and apparent to all; means [8] proportionable to the capacities of all; means [9] sure and certain to all.

Nor from private interpretation of scripture.

VI. This way or means is not the reading of scripture, interpreted according to the private [10] reason or [11] spirit of every disjunctive person, or nation in particular; but,

And guided by the Holy Ghost for that end.

VII. *It is an attention and submission* [12] *to the doctrine of the catholick or universal church, established by Christ for the instruction of all,* [13] spread for that end throughout all nations, and visibly continued in the succession of pastors and people throughout all ages; from which church [14] guided in truth, and secured from error in matters of faith, by the [15] promised assistance of the Holy Ghost, every one may and ought to [16] learn both the right sense of the scripture, and all other Christian mysteries and duties, respectively necessary to salvation.

This church is the same with the Roman catholick.

VIII. This church, thus spread, thus guided, thus visibly continued, [17] in one uniform faith and subordination of government, is that self same which is termed the Roman catholic church; the qualifications above-mentioned, viz. unity, indeficiency, visibility, succession, and universality, being applicable to no other church or assembly whatsoever.

From the testimony of which we receive the scripture to be God's word.

IX. From the testimony and authority of this church it is that we receive and believe the scriptures to be God's word. And as she can [18] assuredly tell us this or that book is God's word, so can she, with the like assurance, tell us also the true sense and meaning of it in controverted points of faith; the same Spirit that wrote the scripture [19] enlightning her to understand both it and all matters necessary to salvation. From these grounds it follows,

Divine revelations only matters of faith.

X. All, and only divine revelations delivered by God unto the church, and proposed by her to be believed as such, are and ought to be esteemed articles of faith, and the contrary opinions heresy. And,

What heresy, and what schism.

XI. As an obstinate separation from the unity of the church, in known declared matters of faith, is formal [1] heresy, so a wilful separation from the visible unity of the same church, in masters of subordination and government, is formal schism.

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[1] Eph. ii. 8. 1 Cor. xv. 22.

[2] Mark xvi. 16. Heb. xi. 6.

[3] Eph. iv. 4.

[4] James ii. x.

[5] 1 Cor. i. 20. Matt. xvi. 17.

[6] Isa. xxxv. 8.

[7] Joh. ix. 41.

[8] Matt. xi. 25.

[9] Joh. xv. 22.

[10] 2 Pet. iii. 16. Prov. xiv. 12. Mat. xxii. 29.

[11] 1 John iv 1, and 6. Prov. xii. 15.

[12] Matt. xviii. 17. Luke x. 16.

[13] Psal. ii. 8. Isai ii. 2, &c., xlix. 6. Mat. v 14.

[14] Isai. lix. 21. John xvi. 13. Ezek. xxxvii. 26. Eph. v. 25. 1 Tim. iii. 15. Mat. xvi. 18.

[15] Matt. xxviii. 23. John xiv. 16.

[16] Deut. xvii. 8. Matt. xxiii 2.

[17] Cant. vi. 8. John x 16 Rom. xv. 5. John xvii. 22. Phil. ii. 2.

[18] Matt. xvi. 18. 1 Tim iii. 15. Matt. xviii. 17.

[19] Isa. lix. 21. John xiv. 26.

How matters of faith are proposed by the church.

XII. The church proposes unto us matters of faith; first, and chiefly, by the [2] holy scripture, in points plain and intelligible in it. Secondly, by [3] definitions of general councils, in points not sufficiently explained in scripture. Thirdly, by [4] apostolical tradition derived from Christ and his apostles, to all succeeding ages. Fourthly, by her [5] practice, worship, and ceremonies, confirming her doctrine.

SECT. II.

Of Spiritual and Temporal Authority.

What is the authority of general councils.

General councils (which are the church of God representative) have no commission from Christ to frame new matters of faith, (these being sole divine revelations,) but only to [6] explain and ascertain unto us what antiently was and is received and retained as of faith in the church, upon arising debates and controversies about them The definitions of which, general councils in matters of faith only, and proposed as such, oblige, under pain of heresy, all the faithful to a submission of judgment. But,

An explanation of the same authority.

II. It is no article of faith to believe that general councils cannot err, either in matters of fact or discipline, alterable by circumstances of time and place, or in matters of speculation, or civil policy, depending on mere human judgment or testimony; neither of these being divine revelations [7] deposited in the catholick church, in regard to which alone she hath the [8] promised assistance of the Holy Ghost. Hence it is deduced,

III. If a general council (much less a papal consistory,) should undertake to depose a king, and absolve his subjects from his allegiance, no catholick (as catholick) is bound to submit to such a decree. Hence also it follows:

A deduction from thence concerning allegiance.

IV. The subjects of the king of England lawfully may, without the least breach of any catholick principle, renounce (even upon oath) the teaching or practising the doctrine of deposing kings excommunicated for heresy, by any authority whatsoever, as repugnant to the [9] fundamental laws of the nation, injurious to sovereign power, destructive to the peace and government, and, by consequence, in his majesty's subjects, impious and damnable; yet not properly heretical, taking the word heretical in that con-natural genuine sense as it is usually understood in the catholick church, on account of which, and other expressions, (no wise appertaining to loyalty) it is that catholicks of tender consciences refuse the oath commonly called the oath of allegiance.

A second deduction concerning the same.

The Bishop of Rome supreme head of the church, but not infallible.

V. Catholics believe that the bishop of Rome is the successor of St Peter, [10] vicar of Jesus Christ upon earth, and the head of the whole church; which church is therefore fitly styled Roman catholick, being an universal body [11] united under one visible head. Nevertheless,

VI. It is no matter of faith to believe that the pope is in himself infallible, separated from a general council, even in expounding the faith; by consequence, papal definitions or decrees, though *ex cathedrâ*, as they term them, (taken exclusively from a general council, or universal acceptance of the church,) oblige none, under pain of heresy, to an interior assent.

Nor hath any temporal authority over princes.

VII. Nor do catholicks (as catholicks) believe that the pope hath any direct or indirect authority over the temporal power and jurisdiction of princes. Hence, if the pope should pretend to absolve or dispense with his majesty's subjects from their allegiance, upon account of heresy or schism, such dispensation would be vain and null; and all catholick subjects (notwithstanding such dispensation or absolution) would be still bound in conscience to defend their king and country, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, even against the pope himself, in case he should invade the nation

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[1] 1 Cor. xi. 19. Matt. xviii. 17. [2] John v. 39. [3] Acts xv. *per tot.*
[4] 2 Thess. ii. 15, chap. iii. 6. 2 Tim. ii. 2 [5] Jam. ii. 18. [6] Gal. i. 7, 8. Deut. xvii. 8.
Matt. xviii. 17. Act. xv. *per tot.* Luc. x. 16. Heb. xiii. 7, 17. [7] 1 Tim. vi. 20. [8] Jo. xiv. 16.
[9] *Declar. fac. Sorb.* [10] Matt, xvi. 17. Luc. xxii. 31. Jo. xxi. 17. [11] Eph. vi. 11, &c.

The church not responsible for the errors of particular divines.

VIII. And as for the problematical disputes, or errors of particular divines. in this or any other matter whatsoever, the catholick church is no wise responsible for them; nor are catholicks (as catholicks) justly punishable on their account. But,

King-killing doctrine damnable heresy.

IX. As for the king-killing doctrine, or murder of princes excommunicated for heresy, it is an article of faith in the catholick church, and expressly declared in the general council of [1] Constance, that such doctrine is damnable and heretical, being contrary to the known laws of God and nature.

Personal misdemeanors not to be imputed to the church.

X. Personal misdemeanors, of what nature soever, ought not to be imputed to the catholick church, when not justifiable by the tenets of her faith and doctrine; for which reason, though the stories of the Paris massacre, the Irish cruelties, or powder-plot, had been exactly true, (which yet, for the most part, are notoriously misrelated,) nevertheless, catholicks, (as catholicks) ought not to suffer for such offences any more than the eleven apostles ought to have suffered for Judas's treachery.

No power on earth can authorise men to lie, forswear, murder, &c.

XI. It is an article of the catholick faith to believe that no power on earth can license men to lie, to forswear, and perjure themselves, to massacre their neighbours, or destroy their native country, on pretence of promoting the catholic cause or religion: Furthermore, all pardons and dispensations granted, or pretended to be granted, in order to any such ends or designs, have no other validity or effect than to add sacrilege and blasphemy to the above-mentioned crimes.

Equivocation not allowed in the church.

XII. The *doctrine of equivocation or mental reservation*, however wrongfully imposed upon *the catholick religion*, is, notwithstanding, neither taught nor approved by the church as any part of her belief. On the contrary, [2] simplicity and godly sincerity are constantly recommended by her as truly Christian virtues, necessary to the conservation of justice, truth, and common security.

SECT. III.

Of some particular controverted Points of Faith.

Of sacramental absolution.

I. Every catholick is obliged to believe that when a sinner [3] repents him of his sins from the bottom of his heart, and [4] acknowledges his trangressions to God and his [5] ministers, the dispensers of the mysteries of Christ, resolving to turn from his evil ways, [6] and bring forth fruits worthy of penance, there is then, and no otherwise, an authority left by Christ to absolve such a penitent sinner from his sins; which authority Christ gave his [7] apostles, and their successors, the bishops and priests of the catholick church, in those words, when he said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven unto them," &c.

Of satisfaction by penitential works.

II. Though no creature whatsoever can make [8] condign satisfaction either for the guilt of sin or the pain eternal due to it, [9] this satisfaction being proper to Christ our Saviour only, yet penitent sinners redeemed by Christ may, as members of Christ, in some measure, [10] satisfy by prayer, fasting, alms-deeds, and other works of piety, for the temporal pain which, by order of Divine Justice, sometimes remains due after the guilt of sin and pains eternal are (gratis) remitted. These penitential works are, notwithstanding, satisfactory no otherwise than as joined and apply'd to that satisfaction which Jesus made upon the cross, in virtue of which alone all our good works find a grateful [1] acceptance in God's sight.

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[1] *Conc. Const. Sess.* 15.
[2] 2 Cor. i. 10.
[3] Ez. xviii. 21. 2 Cor. vii. 10.
[4] Psal. xxxii. 5. Prov. xxviii. 13.
[5] Acts xix. 18. 1 Cor. iv. 1. Jam. v, 16.
[6] Lu. iii. 8.
[7] Joh. xx. 21, &c. Matt. xviii. 18.
[8] Tit. iii. 5.
[9] 2 Cor. v. 3.
[10] Acts xxvi. 20. Jonas iii. 5, &c. Ps. cii. 9, &c. Psal. cix. 23. Dan. ix. 3. Joel ii. 12. Luke xi. 41. Acts x. 41.

Indulgences are not remission of sins, but only of canonical penances.

III. The guilt of sin, or pain eternal due to it, is never remitted by indulgences; but only such [2] temporal punishments as remain due after the guilt is remitted, these indulgences being nothing else than a [3] mitigation or relaxation upon just causes of canonical penances, enjoyed by the pastors of the church on penitent sinners, according to their several degrees of demerit. And if any abuses or mistakes be committed in point either of granting or gaining indulgences, through the remisness or ignorance of particular persons, contrary to the antient custom and discipline of the church, such abuses or mistakes cannot rationally be charged on the church, nor rendered matter of derision, in prejudice to her faith and doctrine.

Abuses herein not to be charged on the church.

There is a purgatory or state, where souls departing this life with some blemish are purified.

IV. Catholicks hold there is a purgatory, that is to say, a place where souls departing this life, with remission of their sins, as to the eternal guilt or pain, are yet [4] obnoxious to some temporal punishment still remaining due, or not perfectly freed from the blemish of some [5] venial defects or deordinations, (as idle words, &c. not liable to damnation) are [6] purged before their admittance into heaven, where nothing that is [7] defiled can enter. Furthermore,

Prayers for the dead available to them.

V. Catholicks also hold, that such souls so detained in purgatory, being the living members of Christ Jesus, are relieved by the [8] prayers and suffrages of their fellow members here on earth: But where this place is? Of what nature or quality the pains are? How long each soul is detained there? After what manner the suffrages made in their behalf *are applyed? Whether by way of satisfaction or intercession, &c.* are questions superfluous and impertinent as to faith.

Superfluous questions about purgatory.

Of the merit of good works, through the merits of Christ.

VI. No man, though just, [9] can merit an increase of sanctity or happiness in this life, or eternal glory in the next, independent on the merit and passion of Christ Jesus; [10] the good works of a just man, proceeding from grace and charity, are acceptable to God, so far forth, as to be, through his goodness and sacred promise, truly meritorious of eternal life.

Christ really present in the sacrament of the Eucharist.

VII. It is an article of the catholick faith, that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, there is truly and really contained the [11] body of Christ, which was delivered for us, and his blood, which was shed for the remission of sins; the substance of bread and wine being, by the powerful words of Christ, changed into the substance of his blessed body and blood, the species or accidents of bread and wine still remaining. Thus,

But after a supernatural manner.

VIII. Christ is not present in this sacrament, according to his natural way of existence, that is, with extension of parts in order to place, &c. but after a supernatural manner, one and the same in many places, and whole in every part of the symbols. This therefore is a real, substantial, yet sacramental presence of Christ's body and blood, not exposed to the external senses, or obnoxious to corporal contingencies.

Whole Christ in either species, hence communicants under one kind no wise deprived either of the body or blood of Christ.

IX. Neither is the body of Christ, in this holy sacrament, separated from his blood, or his blood from his body, or either of both disjoined from his soul and divinity, but all and whole [12] living Jesus is entirely contained under either species; so that whosoever receives under one kind, is truly partaker of the whole sacrament, and no wise deprived either of the body or blood of Christ. True it is,

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[1] 1 Peter ii. 5. [2] 1 Cor. v. 5, &c. [3] 2 Cor. ii. 6. [4] Numb. xiv. 20, &c. 2 Sam. xii. 13, &c.
[5] Prov. xxiv. 16. Mat. xii. 36 and cap. v. 22, 26. [6] Mat. v. 26. 1 Cor. iii. 15.
[7] Rev. xxi. 27. [8] 1 Cor. xv. 29. Coll. i. 24. 2 Macc. xii. 42, &c. 1 Jo. v. 16.
[9] Jo. xv. 5, 16. [10] Mat. xvi. 27. cap. v. 12. cap. x. 42. 2 Cor. v. 10. 2 Tim. xlviii.
[11] Mat. xxvi. 26. Mar. xiv. 22. Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 23, &c. cap. x. 16.
[12] Jo. vi. 48, 50, 51, 57, 58. Acts ii. 42.

X. Our Saviour Jesus Christ, left unto us his body and blood, under two distinct species or kinds; in doing of which, he instituted not only a sacrament, but also a sacrifice;[1] a commemorative sacrifice distinctly[2] shewing his death or bloody passion, until he come. For as the sacrifice of the cross was performed by a distinct effusion of blood, so is the same sacrifice commemorated in that of the[3] altar, by a distinction of the symbols. Jesus therefore is here given not only to us, but[4] for us; and the church thereby enriched with a true, proper, and propitiatory[5] sacrifice, usually termed mass.

Of the sacrifice of the mass.

XI. Catholicks renounce all divine worship and adoration of images or pictures.[6] God alone we worship and adore; nevertheless we make use of pictures, and place them in[7] churches and oratories, to reduce our wandering thoughts, and enliven our memories towards heavenly things. And further, we allow a certain honour and veneration to the picture of Christ, of the Virgin Mary, &c. beyond what is due to every prophane figure; not that we believe any *divinity of virtue in the pictures themselves*, for which they ought to be honoured, but because the honour given to pictures is referred to the prototype, or things represented. In like manner,

Worship of images wrongfully imposed on catholicks. *Yet there is* some veneration due both *to pictures* and other sacred things.

XII. There is a kind of honour and veneration respectively due to the Bible, to the cross, to the name of Jesus, to churches, to the sacrament, &c. as[8] things peculiarly appertaining to God; also to the[9] glorified saints in heaven, as domestick friends of God; yea[10] to kings, magistrates, and superiors on earth, as the vicegerents of God; to whom honour is due, honour may be given, without any derogation to the majesty of God, or that divine worship appropriate to him. Furthermore,

XIII. Catholicks believe, that the blessed saints in heaven, replenished with charity,[11] pray for us *their fellow members here on earth*; that they[12] rejoyce at our conversion; that seeing God, they[13] *see and know* in him all things suitable to their happy state, but God is inclinable to hear their requests made in our behalf,[14] and for their sakes grant us many favours; that therefore it is good and profitable to desire their intercession: and that this manner of invocation is no more injurious to Christ our mediator, or superabundant in itself, than it is for one Christian to beg the prayer and assistance of[15] another in this world. Notwithstanding all which, catholicks are not taught so to rely on the prayers of others as to neglect their own[16] duty to God; in imploring his divine mercy and goodness,[17] in mortifying the deeds of the flesh; in[18] despising the world: in loving and serving God and their neighbour; in following the footsteps of Christ our Lord, who is the[19] way, the truth, and the life: to whom be honour and glory for ever and ever, Amen.

Prayers to saints lawful.

Yet so as not to neglect our duties.

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[1] Luke xxii. 19, &c. [2] 1 Cor. xi. 26. [3] Heb. xiii. 10. [4] Luke xxii. 19.
[5] Mal. i. 11. [6] Luke iv. 8.
[7] Exo. xxv. 18. 1 Kings vi. 35. Lu. iii. 22. Numb. xxi 8. Acts v. 15.
[8] Jos. vii. 6. Exod. iii. 5. Psal. xcix. 5. Phil. ii. 13. Luke iii. 16. Acts xix. 12. [9] Jo. xii. 26.
[10] 1 Pet. ii. 17. Rom. xiii. 7. [11] Rev. iii. 8. [12] Luke xv. 7. [13] 1 Cor. xiii. 12.
[14] Ex. xxxii. 13. 2 Chron. vi. 42. [15] Rom. xv. 30. [16] Jam. ii. 17. 30, &c.
[17] Rom. xiii. 14. [18] Ro. xii. 2. [19] Gal. xiv. 6.

The Protestants Doom in Popish Times.

This Tract, which falls under the description of those noticed by Dr Burnet, in a passage already quoted on page 58, seems to have been a favourite with the former editors of this Miscellany, since they were at the pains to insert it twice.

Protestants hereticks.

A PRINCE putting himself and his dominions under the authority of the pope, and admitting (as he must unavoidably) the laws and decrees of the Romish church, all his protestant subjects being, by the judgment and sentence of that church, hereticks,[1] do forthwith lie under the penalty which those laws and constitutions will have inflicted upon hereticks; heresy[2] being the highest degree of high-treason, called therefore by them, *Læsæ Crimen Majestatis Divinæ:* So the English protestant must be a traytor, and the worst of traytors, and exposed to the penalties of high-treason.

The laws and decrees of the Romish church against hereticks.

Heresy[3] is denounced infamous, and the hereticks must be dealt with as such; which is many penalties in one.

1. Forfeit dignity and office.

First, Whereby they are deprived of all nobility, jurisdiction and dignity, and debarred from all offices and publick councils, parliaments as others; being made uncapable of choosing and being chosen: so that it reacheth all sorts[4] of clergy, laity, noble and ignoble: which is extended to their children also. For, they say, the issue of traytors, civil and spiritual, lose their nobility. And all that owe any duty to such infamous persons are discharged and exempted therefrom; as subjects[5] from their prince, servants[6] from their masters, children[7] from their parents; whom they also may lawfully kill.

Whereby we may see a little to what condition the admission of the papal authority would reduce us, expelling both nature and humanity, and making the dearest relatives unnatural and barbarous to one another: It would leave no protestant either dignity or authority, either safety or liberty; nobles are sentenced to peasants, and peasants to slaves.

2. Goods and estate.

Secondly, Another penalty, to which hereticks are condemned by their laws, is confiscation of goods and estate; and this they incur, *Ipso jure et ipso facto;* that is, immediately as soon as they shew themselves hereticks, before any legal sentence have passed; for which there is an express decree in the canon-law;[8] *Bona hæreticorum ipso jure discernemus confiscata;* We decree the goods of hereticks to be confiscate by sentence of law. The effects of this confiscation, wherein they all agree, makes the severity of the law apparent, viz. First, all the profits made of the estate from the first day of their guilt, is to be[9] refunded. Secondly, all alienations[10] by gift, sale, or otherwise, before sentence, are null and void; and all contracts for that purpose[1] rescinded. Thirdly, children, heirs of hereticks, are deprived of their portions; yea, though they be papists.

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[1] Distinct. 19. Cap. a Caus. 25. q. 1. Cap. 11.
[2] Cap. Vergent. *de Hæreticis.*
[3] *Cap. Infam.* 6. q. 1. p. 297.
[4] Suar. *de Fide. disp.* 12. § 9. n. 5. l. 2. c. 29.
[5] *Cap. de Hær.*
[6] Aazov. *Tom.* 1 l. 8. c. 12. q. 7.
[7] *Cap. 2. Sect. fin. de Hær. in* 6.
[8] *Cap. cum secundum Legis de Hær.* Inno. III. *Cap. de* Vergentis.
[9] *Vasq. in* Suar. *disp.* 22. S. 4. n. 11.
[10] S. 1. n. 5.

Whereby it appears, that as soon as the papacy is admitted, all title and property is lost and extinct among us: And therefore we must not think that pope acted extravagantly, who declared, That all his majesty's territories were his own, as forfeited to the holy see for the heresy of prince and people. Not only abbey-lands are in danger, whoever possess them, but all estates are forfeited to his exchequer, and legally confiscated: All is his own, which protestants, in these three nations, have or ever had, if he can but meet with a prince so wise as to help him to catch it; whose process follows them beyond their grave, and ruins their children, and children's children after them. And when they have stript the heretick of his all, they provide that no other shall relieve him; viz. That none shall receive him into their houses, nor afford him any help, nor shew him any favour, nor give him any counsel. We are here in England zealous for property; and all the reason in the world we should so be: But we must bid adieu to this, when we once come under the pope's authority; for as soon as this is admitted, all the protestants in these nations are beggars by law, viz. by the laws of that church, which will then be ours, divesting us of all property and title to whatever we count our own.

Thirdly, Another penalty which their law inflicts on hereticks is death,[2] which is the sentence of the canon-law; and which is so absolute, that no secular judge can remit; and which is the judgment of all the doctors, *Ita docent omnes doctores:* And from which penalties neither emperors nor kings themselves are to be freed or exempt. And the death they inflict is burning alive: No death more tolerable, or of less exquisite torture, will satisfy the mercy of that church. The canon saith thus; *Decernimus ut vivi in conspectu hominum comburantur;* We decree, that they shall be burnt alive, in the sight of the world. So our last popish successor, Queen Mary, practised upon near three hundred persons, without regard either to age, sex, or quality: The scripture they urge for it is Joh. xv. 6.[3] "If any one abide not in me, men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burnt." By burning.

So that as soon as the papal authority is admitted among us, all the protestants in these nations are dead men in law; being under a law that hath sentenced us to be burnt alive; and under a power that hath declared it necessary that no one of us escape with life.

Fourthly, Where legal penalties cannot take place, by reason of opposite strength, they hold war necessary and lawful to chastise hereticks: For which we might give you divers authorities;[4] but let Cardinal Allen, our country-man, suffice; who asserts it is not only lawful, but necessary: His words are these:—It is clear (saith he) what people or persons soever be declared to be opposite to God's church, with what obligation soever either of kindred, friendship, loyalty, or subjects, I be bound unto them, I may, or rather must, take up arms against them: And then must we take them for hereticks, when our lawful popes adjudge them so to be. And which (saith Cardinal Pool) is a war more holy than that against the Turks. 4. Destroyed by war.

Fifthly, To destroy them by massacres is sometime held more adviseable than to run the hazard of war; and which (they say) is both lawful and meritorious, for the rooting out a pestilent heresie, and the promoting the Roman interest. This set a-foot the Irish massacre, that inhuman bloody butchery, not so much from the savageness and cruelty of their natures, as the doctrines and principles which directed and encouraged it: As also that of Paris than which nothing was more grateful and acceptable 5 By massacre.

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[1] Cap. Vergent. de Hær.

[2] Cap. ad abolendum de Hær. Suar. Dis. 23 Bul. Urb. 4. et Inno. 4.

[3] Jac. de Gra. decis. l. 2. c. 9. n. 2.

[4] Bonacina Diana. Castro Molanus, &c. Car. Allen. admon. to Nobl. et Peop. p. 41.

to their popes, as their[1] bulls make manifest, and the picturing it in the pope's chamber: And for which, as a most glorious action, triumphs were made, and publick thanksgivings were returned to God. So in Savoy, and elsewhere, both in former and later times. And this was that which the late conspirators aimed at so fully, intending a massacre; those that escaped a massacre, saith[2] Dugdale, must be cust off by the army. And[3] Coleman tells the Internuncio in his letter, That their design prospered so well, that he doubted not in a little time their business would be managed to the utter ruin of the protestant party: The effecting whereof was so desirable and meritorious, that if he had a sea of blood, and an hundred lives, he would lose them all to carry on the design. And if to effect this, it were necessary to destroy an hundred heretical kings, he would do it.[4] Singleton the priest affirmed, That he would make no more to stab forty parliament-men, than to eat his dinner. Gerard and Kelley, to encourage Prance to kill Sir E. B. G. told him, it was no murder, no sin, and that to kill twenty of them was nothing in that case; which was both a charitable and meritorious act. And[5] Grant, one of the massacring gun-powder traytors, said, upon his execution, to one that urged him to repent of that wicked enterprize, That he was so far from counting it a sin, that, on the contrary, he was confident, that that noble design had so much of merit in it, as would be abundantly enough to make satisfaction for all the sins of his whole life. Sir Everard Digby speaking to the same purpose also. The provincial Garnet, did teach the conspirators the same catholick doctrine; that the king, nobility, clergy, and whole commonalty of the realm of England (papists excepted) were hereticks, were accursed and excommunicated: And that no heretick could be a king; but it was lawful and meritorious to kill him, and all other hereticks within this realm of England, for the advancement and enlargement of the authority and jurisdiction of the pope, and for the restoring of the Romish religion: This was that Garnet whom the papists here honoured as a pope, and kissed his feet, and reverenced his judgment as an oracle; and since his death have given him the honour of saintship and martyrdom. [6] Dugdale deposed, That after they had dispatched the king a massacre was to follow.

1. The popish prince cannot help, if he would, oaths and promises insignificant.

But surely it may be supposed, that the temper of such a prince, or his interest, would oblige him to forbid or restrain such violent execution in England: But what if his temper be to comply with such courses? Or if his temper be better, what if it be over-ruled? What if it be perswaded, as other catholicks are, that he must in conscience proceed thus? What if he cannot do otherwise without hazard of his crown and life? For he is not to hold the reins of government alone; he will not be allowed to be much more than the pope's postillion, and must look to be dismounted, if he act not according to order. The law[7] tells us, That it is not in the power of any civil magistrate to omit the penalty, or abate the rigoure of the law. Nay, if the prince should plight his faith by oath, that he would not suffer their bloody laws to be executed upon his dissenting subjects, this would signify nothing; for they would soon tell him, "That[8] contracts made against the canon-law are invalid, though confirmed by oath; and that he is not bound to stand to his promise, though he had sworn to it: and that faith is no more to be kept with hereticks, than the council of Constance would have it." So that protestants are to be burnt, as Jo. Huss and Jerom of Prague were by that council, though the emperor had given them his safe conduct in that solemn manner, which could secure them only (as they said) from the civil, but not church-process, which was the greatest. For 'tis their general rule, that faith is either not to be given, or not kept with hereticks. Therefore, saith Simanca, "That faith engaged to hereticks, though confirmed by oath, is in no wise to be performed: For, saith he, if faith is not to be kept with tyrants and pyrates, and others who kill the body, much less with hereticks who kill the souls: And that the oath in favour of them, is but *Vinculum Iniquitatis:* A bond of iniquity." Though popish princes, the better to promote their interests, and to insnare their protestant subjects, to get advantage upon them to their ruin, have made large promises, and plighted their faiths to them, when they did not intend to keep it. As the emperor to John Huss and Jerom; Charles the Ninth of France to his protestant subjects before the massacre; the Duke of Savoy to his protestant subjects before their designed ruin; and Queen Mary before her burning of them. But if there were neither law nor conscience to hinder, yet in point of interest he must not shew favour to hereticks, without apparent hazard, both[1] of crown and life, for he forfeits both if he doth. The pope every year doth not only curse hereticks, but every favourer of them, from which none but himself can absolve.[2] Becanus very elegantly tells us, "If a prince be a dull cur, and fly not upon hereticks, he is to be beaten out, and a keener dog must be got in his stead." Henry the Third and Henry Fourth were both assassinated upon this account, and because they were suspected to favour hereticks. And are we not told by the discoverers[3] of the popish plot, that after they had dispatched the king, they would depose his brother also, that was to succeed him, if he did not answer their expectations for rooting out the protestant religion.

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[1] Briefs of P. G. 13 et Clem. 8.
[2] 5 Jes. Tryal. p. 28.
[3] Col. Lr. to the Internuncio.
[4] Prance's Nar. p. 4.
[5] Caus. Ep. 189.
[6] 5 Jes. Tryal, p. 25.
[7] Caput Officium.
[8] Bonacina de prim. præc. Disp. 3. q. 2.

2. Parliaments cannot prevent ruin to protestants.

But may not parliaments secure us by laws and provisions restraining the power which endanger us? Not possible, if once they secure and settle the throne for popery: For, First, They can avoid parliaments as long as they please, and a government that is more arbitrary and violent is more agreeable to their designs and principles: It being apparent that the English papists have lost the spirit of their ancestors, who so well asserted the English liberties, being so generally now fixed for the pope's universal monarchy, sacrificing all to that Roman Moloch; being much more his subjects than the king's: And though natives by birth, yet are foreigners as to government, principle, interest, affection, and design; and therefore no friends to parliaments, as our experience hath told us.

1. They may be avoided.

But, Secondly, If their necessity should require a parliament, there is no question but they may get such a one as will serve their turns. For so have every of our former princes in all the changes of religion, that have been amongst us: As Henry VIII. when he was both for and against popery, Edward the VI. when he was wholly protestant, Queen Mary when she was for burning alive, and Queen Elizabeth when she ran so counter to her sister. And the reason is clear, that he who has the making of the publick officers and the keys of preferment and profit, influenceth and swayeth elections and votes as he pleaseth. And by how much the throne comes to be fixed in popery, the protestants must expect to be excluded from both houses, as they have excluded the papists: For as hereticks and traytors, they, as ignominious persons, you have heard, forfeit all right either to choose, or be chosen, in any publick councils: And then all laws, which have been made for the protestants, and against the popish religion, will be null and void, as being enacted by an incompetent authority, as being the acts of hereticks, kings, lords, and commons, who had forfeited all their rights and privileges.

2. May be made to serve a popish, not a protestant interest.

3. Good laws insignificant.

But, Thirdly, suppose our laws were valid, as enacted by competent authority, and such good and wholesome provisions, as were those statutes made by our popish ancestors, in those statutes of provisoes in Edward I. and Edward III.'s time; and that of Præmunire in Richard II. and Henry V. for relief against papal incroachments and oppressions; yet being against the laws and canons of holy church, the sovereign authority, they will be all superseded: For so they determine, "That when the canon and the civil laws clash, one requiring what the other allows not, the church-law must have the observance, and that of the state neglected: And constitution (they say) made against the canons and decrees of the Roman bishops are of no moment: their best authors are positive in it." And our own experience and histories testify the truth thereof; for how were those good laws before-mentioned defeated by the pope's authority, so that there was no effectual execution thereof till Henry the VIII.'s time, as Dr Burnet[*] tells us? And how have the good laws to suppress and prevent popery been very much obstructed in their execution by popish influence?

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[1] Parsons Philop. p. 109.

[2] Becan. Cont. Aug. p. 131, 132. In Fowlis. p. 60.

[3] Oates's Nar. p. 4 N. 5. &c.

Abbey and other Church-Lands, not yet assured to such Possessors as are Roman Catholicks; dedicated to the Nobility and Gentry of that Religion.

The English Benedictine monks, in order to reconcile men's minds to the measures of James, executed a renunciation of the abbey-lands belonging to the order before the Reformation, in order to satisfy the minds of the possessors, and reconcile them to the re-establishment of the ancient religion, by guaranteeing the stability of their property. There appeared, however, to the proprietors of these lands little generosity in this renunciation, in case the monks were to remain in a condition of inability to support their pretended claim; and, on the other hand, some reason to suspect its validity, should they ever be strong enough to plead their title. The king's declaration of indulgence contained a promise upon this head, which appeared equally ominous: He declared that he would maintain his loving subjects in their properties and possessions, 'as well of church and abbey-lands as of any other.' The only effect of this clause was to make men inquire whether popery was so near being established as to make such a promise necessary; and if so, how far the promise itself was to be relied upon in opposition to the doctrine of resumption, which had always been inforced by the Roman see, even when these church-lands fell into the hands of persons of their own persuasion, unless they were dedicated to pious uses. Nor were there wanting persons to remind the proprietors of such lands that the canons declared that even the pope had no authority to confirm the alienation of the property of the church; that the general council of Trent had solemnly anathematized all who detained church-lands; that the *Monasticum Anglicanum* was carefully preserved in the Vatican as a rule for the intended resumption; and that the reigning pope had obstinately refused to confirm any such alienations by his bulls, though his doing so at this crisis might have removed a great obstacle to the growth of popery in England.—See the following tract, and also one, by some ascribed to Burnet, and by others to Sir William Coventry, entitled "A Letter written to Dr Burnet, giving some Account of Cardinal Pole's secret Powers; from which it appears that it never was intended to confirm the Alienation that was made of the Abbey-lands. To which are added Two Breves that Cardinal Pole brought over, and some other of his Letters that were never before printed, 1685."

SINCE it is universally agreed on, that so great a matter as the total alienation of all the abbey-lands, &c. in England, can never be made legal and valid, and such as will satisfy the reasonable doubts and scruples of a religious and conscientious person, except it be confirmed by the supreme authority in this church, it's evident that the protestants, who assert the church of England to be *autokephalos*, and such as allows of no foreign jurisdiction or appeals, having had these lands confirmed to them by the king as head of the church, the convocation as the church representative, and by the king and parliament as the supreme legislative power in this realm, have these alienations made as valid to them as any power on earth can make them; but the members of the church of Rome, who maintain a foreign and superior jurisdiction, either in a general council, or in the Bishop of Rome, or both together, cannot have these alienations confirmed to them without the consent of one or both of those superior jurisdictions. If, therefore, I shall make it appear, that these alienations in England were never confirmed by either, I do not see how any Roman catholick in England can, without sacrilege, retain them and his religion together.

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[*] Hist. Ref. p. 110.

As to the first of these, since there hath been no council from the first alienation of abbey-lands in England to this day, that pretends to be general, but that of Trent, we need only look into that for the satisfaction of such Rman catholicks as esteem a general council above the Bishop of Rome: And I am sure that the council is so far from confirming these abbey-lands to the present possessors, that it expressly denounceth them accursed that detain them. Sess. 22. Decret. de Ref. Cap. 11. "*Si quem*, &c. If covetousness, the root of all evil, shall so far possess any person whatsoever, whether of the clergy or laity, though he be an emperor or a king, as that by force, fear, or fraud, or any other colour whatsoever, he presume to convert to his own use, and usurp the jurisdiction, goods, estates, fruits, profits, or emoluments whatsoever, of any church or any benefice, secular or regular, hospital or religious house, or shall hinder that the profits of the said houses be not received by those to whom they do of right belong, let him lie under an anathema till the said jurisdiction, goods, estates, rents, and profits, which he hath possessed and invaded, or which have come to him any manner of way, be restored to the church; and after that have absolution from the Bishop of Rome." So great a terror did this strike into the English papists that were possessors of church-lands, against whom this anathema seems particularly directed, that many of the zealous papists began to think of restitution; and Sir William Peters, notwithstanding his private bull of absolution from Pope Julius the Fourth, was so much startled at it, as that the very next year he endowed eight new fellowships in Exeter college in Oxford. Again, the same council, Sess. 25. Decret. de Ref. c. 20. "*Cupiens Sancta Synodus*, &c. decreeth and commandeth, That all the holy canons, and general councils, and apostolick sanctions, in favour of ecclesiastical persons, and the liberties of the church, and against those that violate them, be exactly observed by every one; and doth farther admonish the emperor, kings, princes, and all persons of what estate soever, that they would observe the rights of the church as the commands of God, and defend them by their particular patronage, nor suffer them to be invaded by any lords or gentlemen whatsoever; but severely punish all those who hinder the liberties, immunities, and jurisdictions of the church; and that they would imitate those excellent princes who, by their authority and bounty, encreased the revenues of the church, so far were they from suffering them to be invaded, and in this let every one sedulously perform his part, &c." And now, after so full and express declaration of the council of Trent, I do not see how any of those Roman catholicks, who esteem a general council to be the supreme authority in the church, and receive the Trent council as such, can any way excuse themselves in point of conscience from those heavy curses that are there denounced against all those that detain church-lands, especially since the papists themselves vehemently accuse King Henry the Eighth for sacrilegiously robbing of religious houses, and seizing of their lands; a great part of which lands are to this very day possessed by papists. Now, though there may be some plea for the pope's authority, in the interim of a general council, and in such things wherein they have made no determination, yet in this matter there is no colour for such pretences, since the council of Trent was actually assembled within a few years after these alienations, and expressly condemned the possessors of abbey-lands, and after all this was confirmed and ratified by the pope himself in his *Bulla Super conf. gen. Concil. Trid. A. D.* 1664. And though we have here the judgment of the infallible see, as to this matter in the confirmation of the Trent council, yet because there be some that magnify the pope's extravagant and unlimited power over the church, and pretend that he confirmed the abbey-lands in England to the lay possessors of them, I shall shew, Secondly, that the pope neither hath, nor pretends to any such power, nor did ever make use of it in this matter under debate; only I shall premise, that whereas some parts of the canon law seem to allow of such particular alienations as are made by the clerks and members of the church, with the consent of the bishop, yet such free consent was never obtained in England; and as to what was done by force, fraud, and violence, is of so little moment as to giving a legal title, that even the alienations that were made by Charles Martell, who is, among the papists themselves, as infamous for sacrilege as King Henry the Eighth, yet even his acts are said to be done by a council of bishops, as is acknowledged by Dr Johnston in his Assurance of Abbey-Lands, p. 27. I shall proceed to shew, First, that the pope hath no such power as to confirm these alienations, and this is expressly determined by the infallible Pope Damascus in the canon law, Caus. 12. 9. 2. c. 20. "The pope cannot alienate lands belonging to the church in any manner, or for any necessity whatsoever, both the buyer and seller lie under an anathema till they be restored, so that any churchman may oppose any such alienations, and again require the lands and profits so alienated." So that here we have a full and express determination of the infallible see. And though, in answer to this, it is urged by Dr Johnston, that this canon is, with small difference, published by Binius in the councils, and so as to confine it to the suburbicacy diocess of Rome, yet that this answer is wholly trivial will appear,

First, Because if the Bishop of Rome hath no authority to confirm such alienations in his own peculiar diocese, where he hath power, much less can he do it in the provinces where his power is less.

Secondly, That in all ecclesiastical courts of the church of Rome, it is not Binius's edition of the councils, but Gratian's Collection of Canons, that is of authority, in which book these words are as here quoted.

Thirdly, Since this book of the pope's decree hath been frequently reprinted by the authority and command of several popes, and constantly used in their courts, this is not to be looked upon as a decree of Pope Damascus only, but of all the succeeding popes; and in the opinion of F. Ellis, (Sermon before the King, December 5, 1686, p. 21,) what is inserted in the canon law is become the judgment of the whole church.

Fourthly, It's absolutely forbid by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, in his bull prefixed before the canon law (*A. D.* 1580) for any one to add, change, or invert any thing in that book.

So that, according to this express determination in the pope's own law, the Bishops of Rome have no power to confirm any such alienations as have been made in England; and agreeable to all this, Pope Julius the Fourth, (the very person that is pretended to have confirmed these alienations) declared to our English ambassadors that were sent upon that errand, "That if he had power to grant it he would do it most readily, but his authority was not so large." F. Paul's H. of the Council of Trent, Lond. A. D. 1629, p. 392. And therefore all confirmations from the Bishop of Rome are already prejudged to be invalid, and of no force at all.

Secondly, No bishop of Rome did ever confirm them. The breve of Pope Julius the Third, which gave Cardinal Pool the largest powers towards effecting this, had this express limitation, "*Salvo tamen in his, quibus propter rerum magnitudinem et gravi-*

tatem hæc sancta sedes merito tibi videritur consulenda nostro et prefatæ sedis beneplacito et confirmatione," i. e. "Saving to us in these matters (in which, by reason of their weight and greatness, this holy see may justly seem to you, that of right it ought to be consulted) the good pleasure and confirmation of us, and of the holy see," which is the true English to that Latin; and that this whole kingdom did then so understand these words is evident from the three ambassadors that were sent to Rome the next spring, *viz.* Viscount Montacute, Bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carn, (these being one to represent every state of the kingdom,) to obtain of him a confirmation of all those graces which Cardinal Pool had granted. Burnet's H. Ref. p. 2. f. 300. So that, in the esteem of the whole nation, what the cardinal had done was not valid without the confirmation of the pope himself. Now this Pope Julius, and the next Marcellus, both died before there is any pretence of any confirmation from Rome; but this was at length done by Pope Paul the Fourth is pretended, and for proof of it three things are alledged: First, The journals of the House of Commons, where are these words, "After which was read a bill from the pope's holiness, confirming the doing of my lord cardinal, touching the assurance of abbey-lands, &c." Secondly, a bull of the same pope to Sir William Peters. Thirdly, the decrees of Cardinal Pool, and his life by Dudithius: To all which I answer,

First, That it's confessed on all hands, that there is no such bull or confirmation by Pope Paul the Fourth to be any where found in the whole world, not any copy or transcript of it, not in all the Bullario, nor our own rolls and records, though it be a matter of so great moment to the Roman Catholicks of England, and what cannot be produced may easily be denied, nor cannot it be imagined that a journal of lay-persons that were parties concerned, or a private bull to Sir William Peters, or some hints in the decrees and life of the cardinal, will be of any moment in a court of Rome, whensoever a matter of that vast consequence, as all the abbey-lands in England, shall come to be disputed, especially if it be observed that this very journal of the House of Commons is no publick record, but "hath past through private hands, hath been corrupted and defaced, and that in passages of the greatest moment," as are the words of William Hakewell, Esq., in his observation upon them seventy years since, printed A. D. 1641. And whereas the journals of the House of Lords are true records, and kept by their proper officer, there is not one word to be found of any such confirmation.

Secondly, If there ever was any such bull it had this limitation in it, That the possessors of such lands should bestow them on all colleges, hospitals, parochial ministers, or other such like spiritual uses; and this I prove,

First, Because the famous instances that are usually given of the pope's alienations of church-lands were only a changing them from one religious use to another. Thus, when Pope Clement the Fifth, A. D. 1307, suppress the knights templars in this nation, and seized all their lands and goods, he gave them all to the hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, and that was ratified in parliament, 17 Edw. Second; which act sets forth, "That though those lands were escheated to the lords of the fee by the said dissolution, yet it was not lawful to detain them." When Pope Clement the Seventh, A. D. 1582, gave Cardinal Woolsey a power to suppress several monasteries, he was to transfer all their goods and possessions to this collegiate church at Windsor, and to King's College in Cambridge; and when the same pope gave the same cardinal many other religious houses, it was for the endowing Christ Church in Oxford, and his college in Ipswich: And, to name no more, when Pope Alexander the Seventh, A. D. 1656, suppressed the order of the *Fratres Cruciferi*, he disposed of all their houses, farms, and rights, to such uses and pious purposes as he thought fit. *Vide Bullar. Ludg. vol. ult. fol.* 220.

Secondly, When this very pope was attended with the English ambassadors that came to his confirmation, the pope found fault with them, "That the church-yards were not restored, saying, that it was by no means to be tolerated, and that it was necessary to render all even to a farthing, because the things that belong to God can never be applyed to human uses, and he that withholdeth the least part of them is in continual state of damnation; that if he had power to grant them he would do it most readily, but his authority was not so large as that he might prophane the things that are dedicated to God; and let England be assured that this would be an anathema," &c. F. Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent, p. 392. *Sleidani Com.* p. 779. And all this was said by the pope within four months of the pretended confirmation.

Thirdly, The private bull to Sir W. Peters bears date within two months after the pretended confirmation, vide Sir W. Dugdale's Eccl. Col. fol. 207, the title of which bull is this, "The Bull of Paul the Fourth Bishop of Rome, in which he confirms to Sir W. Peters all and singular the Sales of several Manors, &c. sometimes belonging to Monasteries, which the said Sir W. Peters is ready to assign and demise to spiritual Uses." Then follows the bull itself, which saith, "That this confirmation was humbly desired from us, and that there were reasonable causes to perswade it, viz. a petition exhibited by the said Sir W. Peters that the manors, &c. belonging to certain monasteries, and sold to him by King Henry the Eighth, which he is ready to assign and demise to spiritual uses, may be approved and confirmed to him; wherefore the said pope doth acquit and absolve him, being inclined by the said supplications," &c. By which bull Sir W. Peters should petition the pope for a limited dispensation, if the whole nation, as is pretended, had been absolutely dispensed with but two months before, without any limitation at all: So that either there was no such general confirmation, or else it was limited with the same restrictions as that to Sir W. Peters, viz. to bestow them upon spiritual uses. And this is the only probable reason why in England this bull is wholly suppressed and lost. In confirmation of this, it may be observed, that Cardinal Pool, notwithstanding his dispensation, earnestly exhorted all persons by the bowels of Christ Jesus, that, not being unmindful of their salvation, they would at least, out of their ecclesiastical goods, take care to encrease the endowments of parsonages and vicarages, that the incumbents may be commodiously and honestly maintained according to their quality and estate, whereby they may laudably exercise the cure of souls, and support the incumbent burthens, and farther urged the judgments that fell upon Balthazar for converting the holy vessels to prophane uses.

Fourthly, Queen Mary, who best understood what had been done after the time of this pretended confirmation from the pope, restored all the church-lands that were then in the crown, saying, "That they were taken away contrary to the law of God and of the church, and therefore her conscience did not suffer her to detain them." &c. When she gave them to the pope and his legate to dispose of to the honour of God, &c. "She did it because she set more by the salvation of her soul than ten such kingdoms." Heylin's H. Ref. p. 235. And to this act of restitution, she was vehemently pressed by the pope and his legate. F. Paul's H. of the C. of Trent, p. 393. *Dudithius in vita Poli*, p. 32. And these things thus restored by the queen were disposed of by the legate to several churches, Dudithius, ib. From all which it's evident that neither the pope, nor his legate, nor Queen Mary, knew of any such confirmations of these alienations as would guide the conscience without restoring them to spiritual uses.

Fifthly, Queen Mary, not only did so herself, but pressed it vehemently upon her nobles and parliament, that they would make full restitution, Heylen, p. 237. Sleiden, p. 791, and several of them, as Sir Thomas Pope, Sir William Peters, &c. who had swallowed the largest morsels of those lands, did make some sort of restitution, though not to the abbies themselves, yet to colleges and religious uses.

Sixthy, This very Pope Paul the Fourth published a bull, in which he threatened excommunication to all manner of persons as kept any church-lands to themselves, and to all princes, noblemen, and magistrates, that did not forthwith put the same in execution. Heylen's *Hist.* Ref. p. 238. So that by a new decree he retrieved all those goods and ecclesiastical revenues which had been alienated from the church since the time of Julius the Second. Rycaut's Contin. p. 112. So improbable a story is it, that this pope confirmed these alienations in England. And whereas Dr Johnston, p. 173, hath these words: Mr Fox saith, the pope published a bull in print against the restoring of abbey-lands, which Dr Burnet affirms also, Ap. fol. 403. It is notoriously false, they both asserting the contrary: Dr Burnet's words in that very place are these:* "The pope in plain terms refused to ratify what the cardinal had done, and soon after set out a severe bull, cursing and condemning all that held any church-lands."

Seventhly and lastly, The succeeding popes have been clearly of this opinion. Pope Pius the Fourth, who immediately succeeded this Paul, confirmed the council of Trent, and therein damned all the detainers of church-lands; and though he was much importuned to confirm some alienations made by the king of France to pay the debts of the crown, yet he absolutely refused it, F. Paul's H. C. Trent. p. 713. Pope Innocent the Tenth first protested against the alienations of church-lands in Germany, that were made at the great treaty of Munster and Osnaburgh, A. D. 1648, and when that would not do, by his bull, Nov. 26, in the very same year, damns all those that should dare to retain the church-lands, and declares the treaty void. *Instrumentum pacis, &c. et innocentii* 10 *mi declaratio nullitatis artic. &c.* and all their late popes, in the *bulla cœnæ*, do very solemnly, "damn and excommunicate all those who usurp any jurisdiction, fruits, revenues, and emoluments, belonging to any ecclesiastical person upon account of any churches, *monasteries, or other ecclesiastical benefices*, or who, upon any occasion or cause, sequester the said revenues without the express leave of the Bishop of Rome, or others, having lawful power to do it, &c." And though upon Good-Friday there is published a general absolution, yet out of that are expressly excluded all those who possess any church-lands or goods, who are still left under the sentence of excommunication. *Toleti Instr. Sacerd.* and his *Explicatio causum in bulla cœnæ domini reserva.*

From which considerations it is evident, that it never was the design of the pope to confirm the English church-lands to the lay-possessors, but that he always urged the necessity of restoring of them to religious uses; in order to which, the papists prevailed to have the statute of Mortmain repealed for twenty years. In Queen Elizabeth's reign, the factious party that was managed wholly by Romish emissaries, demanded to "have abbies and such religious houses restored for their use; and A. D. 1585, in their petition to the parliament, they set it down as a resolute doctrine, that things once dedicated to sacred uses ought so to remain by the word of God for ever, and ought not to be converted to any private use; *Bishop Bancroft's Sermon at Paul's A. D.* 1588, p. 25." And that the church of Rome is still gaping after these lands, is evident from many of their late books, as the religion of M. Luther, lately printed at Oxford, p. 15. "The Monks wrote Anathema upon the registers and donations belonging to monasteries; the weight and effect of which curses are both felt and dreaded to this day." To this end, the *Monasticon Anglicanum* is so diligently preserved in the Vatican and other libraries in popish countries; and especially this appears from the obstinate refusal of this present pope to confirm these alienations, though it be a matter so much controverted, and would be of that vast use towards promoting their religion in this kingdom.

If, therefore, the Bishops of Rome did never confirm these alienations of church lands, but earnestly and strictly required their restitution; if they have declared, in their authentick canons, that they have no power to do it, and both they and the last general council pronounce an heavy curse and anathema against all such as detain them; then let every one that possesseth these lands, and yet owns either of these foreign jurisdictions, consider, that here is nothing left to excuse him from sacrilege, and therefore with his estate he must derive a curse to his posterity. There is scarcely any papist but that is forward to accuse King Henry the Eighth of sacriledge, and yet never reflects upon himself who quietly possesseth the fruits of it, without restitution: either let them not accuse him, or else restore themselves. Now whatever opinions the papists may have of these things in the time of health, yet I must desire them to remember what the jesuits proposed to Cardinal Pool in Dr Pary's days, viz. "That if he would encourage them in England, they did not doubt but that, by dealing with the consciences of those who were dying, they should soon recover the greatest part of the goods of the church." Dr Burnet's Hist. vol. ii. p. 328. Not to mention that whensoever the regulars shall grow numerous in England, and by consequence burthensome to the few nobility and gentry of that perswasion, they will find it necessary for them to consent to a restitution of their lands, that they may share the burthen among others. For so vast are the burthens and payments that that religion brings with it, that it will be found at length an advantageous bargain to part with all the church-lands to indemnify the rest. And I am confident that the gentry of England that are papists, have found greater burthens and payments since their religion hath been allowed, than ever they did for the many years it was forbid; and this charge must daily encrease so long as their clergy daily grows more numerous, and their few converts are most of them of the meanest rank, and such as want to be provided for: And that it's no easy matter to force converts, may appear from that excellent observation of the great Emperor Charles the Fifth, who told Queen Mary, "That by endeavouring to compel others to his own *religion, he had tired and spent himself in vain*, and purchased nothing by it, but his own dishonour." Cardinal *Pool* in *Heylin's Hist.* Ref. p. 217. And to conclude this discourse, had the act of Pope Julius the *Third* by his legate Cardinal Pool, in confirming of the alienation of church-lands in England, been as valid as is by some pretended, yet what shall secure us from an act of resumption? that very pope after that pretended grant to Cardinal Pool, published a bull, in which he excommunicated all that kept abbey-lands or church-lands, (Burnet's Hist. vol. ii. p. 309,) by which all former grants, had there been any, were cancelled. His successor, Pope Paul the Fourth, retrieved all the goods and ecclesiastical revenues that had been alienated from the church, since the time of Julius the Second, and the chief reasons that are given why the popes may not still proceed to an act of resumption of these lands in England, amount only to this, that they must stay for a fair opportunity, when it may be done without disturbing the peace of the kingdom. From all which it's evident, that the detaining of abbey-lands and other church-lands from the monks and friars, is altogether inconsistent with the doctrine and principles of the Romish religion.

The Pedigree of Popery; or, the Genealogy of Antichrist.

Anno 1688.

THE devil begat sin,
Sin begat ignorance,
Ignorance begat pride,
Pride begat free-will,
Free-will begat forgetfulness of grace,
Forgetfulness of grace begat transgression,

Transgression begat distrust,
Distrust begat dissatisfaction,
Dissatisfaction begat the sacrifice of the mass,
The sacrifice of the mass begat superstition,*
Superstition begat hypocrisy,
Hypocrisy begat gain, of her that was the wife of the offertory,
Gain begat purgatory,
Purgatory begat anniversary or yearly masses or trentals,
Anniversary (being a foundation) begat the patrimony of the church,
Patrimony of the church begat wicked Mammon,
Mammon begat luxury,
Luxury begat usurpation,
Usurpation begat cruelty,
Cruelty begat immunity,
Immunity begat lordship,
Lordship begat pomp,
Pomp begat ambition,
Ambition begat Simony,
Simony begat the pope and his brethren the cardinals, in the transportation into Babylon; and after the transportation into Babylon,
The pope begat the mystery of iniquity,
The mystery of iniquity begat school-divinity,
School-divinity begat the casting away the holy scripture,
Casting away the holy scripture begat the legend,
The legend begat monkery,
Monkery begat blind zeal,
Blind zeal begat the murthering of saints,
The murthering of saints begat the contempt of God,
The contempt of God begat dispensation,
Dispensation begat licence to sin,
Licence to sin begat jesuitism,
Jesuitism begat four monsters, equivocation, mental reservation, probable opinion, and direction of the intention.
These four monsters survive to this day, and begat a multitude of sons and daughters, viz.
Atheism, tyranny, treason, assassination, perjury, inquisition, massacre, masquerade, and open popery, city-burning, chequer stopping, charter-catching, large finings, severe whippings, non-obstante, closetings, subscribings, member-makings, addressings, and all kind of abominations, which, walking abroad in a dress of religion and dissimulation, compleat the whole train of antichrist, &c. to the perpetual establishing and setting up of popery, and the putting down of and for ever subverting and casting away all Christianity.

Three Letters.

"The first of the three following letters makes an important article in the first volume of Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, p. 711, 712. 'At this time,' says his lordship, 'a great discovery was made of the intentions of the court by the jesuits at Liege, who, in a letter that they wrote to their brethren in Friburgh, in Switzerland, gave them a long account of the affairs of England.' And again, 'The jesuits at Friburgh shewed this about; and one of the ministers, on whom they were taking some pains, and of whom they had some hopes, had got a sight of it; and he obtained leave to take a copy of it, pretending that he would make good use of it. He sent a copy of it to Heidegger, the famous professor of divinity at Zurich, and from him I had it. Other copies of it were likewise sent both from Geneva and Switzerland. One of these was sent to Dykvelt, (the Ducth minister in England) who, upon that, told the

> king that his priests had other designs, and were full of those hopes that gave jealousies which could not be easily removed; and he named the Liege letter, and gave the king a copy of it. He promised to him he would read it, and he would soon see whether it was an imposture made to make them more odious or not; but he never spoke of it to him afterwards. This, Dykvelt thought, was a confessing that the letter was no forgery.' How far this story ought to be conclusive, is hard to conclude, because all depends on the truth of the facts recounted by the historian, which rest upon his single credit only. It is apparent, that, as to the point of time when, according to him, this letter became public, he is notoriously mistaken; for, whereas he treats of it as prior to the Scottish Declaration of Indulgence, which bore date February 12, 1686-7, the letter itself, according to the print, was not wrote till February 2, 1687-8. And as to the two letters which follow it between Father Petre and Father La Chaise, he does not so much as mention them, which, it may be supposed, he would scarce have declined, if he had had any vouchers at hand to give them the face of authority. Besides which, we ought to recollect, that many forgeries of this nature were imposed on the public at this time, and we shall find that the success they met with taught the losers to profit by the example."

Thus far the former editors. It is possible, and barely possible, that the first letter, though without name or address, may have been genuine. But it seems much more likely that it was a forgery, ingeniously reared up upon the ground-works of some real letter received and shewn, as mentioned by Burnet. The two additional letters are grossly ironical. But it is certain, that, at this period, the hearts of the catholic clergy were so uplifted, that some of them expressed their hopes of soon making public processions through Cheapside in the dress of their order.

I. *A Letter from a Jesuit at Liege to a Jesuit at Fribourg, giving an Account of the happy Progress of Religion in England.*

It cannot be said what great affection and kindness the king hath for the society, wishing much health to this whole college by R. P. the provincial, and earnestly recommending himself to our prayers. The provincial, Alexander Regnes, being come back for England, the king was graciously pleased to send for him, (several earls and dukes waiting his coming at the hour appointed) the queen being present, the king, discoursing familiarly with him, asked him, How many young students he had, and how many scholastics? to which (when the provincial had answered, that of the latter he had twenty, of the former more than fifty) he added, That he had need of double or treble that number to perform what he, in his mind, had designed for the society; and commanded that they should be very well exercised in the gift of preaching, for such only (saith he) do we want in England.

You have heard, I make no doubt, that the king hath sent letters to father La Chaise, the French king's confessor, about Wadden-house, therein declaring, that he would take in good part from him whatsoever he did, or was done, for the English fathers of that society. Father Clare, rector of the said house, going about those affairs at London, found an easy access to the king, and as easily obtained his desires. He was forbid to kneel and kiss the king's hand (as the manner or custom is) by the king himself, saying, "Once, indeed, your reverence kissed my hand, but had I then known you were a priest, I should rather have kneeled and kissed your reverence's hand."

After the business was ended, in a familiar discourse, the king declared to this father, That he would either convert England, or die a martyr; and that he had rather die to-morrow, that conversion wrought, than reign fifty years without that in happiness and prosperity. Lastly, he called himself a son of the society, the welfare of which, he said, he as much rejoiced at as his own; and it can scarce be said how joyful he shewed himself when it was told him that he was made partaker, by the most reverend father N., of all the merits of the society, of which number he would declare one of his confessors: Some report R. P., the provincial, will be the person, but whom he designs is not known. Many do think an archbishopric will be bestowed on father

Edmond Petre, (chiefly beloved) and very many a cardinal's cap; to whom (within this month or two) that whole part of the king's palace is granted, in which the king, when he was Duke of York, used to reside; where you may see I know not how many courtiers daily attending to speak with his eminency, (for so they are said to call him) upon whose counsel, and also that of several catholic peers, highly preferred in the kingdom, the king greatly relies, which way he may promote the faith without violence. Not long since, some catholic peers did object to the king that he made too much haste to establish the faith, to whom he answered, "I, growing old, must make great steps, otherwise, if I should die, I shall leave you worse than I found you." Then they asking him, Why, therefore, was he not more solicitous for the conversion of his daughters, heirs of the kingdom? he answered, "God will take care for an heir; leave my daughters for me to convert; do you, by your example, reduce those that are under you, and others, to the faith." In most provinces he hath preferred catholics, and, in a short time, we shall have the same justices of the peace (as they are called) in them all. At Oxford, we hope matters go very well: one of our divines is always resident there, a public catholic chapel of the vice-chancellor's, who hath drawn some students to the faith. The Bishop of Oxford[1] seems very much to favour the catholic cause; he proposed in council, Whether it was not expedient that at least one college in Oxford should be allowed catholics, that they might not be forced to be at so much charges by going beyond seas to study? What answer was given is not yet known. The same bishop, inviting two of our noblemen, with others of the nobility, to a banquet, drank the king's health to an heretical baron there, wishing a happy success to all his affairs; and he added, that the faith of protestants in England seemed to him to be little better than that of Buda was before it was taken; and that they were, for the most part, mere atheists who defended it. Many do embrace the faith, and four of the chiefest earls have lately professed it publicly.

The reverend father, Alexander Regnes, nephew to our provincial, to whom is committed the care of the chapel of the ambassador of the most serene Elector Palatine, is whole days busied in resolving and shewing the doubts or questions of heretics concerning their faith, of which number you may see two or three continually walking before the doors of the chapel, disputing about matters of faith amongst themselves. Prince George, we can have nothing certain what faith he intends to make profession of. We have a good while begun to get footing in England. We teach humanity at Lincoln, Norwich, and York. At Warwick we have a public chapel secured from all injuries by the king's soldiers: We have also bought some houses of the city of Wigorn, in the province of Lancaster. The catholic cause very much increaseth. In some catholic churches, upon holidays, above 1500 are always numbered present at the sermon. At London, likewise, things succeed no worse: every holiday, or preaching, people so frequent, that many of the chapels cannot contain them. Two of our fathers, Darmes and Berfall, do constantly say mass before the king and queen; father Edmund Nevil before the queen dowager, father Alexander Regnes in the chapel of the ambassador aforesaid, others in other places. Many houses are bought for the college in the Savoy (as they call it) nigh Somerset-house, London, the palace of the queen dowager, to the value of about eighteen thousand florins, in making of which after the form of a college, they labour very hard, that the schools may be opened before Easter.

In Ireland shortly there will be a catholic parliament, seeing no other can satisfy the king's will to establish the catholic cause there. In the month of February, for certain, the king hath designed to call a parliament at London: 1. That, by a universal decree, the catholic peers may be admitted into the upper house; 2. That the oath or test may be annulled; 3. Which is the best or top of all, That all penal laws made against catholics may be abrogated; which, that he may more surely obtain, he desires every one to take notice, that he hath certainly determined to dismiss any from all profitable employments under him, who do not strenuously endeavour the obtaining those things; also, that he will dissolve the parliament, with which decree some heretics being affrighted, came to a certain peer to consult him what was best to be done; to whom he said, the king's pleasure is sufficiently made known to us; what he hath once said he will most certainly do; if you love yourselves, you must submit yourselves to the king's will. There are great preparations for war at London, and a squadron of many ships of war are to be fitted out against a time appointed; what they are designed for is not certain. The Hollanders greatly fear they are against them, and therefore begin to prepare themselves. Time will discover more.

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[1] Parker, Bishop of Oxford, was, as we have already seen, a great favourer of the indulgence, and was, doubtless, prepared to have gone farther lengths, in conformity with the king's desires.

Liege, 2d Feb. 1688.

II. *A Letter from the Reverend Father Peter, Jesuit, Almoner to the King of England, written to the Reverend Father La Chaise, Confessor to the Most Christian King, touching the present Affairs of England. Translated from the French.*

Most Reverend Father,

If I have failed, for the last few days, to observe your order, it was not from want of affection, but health, that occasioned the neglect; and for which I shall endeavour to make amends by the length of this.

I shall begin where my former left off, and shall tell you, that, since the appearing of a letter in this town, written by the prince's minister of Holland, which declares the intentions of the Prince and Princess of Orange, relating to the repealing of the test, or, to speak more properly, their aversion to it:[1] This letter has produced very ill effects amongst the heretics, whom, at the return of some of our fathers from those parts, we had persuaded that the prince would comply with every thing relating to the test that the king should propose to the next parliament, in case he should call one; to which I do not find his majesty much inclined. But the coming of this letter (of which I have inclosed a copy) has served for nothing but to encourage the obstinate in their aversion to that matter. The queen, as well as myself, were of opinion against the sending of any such letter to the Hague upon that subject, but rather that some person able to discourse and persuade should have been sent thither; for all such letters, when they are not grateful, produce bad effects. That which is spoken face to face is not so easily divulged, nor any thing discovered to the people but what we have a mind the vulgar should know; and, I believe, your reverence will concur with me in this opinion. This letter has extremely provoked the king, who is of a temper not to bear a refusal, and who has not been used to have his will contradicted, and, I verily believe, this very affront has hastened his resolution of recalling the English regiments in Holland. I shewed his majesty that part of your letter that relates to the opinion of his most Christian majesty upon this subject, which his majesty well approves of. We are interested to know the success of this affair, and what answer the states will give. The king changes as many heretic officers as he can, to put catholics in their places; but the misfortune is, that here we want catholic officers to supply them; and therefore, if you know any such of our nation in France, you would do the king a pleasure to persuade them to come over, and they shall be certain of employments either in the old troops or the new that are speedily to be raised; for which, by this my letter, I pass my word.

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[1] The letter by the Grand Pensionary Fagel, which will be found some pages lower.

Our fathers are continually employed to convert the officers, but their obstinacy is so great, that for one that turns, there are five that had rather quit their commands. And there being so many malecontents, whose party is already but too great, the king has need of all his prudence and temper to manage this great affair, and bring it to that perfection we hope to see it in ere long. All that I can assure you is, that here shall be no neglect in the queen, who labours night and day, with inexpressible diligence, for the propagation of the faith, and with the zeal of a holy princess. The queen dowager is not so earnest, and fear makes her resolve to retire into Portugal, to pass the remainder of her days in devotion; she has already asked the king leave, who has not only granted it, but also promised that she shall have her pension punctually paid; and that, during her life, her servants that she leaves behind her shall have the same wages as if they were in waiting. She stays but for a proper season to embark for Lisbon, and to live there free from all stories.

As to the queen's being with child, that great concern goes as well as we could wish, notwithstanding all the satyrical discourses of the heretics, who content themselves to vent their poison in libels, which, by night, they disperse in the street, or fix upon the walls. There was one lately found upon a pillar of a church, that imported, That such a day thanks should be given to God for the queen's being great with a cushion. If one of these pasquil-makers could be discovered, he would have but an ill time on't, and should be made to take his last farewell at Tyburn.

You will agree with me (most reverend father) that we have done a great thing by introducing Mrs Celier (a popish midwife, famous for her intrigues of all sorts in the preceding reign) to the queen. This woman is totally devoted to our society, and zealous for the catholic religion. I will send you an account of the progress of this affair, and will use the cypher you sent me, which I think admirable. I can send you nothing certain of the Prince and Princess of Denmark; he is a prince with whom I cannot discourse about religion; Luther was never more earnest than this prince. It is for this reason that the king (who does not love to be denied) never yet pressed him in that matter, his majesty thinking it necessary that the fathers should first prepare things before he undertake to speak to him. But this prince, as all of his nation, has naturally an aversion to our society, and this antipathy does much obstruct the progress of our affairs, and it would be unreasonable to complain hereof to the king at present, to trouble him, though he has an entire confidence in us, and looks upon our fathers as the apostles of this land. As for Ireland, that country is already all catholic; yea, all the militia are so. The vice-roy (Tyrconnel) merits great praise; we may give him this honour, that he is a son worthy our society, and I hope will participate of the merits of it. He informs me he has just writ to your reverence of these matters, how things go there. Some catholic regiments from those parts will speedily be sent for over, for the king's guards, his majesty being resolved to trust them rather than others; and may do it better in case of any popular commotion, against which we ought to secure ourselves the best we can. His majesty does us the honour to visit our college often, and is most pleased when we present him some new convert-scholars, whom he encourages with his gracious promises. I have not expression sufficient to let you know with what devotion his majesty communicated the last holidays, and a heretic cannot better make his court to him than by turning to the catholic faith. He desires that all the religious, of what order soever they be, make open profession, as he does, not only of the catholic religion, but also of their order; not at all approving that priests, or religious, should conceal themselves out of fear; and he has told them that he would have them wear the habit of a religious, and that he would take care to defend them from affronts. And the people are already accustomed to it, and we begin to celebrate funerals with the same ceremony as in France; but it is almost a miracle to see that no body speaks one word against it, no not so much as the ministers in their pulpits, in so good order has the king managed these matters. Many English heretics resort often to our sermons; and I have often recommended to our fathers to preach now in the beginning as little as they can of the controversy, because that provokes, but to represent to them the beauty and antiquity of the catholic religion, that they may be convinced that all that has been said and preached to them, and their own reflections concerning it, have been all scandal; for I find (as the apostle says) "they must be nourished with milk, not being able to bear strong meat." Many have desired me to give them some of our prayers, and even the holy mass, in English, which I mean to do, to satisfy the meanest sort, of which the greatest part do not understand Latin, but not to take away from the new converts their Testaments, which is a matter of moment; and, that we may not disgust them at the beginning, we must permit them to have them for a time, till they part with them of themselves. I have need of C. H.'s counsel upon this point, and not in this only, but also in a great many other matters that daily press me; for you may easily believe that I have often more business than I can well dispatch, and we must work with so much circumspection and precaution, that I have often need of your paternity's wise counsel. But the Lord and the good Virgin do strengthen me as there is occasion.

The Bishop of Oxon has not yet declared himself openly; the great obstacle is his wife, whom he cannot rid himself of: His design being to continue bishop, and only change communion, as it is not doubted but the king will permit, and our holy father confirm; though I do not see how he can be further useful to us in the religion in which he is, because he is suspected, and of no esteem among the heretics of the English church: nor do I see that the example of his conversion is like to draw many others after him, because he declared himself so suddenly. If he had believed my counsel, which was to temporize for some longer time, he would have done better; but it is his temper, or rather zeal, that hurried him on. There are other two prelates that will do no less than he; but they hold off alike, to see how they may be serviceable to the propagation, and produce more fruits, while they continue undiscovered.

That which does us most harm with the lords and great men, is the apprehension of a heretic successor: "For (as a lord told me lately) assure me of a catholic successor, and I will assure you, I and my family will be so too." To this happy purpose, the queen's happy delivery will be of very great moment. Our zealous catholics do already lay two to one that it will be a prince: God does nothing by halves; and every day masses are said upon this very occasion.

I have gained a very great point, in persuading the king to place our fathers in Magdalen-College in Oxon, who will be able to tutor the young scholars in the Roman catholic religion. I rely much on father Thomas Fairfax, to whom I have given necessary instructions how to govern himself with the heretic people; and to take care, in the beginning, that he speak not to them any thing that may terrify. And, as I tell you, a religious has need here of great prudence at this time, that the king may hear of no complaints that may displease him; and, therefore, we dare not at present do all we shall be able, and bound to do hereafter, for fear of too much haring the mobile.

I like well that father Hales goes to stay some time at the Hague *incognito*, on pretence of soliciting for a place, which is not soon to be got there; and I have given him a letter to some of that court: Father Smith, that is there now, by reason of his great age, not being able to do all he ought and wishes to do, and is also too well known there. And I shall often impart to you what I shall learn from those quarters;

from whence I shall weekly receive something of moment, so long as the two courts are in so bad intelligence together as at present they are. For my part, to speak freely on this topic to your reverend fatherhood, I am of opinion, we should rather endeavour to moderate than aggravate the difference between them; though I know I do not, in this matter, altogether concur with the sense of the French ambassador, who considers only his master's interest: But we are necessitated to take other measures, and such as perhaps may not always agree with the interest of France in this matter.

And I think aggravating of this breach at present to be also prejudicial to the catholic religion itself. The great design we have so long aimed at, is applying to the King of France to take from the heretics all hopes of a head, or any other protection, than what they must expect from their own king; whereby they, finding themselves exposed to his pleasure, will the more readily subscribe to his will. But this misunderstanding between us will occasion an opportunity to the heretics to set up the Prince of Orange for their chief: And let me assure you, not to deceive yourselves, the religious of England, as well as the presbyterians themselves, regard the Prince of Orange as their Moses; and his party is already so powerful in both these kingdoms, that it will appear terrible to any thinking person, should things come to extremity, as may never happen, if matters are not pushed on too far, but managed with moderation. And I desire therefore, with great deference to your better judgment, that this matter might be hinted to his most Christian majesty, as opportunity shall serve, and am sensible it must be done with very great caution.

I can tell you nothing at present concerning the certainty of calling a parliament; it requires so many things to be considered of, and measures to be taken, that his majesty ought to be well assured of the success before he convenes them together. I am not of opinion with many other catholics, who say, That by calling them the king hazards nothing; for, if they will not answer his ends, he need only prorogue them, as is usually done: But it is my opinion, and the sense of many others, that his majesty hazards much; for if it should unfortunately happen that they should in their assembly refuse to comply with his majesty's desires, it may be long enough ere he compass his ends by way of a parliament, and perhaps never: and then there rests no expedient or other means, but by violence, to execute the orders of his secret council, which must be supported by his army; who, upon a pretence of incamping, may be called together with the less jealousy or suspicion. So you may see (most reverend father) that we do not want work in these quarters; and I must be supported by your prayers, which I beg of you, and from all those of our society.

His majesty is so desirous that things may be done in order and upon a sure fund, so as to be the more lasting, that he makes great application to the shires and corporations to get such persons chosen for the parliament as may be favourable to his ends, of which he may be sure before they come to debate: And the king will make them promise so firmly, and exact such instruments from them in writing, that they shall not be able to go back, unless they will thereby draw upon themselves his majesty's utmost displeasure, and make them feel the weight of his resentment. And I have here enclosed some effects of his majesty's endeavours in this matter, which is an address which the mayor, sheriffs, and burgesses, of Newcastle, in the county of Stafford, have presented to the king, [see the Gazette, where this corporation, as well as Gloucester, Tewksbury, and others, in their addresses, promise to chuse such members as shall comply with his majesty's desires.] If all towns were in as perfect obedience as these, we should certainly have a parliament called, which the catholics and nonconformists expect with great impatience. But, since this cannot be said of many of them, the king's secret council think good to wait for the queen's delivery, that they may see a successor, who may have need of the whole protection of the most Christian king to support him and maintain his rights. And, by the grace of God, we hope that that prince, treading in his father's steps, may prove a worthy son of our society, like his father, who thinks it no dishonour to be so called.

As to other things, (most reverend father) our fathers, with me, as well as generally all the catholics, with what grief do we hear of the disunion that arises between his holiness and the most Christian king! How does my head, in imitation of the prophet's, become a spring of tears to lament night and day the schism that I foresee coming into the church! Is it possible that our holy society should not stand in the breach, and prevent the mischiefs that this difference may occasion in the church? And that nobody can reconcile Levi and Judah, the priesthood and the scepter, the father and the son, the eldest son of the church with the vicar of Christ upon earth? And what a desolation, and what advantage to the heretics, must this occasion? They begin already to bid us convert the children of the family before we begin to convert strangers. And I must, with grief, confess they have but too much reason for what they say: and if there does not come some present assistance from above, I foresee this affair will occasion great prejudices in the north: Nor have we any hope that his British majesty will interpose herein openly, he receiving so little satisfaction from his holiness, in some demands made by his ambassador at Rome, which (morally speaking) ought not to have been denied so great a king, who first made this step, (which his predecessors for a long time were not willing to undertake) in sending his ambassador of obedience to Rome:[1] And yet, for all this, our holy father had not any particular consideration of this submission and filial obedience: so that I dare not mention this matter, but by way of discourse, daily expecting that of himself he will be pleased to make some proposal therein. I doubt not (reverend father) of your constant endeavour to accommodate this matter, thereby to take away from the heretics, especially the Hugonots of France, this occasion to laugh and deride us: and we should think the change much for the worse, if, instead of the French king's going to Geneva, he should march to Rome: What may not all this come to? especially since the Marquis de Lavardin has been so passionate in his discourse to the cardinal-chancellor, as to call him impertinent; and so far to forget his duty and reverence toward our holy father, the pope himself, as to say he doated: as the heretics do confidently discourse in these parts. I have caused some masses of the Holy Ghost to be said, That God would please to inspire the discontented parties with a spirit of peace and concord. You did acquaint me some time since, that Madam Maintenon did take upon her the title of Daughter of the Society; by virtue whereof, you may command her, by virtue of obedience, to use her credit and eloquence with the king, to incline him to an accommodation in this matter. In the mean time, I hear that at Rome, many evident persons endeavour at the same with his holiness, who says, He cannot, nor ought to recede from what he has done; otherwise, it were in effect to submit to the articles made in France by the clergy in 1682, and consequently of too great moment to recant: and therefore, submission ought to come from the son, and not from the father. I recommend myself (reverend father) to your prayers and blessing, desiring you would continue to assist me with your salutary counsels, and rest for ever,

St James's, Feb. 9th. Yours, &c.

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[1] At this time there subsisted, fortunately perhaps for the protestant interest, a fierce contention between the pope and Louis XIV., who had differed concerning the aggressions of France against Genoa, as well as in the affair of the franchises. The pope was much more intent upon this quarrel than on reconciling England to the Roman see, which he probably considered as a visionary prospect. Owing to all these circumstances, the intrigues of the Prince of Orange to distress Louis XIV. received so much countenance at Rome, and the ambassador of James II. was so coldly entertained, that Innocent acquired the name of the Protestant Pope.

III. *The Answer of the Reverend Father La Chaise, Confessor to the most Christian King, to a Letter of the Reverend Father Petre, Jesuit, and Great Almoner to the King of England, upon the Method or Rule he must observe with his Majesty, for the Conversion of his Protestant Subjects.*

Most Reverend Father,

When I compare the method of the French court (which declares against all heresies) with the policy of other princes, who had the same design in former ages, I find so great a difference, that all that passes now a days in the king's council is an impenetrable mystery: and the eyes of all Europe are opened to see what happens, but cannot discover the cause.

When Francis the First, and Henry the Second his son, undertook to ruin the reformation, they had to struggle with a party which was but beginning and weak and destitute of help, and consequently easier to be overcome.

In the time of Francis the Second, and Charles the Ninth, a family was seen advanced to the throne by the ruin of the protestants, who were for the house of Bourbon.

In this last reign many massacres happened, and several millions of heretics have been sacrificed, but it answered otherwise: and his majesty has showed (by the peaceable and mild ways he uses) that he abhors shedding of blood; from which you must persuade his Britannic majesty, who naturally is inclined to roughness, and a kind of boldness, which will make him hazard all, if he does not politicly manage it; as I hinted in my last, when I mentioned my lord chancellor.

Most reverend father, to satisfy the desire I have to shew you by my letters the choice you ought to make of such persons fit to stir up, I will in few words (since you desire it) inform you of the genius of the people of our court, of their inclinations, and which of them we make use of; that, by a parallel which you will make between them and your English lords, you may learn to know them.

Therefore I shall begin with the chief: I mean, our great monarch. It is certain that he is naturally good, and loves not to do evil, unless desired to do it. This being so, I may say, he never would have undertaken the conversion of his subjects, without the clergy of France, and without our societies correspondence abroad. He is a prince enlightened; who very well observes, that what we put him upon is contrary to his interest, and that nothing is more opposite to his great designs and his glory; he aiming to be the terror of all Europe. The vast number of malecontents he has caused in his kingdom forces him, in times of peace, to keep three times more forces than his ancestors did in the greatest domestic and foreign wars: which cannot be done without a prodigious expence.

The people's fears also begin to lessen, as to his aspiring to an universal monarchy: and they may assure themselves he has left those thoughts, nothing being more opposite to his designs than the method we enjoin him. His candour, bounty, and toleration to the heretics would undoubtedly have opened the doors of the Low Countries, Palatinate, and all other states on the Rhine, and even of Switzerland: whereas things are at present so altered, that we see the Hollanders free from any fear of danger; the Switzers and city of Geneva resolved to lose the last drop of their blood in their defence; besides some diversion we may expect from the empire, in case we cannot hinder a peace with the Turks; which ought to hasten his Britannic majesty, while he can be assured of succours from the most Christian king.

Sir, his majesty's brother is always the same; I mean, takes no notice of what passes at court. It has sometimes happened, that king's brothers have acted so as to be noted in the state; but this we may be assured will never do any thing to stain the glory of his submission and obedience: and is willing to lend a helping hand for the destruction of the heretics; which appears by the instances he makes to his majesty, who now has promised him to cause his troops to enter into the Palatinate the next month.

The dauphin is passionately given up to hunting, and little regards the conversion of souls; and it does not seem easy to make him penetrate into business of moment; and therefore we do not care to consult him which way and how the heretics ought to be treated. He openly laughs at us, and slights all the designs, of which the king his father makes great account. The dauphiness is extremely witty; and is without doubt uneasy to shew it in other matters, besides complements of conversation. She has given me a letter for the Queen of England; wherein, after her expression of the part she bears on the news of her majesty's being with child, she gives her several advices about the conversion of her subjects.

Most reverend father, she is undoubtedly born a great enemy to the protestants; and has promoted all she could with his majesty, in all that has been done, to hasten their ruin; especially having been bred in a court of our society, and of a house whose hatred against the protestant religion is hereditary; because she has been raised up by the ruin of the German protestant princes, especially that of the Palatinate. But the king having caused her to come to make heirs to the crown, she answers expectation to the utmost.

Monsieur Louvois is a man who very much observes his duty, which he performs to admiration; and to whom we must acknowledge France owes part of the glory it has hitherto gained, both in regard of its conquests, as also the conversion of heretics; to which latter, I may say, he has contributed as much as the king; he has already shewed himself fierce, wrathful, and hard-hearted, in his actions towards them; though he is not naturally inclined to cruelty, nor to harass the people. His brother, the Archbishop of Rheims, has ways which do not much differ from those of his soul; and all the difference I find between them is, that the archbishop loves his own glory as much as Monsieur de Louvois loves that of his majesty. He is his own idol; and give him but incense, and you may obtain any thing. Honour is welcome to him, let it come which way it will The least thing provokes this prelate; and he will not yield any thing derogatory to his paternity. He will seem learned; he will seem a great theologian, and will seem to be a good bishop, and to have a great care of his diocese, and would heretofore seem a great preacher I have hinted in my last; the reasons why I cannot altogether like him, which are needless to repeat.

The Archbishop of Paris is always the same; I mean, a gallant man; whose present conversation is charming, and loves his pleasures; but cannot bear any thing that grieves or gives trouble; though he is always a great enemy of the Jansenists, which he lately intimated to Cardinal Camus. He is always with me in the counsel of conscience, and agrees very well with our society; laying mostly to heart the conversion of the protestants of the three kingdoms. He also makes very good observations, and designs to give some advice to your reverence, which I shall convey to you. I do sometimes impart to him what you write to me.

My Lord Kingston has embraced our good party: I was present when he abjured in the church of St Dennis: I will give you the circumstances some other time.

You promised to send me the names of all heretic officers who are in his majesty's troops; that much imports me; and you shall not want good catholic officers to fill up their places. I have drawn a list of them who are to pass into England; and his most Christian majesty approves thereof: pray observe what I hinted to you in my last on the subject of the visits, which our fathers must give to the chief lords, members of the next parliament; those reverend fathers, who are to perform that duty, must be middle-aged, with a lively countenance, and fit to persuade. I also advised you in some of my other letters, how the Bishop of Oxford ought to behave himself, by writing incessantly, and to insinuate into the people the putting down the test;[1] and at the same time calm the storm which the letter of pensionary Fagel has raised. And his majesty must continue to make vigorous prohibitions to all booksellers in London, not to print any answers, as well to put a stop to the insolency of heretic authors, as also to hinder the people from reading them.

In short, you intimate to me, that his majesty will follow our advice; It is the quickest way, and I cannot find a better, or fitter, to dispossess his subjects from such impressions as they have received. His majesty must also, by the same declaration, profess in conscience, that, if complied with, he will not only keep his word, to maintain and protect the church of England, but will also confirm his promises by such laws as the protestants shall be contented with. This is the true politic way; for by his granting all, they cannot but consent to something.

His most Christian majesty has with great success experienced this maxim: and though he had not to struggle with penal laws and tests, yet he found it convenient to make large promises, by many declarations; for, since we must dissemble, you must endeavour all you can to persuade the king it is the only method to effect his designs.

I did also, in my last, give you a hint of its importance, as well as the ways you must take to insinuate yourselves dextrously with the king to gain his good will. I know not whether you have observed what passed in England some years since; I will recite it, because examples instruct much.

One of our assisting fathers of that kingdom, (which was Father Parsons) having written a book against the succession of the King of Scots to the realm of England, Father Creighton, who was also of our society, and upheld by many of our party, defended the cause of that king, in a book intitled, The Reasons of the King of Scots, against the book of Father Parsons: and though they seemed divided, yet they understood one another very well, this being practised by order of our general, to the end, that if the house of Scotland were excluded, they might shew him who had the government, the book of Father Parsons; and, on the other hand, if the king happened to be restored to the throne, they might obtain his good will, by shewing him the works of Father Creighton: So that which way soever the medal turned, it still proved to the advantage of our society. Not to digress from our subject, I must desire you to read the English book of Father Parsons, intitled, The Reform of England; where, after his blaming of Cardinal Pole, and making some observations of faults in the council of Trent, he finally concludes, that suppose England should return (as we hope) to the catholic faith in this reign, he would reduce it to the state of the primitive church: and to that end all the ecclesiastical revenue ought to be used in common, and the management thereof committed to the care of seven wise men, drawn out of our society, to be disposed of by them as they should think fit. Moreover, he would have all the religious orders forbidden on religious penalties, not to return into the three kingdoms, without leave of those seven wise men: to the end, it might be granted only to such as live on alms. These reflections seem to me very judicious, and very suitable to the present state of England.

The same Father Parsons adds, that when England is reduced to the true faith, the pope must not expect, at least for five years, to reap any benefit of the ecclesiastical revenue; but must leave the whole in the hands of those seven wise men, who will manage the same to the benefit and advancement of the church.

The court goes this day for Marli, to take the divertisements which are there prepared: I hope to accompany the king, and will entertain him about all business; and accordingly as he likes what you hint to me in your letter, I shall give you notice. I have acquainted him with his Britannic majesty's design, of building a citadel near

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[1] He did write a paper which had a tendency that way, and which is still extant.—*Orig. Note.*

Whitehall; Monsieur Vauban, *our* engineer, was present: after some discourse on the importance of the subject, his majesty told Monsieur Vauban, *that* he thought it convenient he should make a model of the design, and *that* he should on purpose go over to England to see the ground. I have done all I could to suspend the designs of our great monarch, who is always angry against the holy father: both parties are stubborn: The king's natural inclination is, to have all yield to him; and the pope's resolution is unalterable.

All our fathers most humbly salute your reverence. Father Roine Ville acts wonderfully about Nismes amongst the new converts, *who still* meet, notwithstanding the danger they expose themselves to. I daily expect news from the frontiers of the empire, which I shall impart to your reverence, and am with the greatest respect,

Yours, &c.

Paris, March 7, 1688.

From the Earl of Oxford's Collection.

Father La Chaise's Project for the Extirpation of Heretics. In a Letter from him to Father P—rs.

This is an arrow from the same quiver which produced the former supposititious letters, but is not so well conceived, the irony being too grossly apparent.

Worthy Friend,

I RECEIVED yours of the 20th of June last, and am very glad to hear of your good success, and that our party gains ground so fast in England. But, concerning the question you have put to me, that is, What is the best course to be taken to root out all the heretics? To which I answer: There are divers ways to do that; but we must consider which is the best to make use of in England. I am sure you are not ignorant how many thousand heretics we have in France, by the power of our dragoons, converted in the space of one year; and by the doctrine of those booted apostles, turned more in one month than Christ and his apostles could in ten years. This is a most excellent method, and far excels those of the great preachers and teachers that have lived since Christ's time. But I have spoke with divers fathers of our society, who do think that your king is not strong enough to accomplish his design by such kind of force, so that we cannot expect to have our work done in that manner; for the heretics are too strong in the three kingdoms, and therefore we must seek to convert them by fair means before we fall upon them with fire, sword, halters, gaols, and other such like punishments: And therefore I can give you no better advice than to begin with soft easy means, wheedle them in by promises of profit and offices of honour, till you have made them dip themselves in treasonable actions, against the laws established, and then they are bound to serve for fear. When they have done thus, turn them out, and serve others so, by putting them in their places; and by this way, gain as many as you can. And for the heretics that are in places of profit and honour, turn them out, or suspend them on pretence of misbehaviour, by which their places are forfeit, and they subject to what judgment you please to give upon them. Then you must form a camp that must consist of none but catholics; this will make the heretics heartless, and conclude all means of relief and recovery is gone. And, lastly, take the short and the best way, which is to surprize the heretics on a sudden; and to encourage the zealous catholics, let them sacrifice them all, and wash their hands in their blood, which will be an acceptable offering to God. And this was the method I took in France, which hath well, you see, succeeded, but it cost me many threats and promises before I could bring it thus far, our king being a long time very unwilling.

But, at last, I got him on the hip; for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, for which I would by no means give him absolution, till he had given me an instrument, under his own hand and seal, to sacrifice all the heretics in one day. Now, as soon as I had my desired commission, I appointed the day when this should be done, and, in the mean time, made ready some thousands of letters, to be sent into all parts of France in one post-night. I was never better pleased than that time; but the king was affected with some compassion for the Hugonots, because they had been a means to bring him to his crown and throne; and the longer he was under it the more sorrowful he was, often complaining, and desiring me to give him his commission again; but that I would by no persuasion do, advising him to repent of that heinous sin; and also telling him, that the trouble and horror of his spirit did not proceed from any thing of evil in those things that were to be done, but from that great wickedness which he had done; and that he must resolve to undergo the severe burden of a troubled mind for one of them or the other, and if he would remain satisfied as it was, his sin being forgiven, there would in few days be a perfect atonement made for it, and he perfectly reconciled to God again. But all this would not pacify him, for the longer the more restless, and therefore I ordered him to retire to his closet, and there spend his time constantly in prayer, without permitting any one to interrupt him; and this was in the morning early, when the evening following I was to send away all my letters. I did indeed make the more haste, for fear he should disclose it to any body, yet I had given him a strict charge to keep it to himself, and the very thing that I most feared, to my great sorrow, came to pass; for just in the nick of time the devil, who hath always his instruments at work, sent the Prince of Conde to the court, who asked for the king; he was told that he was in his closet, and would speak with no man; he impudently answered, That he must and would speak with him, and so went directly to his closet; he being a great peer, no man durst hinder him. And being come to the king, he soon perceived, by his countenance, that he was under some great trouble of mind, for he looked as if he had been going into the other world immediately. Sir, said he, what is the matter with you? The king, at the first, refused to tell him; but he pressing harder upon him, at last the king, with a sorrowful complaint, burst out, and said, I have given Father La Chaise a commission, under my own hand, to murder all the Hugonots in one day, and this evening will the letters be dispatched to all parts by the post for the performing it; so that there is but small time left for my Hugonot subjects to live, who have never done me any harm: Whereupon this cursed rogue answered, Let him give you your commission again. The king said, How shall I get it out of his hand, for if I send to him for it, he will refuse to send it? This devil answered, If your majesty will give me order, I will quickly make him return it. The king was soon persuaded, being willing to give ease to his troubled spirit, and said, Well, go then, and break his neck, if he will not give it you; whereupon this son of the devil went to the post-house, and asked, if I had not a great number of letters there? and they said, Yes, more than I had sent thither in a whole year before; then, said the prince, By order from the king, you must deliver them all to me; which they durst not deny, for they knew well enough who he was. And no sooner was he got into the post-house, and had asked these questions, but I came also in after him, to give order to the post-master, to give notice to all those under him in the several parts of the kingdom, that they should take care to deliver my letters with all speed imaginable. But I was no sooner entered the house, but he gave his servants order to secure the door, and said confidently to me, You must, by order from the king, give me the commission which you have forced from him: I told him, I had it not about me, but would go and fetch it, thinking to get from him, and so go out of town, and send the contents of those letters another time; but he said, You must give it me, and if you have it not about you, send somebody to fetch it, or else never expect to go alive out of my hands, for I have an order from the king, either to bring it or break your neck: And I am resolved either to carry back that to him in my hand, or your heart's blood on the point of my sword. I would have made my escape, but he set his sword to my breast, and said, You must give it me or die, therefore deliver it, or else this goes through your body.

So when I saw nothing else would do, I put my hand in my pocket and gave it him, which he carried immediately to the king, and gave him that and all my letters, which they burnt: And being all done, the king said, Now his heart was at ease. Now, how he should be eased by the devil, or so well satisfyed with a false joy, I cannot tell: But this I know, that it was a very wicked and ungodly action, as well in his majesty as the Prince of Conde, and did not a little increase the burden and danger of his majesty's sins. I soon gave an account of this affair to several fathers of our society, who promised to do their best to prevent the aforesaid prince doing such another act; which was accordingly done, for within the space of six days after the damned action he was poisoned, and well he deserved it. The king also did suffer too, but in another fashion, for disclosing the design to the prince, and hearkening to his counsel. And many a time since, when I have had him at confession, I have shook hell about his ears, and made him sigh, fear, and tremble, before I would give him absolution; nay, more than that, I have made him beg for it on his knees, before I would consent to absolve him. By this, I saw that he had still an inclination to me, and was willing to be under my government, so I set the baseness of the action before him, by telling the whole story, and how wicked it was, and that it could not be forgiven till he had done some good action to balance that, and expiate the crime. Whereupon, he at last asked me what he must do? I told him, that he must root out all the heretics from his kingdom: So, when he saw there was no rest for him without doing it, he did again give them all into the power of me and our clergy, under this condition, That we would not murder them, as he had before given orders, but that we should, by fair means or force, convert them to the catholic religion; to which end, he gave us his dragoons to be at our devotion and service, that we might use them as we saw convenient, to convert them to the true religion. Now, when we had got the commission, we presently put it in practice, and what the issue of it hath been, you very well know. But now in England the work cannot be done after this manner, as you may perceive by what I have said to you, so that I cannot give you better counsel, than to take that course[1] in hand wherein we were so unhappily prevented; and I doubt not but that it may have better success with you than with us.

I would write to you of many other things, but that I fear I have already detained you too long; wherefore I shall write no more at present, but that I am,

Your friend and servant,

Paris, July 8th, 1668.

La Chaise.

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[1] To put them all to the sword, and murder them.—*Orig. Note.*

THE CATHOLIC ALMANACK FOR THE YEAR 1687;

Containing both the Roman and English Calendar; with Catalogues of the Popes, from St Peter to this present Innocentius XI. and of the Kings of England and Archbishops of Canterbury, from the Year 600 to the Reformation.

The publication of the following Almanac by the king's authority, and the dispersion of a multitude of controversial or devotional tracts in favour of popery, were "signs of the times," and indications of the extreme anxiety felt by the monarch in behalf of his religion.

January XXXI.

New M. 3 d. 55 m. aft. 7 ni.
First q. 10 d. 24 m. af. 12 noo.

Full M. 18 d. 27 m. aft. 12 noo.
Last q. 26 d. 28 m. p. 1. aftern.

1	a	*Circumcision.*	Eluan. B. Mid. C.	
2	B		1000 M.	
3	c		Fintan. Ab.	
4	d		Melorus M.	
5	e	Telesph. P. M.	Edward K. C.	
6	f	*Epiphany.*	Peter Ab.	
7	g		Cedda B.	
8	a		Wulsine B.	
9	B	1 *p. Epiph.*	Brithwald B.	
10	c		Adrian Ab.	
11	d	Hygini P. M.	Egwin B.	
12	e		Bennet Ab.	
13	f		Kentigern B.	
14	g	Hilar. Ep. S. Felic. M.	Mau. & Br. V. M.	
15	a	Pauli 1. Er. S. Mauri A.	Ita Ab.	
16	B	2 *p. Ep.* Mar. P. m. S. T.	Henry Her.	
17	c	Antonii Ab. Dup.	Caradock Her.	
18	d	Cat. S. Pe R. dup. Prisc.	Deicola Ab.	
19	e	Canu. S. I. S. Marii, &c.	Wolstan B.	
20	f	Fab. & Seb. m. Dup.	Rich. Ham. Her.	
21	g	Agnet V. M. Dup.	Malcalla. Ab.	
22	a	Vincent & Anas. M. S.	Maimbodus M.	
23	B	*Sept.* Ray. Sem. Tr. Em.	Theorith. V.	
24	c	Timoth. E. M. Sem.	Cadock Ab.	*Term beg.*
25	d	Con. S. Paul Ap. Dup.	Paul Dis. Pat.	
26	e	Polycarp Ep. M. Sem.	Bathildis Q. Fr.	
27	f	Jo. Chrysost. Ep. dup.	Algina V.	
28	g	Agnet secundo.	Sexulph B.	
29	a	Francis Sal. Ep. Sem.	Gildas Sen.	
30	B	*Sexag.* Mart. V. M. S. Tr.	Gildas Jun.	
31	c	Pet. Nolasci Con. Dup.	Wilgis Ab.	

February XXVIII.

New M. 2 d. 13 m. af. 6 mor.
First qu. 8 d. 38 m. aft. 12. ni.

Full M. 17 d. 26 m. af. 7 mor.
Last q. 23 d. 47 m. p. 10. foren.

1	d	Ignat. Ep. m. Sem.	Brigit V.	*Fast.*
2	e	*Purific. B. V. M.* Dup.	Lawrence B.	
3	f	Blasii Ep. m. Sem.	Weroburg. Ab.	
4	g	Andreas Cors. Sem. I.	Gilbert C.	
5	a	Agathæ V. M. Sem.	Indract. &c. m.	
6	B	*Quinqua.* Dor. V. M.	Inas K.	
7	c	Romualdi Ab. Dup.	Augulus B.	
8	d		Elfleda Ab.	
9	e	*Ash-Wednesday.* Apollon. V. M.	Thelian B.	
10	f		Trumvin B.	
11	g		Sedm. Simp. C.	
12	a		Edildwald Her.	*Term ends.*
13	B	*Quadrag.*	Ermenilda Q.	
14	c	Valent. m.	Fechinus Ab.	
15	d	Faustin & Jovit. m.	Sigfride B.	
16	e	*Ember Week.*	Oswy K.	
17	f		Tinan B.	
18	g	Simeon Ep. m.	Ethelstan B.	
19	a		Acca B.	
20	B	2 *Sunday of Lent.*	Ulrick Her.	
21	c		Cymbert B.	
22	d	Cat. S. Pet. Anti. Dup.	Ethnea V.	
23	e		Milburga Ab.	*Fast.*
24	f	*Mathiæ Ap.*	Ethelbert K.	
25	g		Furseus K.	
26	a		Milwida V.	
27	B	3 *Sund. of Lent.*	Elvius B.	
28	c		Oswald B.	

March XXXI.

New Moon 3 d. at 4 aftern. | Full M. 18 d. 17 m. aft. 12 night.
First q. 10 d. 49 m. aft. 8 ni. | Last q. 26 d. 47 m. aft. 10 foren.

1	d		David B.
2	e		Chad B.
3	f		Winwalock Ab.
4	g	Cas. Sem. S. Lucii P. M.	Owen C.
5	a		Piran B.
6	B	4 *Sund. of Lent.*	Fridolin Ab.
7	c	Tho. Aqu. D. Dup. SS.	Esterwin Ab.
8	d	Perp. Fel.	Felix B.
9	e	Francis Vid. Rom. dup.	Alured Ab.
10	f	Quadraginta m. Sem.	Himelin Her.
11	g		Lictphard B.
12	a	Gregorii P. D. dup.	Brian K.
13	B	*Passion Sunday.*	Cungarus Her.
14	c		Ceolulph K.
15	d		Aristobu. B. m.
16	e		Adoman C.
17	f	Patric Ep. C. Sem.	Patrick B.
18	g		Edward K. M.
19	a	*Josephi C.* dup.	Alkmund m.
20	B	*Pal. Sun.* Joac. C. du. T.	Cuthbert B.
21	c	Benedict. Ab. dup.	Herebert Her.
22	d		Hamund B.
23	e		Finguar, &c. M.
24	f	*Holy Thursday.*	Lanfrank B.
*25	g	*Annuntiat. B. Mariæ.*	William M.
26	a		Alfwold B.
27	B	*Easter Sunday.*	Rupert B.
28	c	*East. Mond.*	Albert B.
29	d	*East. Tuesd.*	Geleasius B.
30	e		Patton B.
31	f		Adr. & Cad. C.

April XXX.

New M. 2 d. 8 m. af. 2 morn. | Full M. 17 d. 18 m. p. 2 after.
First q. 9 d. 25 m. p. 2 aftern. | Last qu. 24 d. at 4 afternoon.

1	g		Agilbert B.	
2	a	Fr. de Paula C. dup. T.	Ebba Jun. Ab.	
3	B	*Low Sunday.*	Richard B.	
4	c		Gundley K. Her.	
5	d	Vincent Fer. C. Sem. I.	Asser B.	
6	e		Elstan B.	
7	f		Bernaeus Ab.	
8	g		Lothardus B.	
9	a		Gisla & Rict. V.	
10	B	2 *p. Easter.*	Paternus C.	
11	c	Leonis P. C. dup.	Guthlake Her.	
12	d		Mechtild V.	
13	e	Hermenegil. M. Sem.	Elfleda Wid.	*Term*
14	f	SS. Tiburtii M. &c.	Ethelwolph K.	*beg.*
15	g		Paternus B.	
16	a		Maxent. V. M.	
17	B	3 *p. East.* S. Anicot. P. M.	Stephen Ab.	
18	c		Erardus B.	
19	d		Elphegus B.	
20	e		Cedwal K.	
21	f		Anselm B.	
22	g	Sot & Cali P. M. Sem.	Bristan B.	
23	a	*Georgii M.* dup.	Etheldred K.	
24	B	4 *p. Easter.*	Mellitus B.	
25	c	*Marci Evang.* dup.	Egbert Ab.	
26	d	Cleti & Mar. P. M. Se.	Leofrick B.	
27	e		Walburga Ab.	
28	f	Vitalis M.	Ivo B.	
29	g	Petri M. dup.	Paul B.	
30	a	Cath. Sen. V. dup.	Erconwald B.	

May XXXI.

New M. 1 d. 44 m. p. 12 noon. | Full Moon 17 d. at 2 morn.
First quar. 9 d. at 8 in morn. | Last qu. 23 d. 12 m. af. 8 ni.
New Moon 30 day, 24 min. after 12 at night.

1	B	*S. Phil. & Jac. Ap.* dup.	Asaph B.	
2	c	Athanas. B. dup.	Ultan Ab.	
3	d	*Invent. of* ✝ dup. SS.	Walter Ab.	
4	e	S. Monica Sem.	Ethelred K.	
5	f	Ascen. Dom.	Richard K.	
6	g	Joan. à port. Lat. dup.	Edbert B.	
7	a	Stanisl. E. M. Sem.	John B.	
8	B	*Appar. S. Micha.* dup.	Wire C.	
9	c	Gregor. Naz. E. C. dup.	Beatus C.	*Term*
10	d	Antonin. Sem. l. Gord.	Henry B.	*ends.*
11	e	& Ep. M.	Fremund. M.	
12	f	Nerei, Achil, &c. M. S.	Remig. B.	
13	g		Merwin B.	
14	a	Boniface M.	Editha Sen. Ab.	*Fast.*
15	B	*Whitsunday.*	Dympna V. M.	
16	c	Ubaldi Ep. C.	Simon Stock C.	
17	d	*Ember Week.*	Carantocus C.	
18	e	Venant. M. Sem. Tr.	Sewal B.	
19	f	Petri Cælest. Tr. Pud.	Dunstan B.	
20	g	Bern. Sen. C. Sem. Tr.	Ethelbert K. M.	
21	a		Godrick Her.	
22	B	*Trinity Sund.*	Const. the Great.	
23	c		William M.	
24	d		Robert B.	
25	e	Mar. Mag. Paz. Se. Urb.	Aldelm B.	
26	f	*Corp. Christi.* Phil. El.	Aug. Ap. Eng.	
27	g	Joan. P. M.	Beda C.	*Term*
28	a.		Theocus Her.	*beg.*
29	B	2 *p. Pent.*	Ergontha Ab.	
30	c	Felic. P. M.	Hienna V.	
31	d	Petronil V.	Guithelinus B.	

June XXX.

First q. 8 d. at 1 in the morn. | Last q. 22 d. 8 m. bef. 1 mor.
Full M. 15 d. 30 m. p. 10 morn. | New M. 29 d. 31 m. p. 1 aft.

1	e		Winstan M.	
2	f	Marcellin, &c. M.	Malcolu K.	
3	g		Pega V.	
4	a		Petrock Ab.	
5	B	3 *p. Pent.*	Boniface B.	
6	c	Norbert E. C. dup.	Gudwall B.	
7	d		Robert Ab.	
8	e		William B.	
9	f	Prim. & Feliciani M.	*Columba* Ab.	
10	g		Margaret Q.	
11	a	*Barnab. Ap.* dup.	Egbert K.	
12	B	4 *p. Pent.* S. Bas. &c. M.	Cunera V. M.	
13	c	Anton. de Padua. dup.	Odulphus C.	
14	d	Basil. mag. E. C. dup.	Brandan Ab.	
15	e	Viti, &c. M.	Eadburga V.	*Term*
16	f		Mayne Ab.	*ends.*
17	g		Botulph Ab.	
18	a	Marci & Marcel. M.	Adolph B.	
19	B	5 *p. Pent.* S. Gervas M.	Burjene V.	
20	c	Silverii P. M.	Transl. Ed. K. M.	
21	d		Edgmond M.	
22	e	Paulin E. C.	Alban Protom.	
23	f		Ediltrud Q. Ab.	*Fast.*
24	g	*Nat. S. Joan. Bapt.*	Bartlemew Her.	
25	a		Amphibalus M.	
26	B	6 *p. Pent.* Joan & Pauli	Adelbert C.	
27	c	M. Sem.	Sezinus B.	
28	d	Leo P. C. Sem.	Sethrida Ab.	*Fast.*
29	e	*Peter & Paul.*	Hugo M.	
30	f	Com. S. Paul. dup.	Theodatus B. M.	

July XXXI.

First q. 7 d. 51 m. p. 4. aftern.
Full M. 14 d. 24 m. aft. 6 ni.
Last q. 21 d. 13 m. p. 8. morn.
New M. 29 d. at 4 in morn.

1	g		Jul. & Aaron M.	
2	a	Visit B. V. Dup. Proc.	Oudock B.	
3	B	*7 p. Pent.*	Guthagon Her.	
4	c	Elizab. Q. Port. Sem. L.	Oda B.	
5	d		Modwena Ab.	
6	e		Sexburg. Q. Ab.	
7	f	Marg. Q. Scot. Sem. l.	Tran. Th. Cant.	
8	g		Edgar K.	
9	a		Ethelb. Q. Ab.	
10	B	8 *p. Pen.* Sep. Fra. M. Tr.	Grimbald Ab.	
11	c	Pius P. M.	Withburga Ab.	
12	d	John Gaulb. dup. Nab.	Kilian M.	
13	e	Anaclet. P. M. Sem.	Mildreda Ab.	
14	f	Bonavent E. dup.	Marcellinus C.	
15	g	Henry Emp. Sem.	Swithin B.	
16	a		Osmund B.	
17	B	9. *p. Pent.* S. Al. C. Sem.	Kenelm K.	
18	c	Symphoros. &c. M.	Edburga V.	
19	d		Dimanus C.	
20	e	Margaret V. M.	Alfwitha Q.	
21	f	Praxed. V.	Ethelburga Ab.	
22	g	Mary Magd. dup.	Kenulphus K.	
23	a	Appollin. E. M. dup.	Vodinus B. M.	
24	B	10 *p. Pint.* Chri. V. M.	Ruf. & Ulfal. M.	*Fast.*
25	c	*James Apost.* Christ.	Adler B. M.	
26	d	*Ann M. V. M.*	Christina V.	
27	e	Pantaleon M.	Joseph of Arim.	
28	f	Nazar, &c. M. Sem.	Sampson B.	
29	g	Martha V. Sem. Fel.	Ger. & Lu. B. C.	
30	a	Abdon & Sennon M.	Tatwinus B.	
31	B	11 *p. Pent.* Ig. C. dup.	Neotus C.	

August XXXI.

First q. 6 d. 38 m. af. 6 morn.
Full M. 13 d. 21 m. af. 3 mor.
Last q. 19 d at 3 in afternoon.
New Moon 27 d. at 8 night.

1	c	Petri ad Vin. dup. Mac.	Ethelwold B.	
2	d	Stephen P. M.	*Kinedus* Her.	
3	e	Invent. S. Step. M. Sem.	Domitius C.	
4	f	Domin. C. dup.	Ivo B.	
5	g	Mary ad Nives Dup.	Oswald.	
6	a	Transf. Dom. dup. Xys.	Henry B.	
7	B	12 *p. Pent.* S. Caj. S. Tr.	Claudia Ruffin.	
8	c	Cyriac. & Soc. M. Sem.	Briocus B.	
9	d	Roman. M.	Hugo B.	*Fast.*
10	e	*Laurent M.*	Henry K.	
11	f	SS. Tiburt & Susan. M.	Gilbert B.	
12	g	Clara. Dup.	Alcuin Ab.	
13	a	SS. Hippol. & Cass. M.	Wigbert M.	*Fast.*
14	B	13 *p. Pent.* S. Euseb. C.	Werenfrid C.	
15	c	*Assumpt.* B. V.	Margaret V.	
16	d	Hyacint. C. Dup.	Alexander C.	
17	e		Thomas C.	
18	f	Agapit M.	Helena Emp.	
19	g		Ciltancus K.	
20	a	Bern. Ab. dup. S. Ste. R.	Oswind K.	
21	B	14 *p. Pent.*	SS. Arw. Fr. M.	
22	c	Timoth. & Soc. M.	Arnulph. Her.	
23	d		Justinian M.	*Fast.*
24	e	*Barthol. Ap.*	Alice V.	
25	f	Lewis K. Sem.	Ebba Sen. Ab.	
26	g	Zephryn. P. M.	Bregwin B. C.	
27	a		Decum. Her. N.	
28	B	15 *p. Pent.* Aug. dup.	Hermacharus B.	
29	c	Decol. S. J. Bap. dup.	Stebba K.	
30	d	Felic. & Adauct.	Fiaker Her.	
31	e	Raym. Non. C. Sem.	Aidanus B.	

September XXX.

First qu. 4 d. at 6 at night. | Last q. 18 d. 16 m. p. 9. morn.
Full M. 11 d. 30 m. p. 9. mor. | New M. 26 d. 30 m. af. 12 noo.

1	f	Giles Ab. SS. 12. Frat.	Elpheg. Cal. C.	
2	g		Adaman Ab.	
3	a		Mansuetus B.	
4	B	16 *p. Pent.*	Swibert B.	
5	c		Altho Ab.	
6	d		Magnus Ab.	
7	e		Leofgar B.	*Fast.*
8	f	*Nativ. B. V.* S. Adr M.	Ethelb. Q. Ab.	
9	g	Gorgon M.	Osmana V.	
10	a	Nicholas Tol. Dup.	Otgerus C.	
11	B	17 *p. Pent.* SS. Prot.	Wulshildis Ab.	
12	c	et Hyacint. M.	Eanswida Ab.	
13	d		Turgottus B.	
14	e	Exalt. S. Crucis. dup.	Gelduinus Ab.	
15	f	Nicomed.	Editha V.	
16	g	Cornel. Cypria. M.	Ninian C.	
17	a	Impres. stig. S. Fran. S.	Steph. et Soc. M.	
18	B	18 *p. Pent.*	Winoch Ab.	
19	c	Janu. E. et Soc. M. dup.	Theodore B.	
20	d	Eustach. et Soc. M. dup.	Heriswide Q.	*Fast.*
21	e	*Matthew Apost.*	Gurvallus B.	
22	f	*Ember Week.* Maurit.	Hia V.	
23	g	Lini. P. M. Sem. S. Thec.	Alfwold K.	
24	a	V. M.	Winnibald Ab.	
25	B	19 *p. Pent.*	Theodoric. Ab.	
26	c	Cyprian et Justin. M.	Hedda Ab.	
27	d	Cos. et Dam. M. Sem.	Sigebert K.	
28	e	Wenceslaus Sem. l.	Lioba Ab.	
29	f	*Ded. S. Mich. Ar.*	Roger. B.	
30	g	Jerome D. dup.	Honor.	

October XXXI.

First q. 4 d. 10 m. af. 2 morn. | Last qu. 18 d. at 3 in morn.
Full M. 10 d. 49 m. aft. 6 nig. | New M. 5 d. 50 m. p. 10. ni.

1	a	Remig. E. C. Sem. l.	Wasnulph Her.	
2	B	20 *p. Pent.* S. Angel.	Thomas B.	
3	c	guard. Dup.	SS. Ewa. Fr. & M.	
4	d	Francis C. Dup.	Edwin K.	
5	e	Placid. et Soc. M.	Wilfrid Jun. B.	
6	f	Bruno C. Dup.	Ivy C.	
7	g	Marc. P. M. SS. Ser. &c.	Ositha Q. M.	
8	a	Bridgit Vid. Sem.	Keyna Her.	
9	B	21 *p. Pent.* S. Dionis.	Ro. Gros. Test. B.	
10	c	&c. M. Sem. Tr.	Paulinus B.	
11	d		Ethelburga Ab.	
12	e		Wilfrid Sen. B.	
13	f	Edward K. C. Sem.	*Edward K. C.*	
14	g	Callist. P. M. Sem.	Burchardus B.	
15	a	Teresa V. Dup.	Tecla Ab.	
16	B	22 *p. Pent.*	Lullus B.	
17	c	Hedwiges Vid. Sem. l.	Ethelbright M.	
18	d	Lucas Evang. Dup.	Ethbin A.	
19	e	Peter of Alcant Sem.	Frideswid Ab.	
20	f		Kenr. et Offæ K.	
21	g	Hilarion Ab. SS. Ur-	Ursul. et Soc. M.	
22	a	sulæ, &c. M.	Melanius B.	
23	B	23 *p. Pent.*	Edilburga Ab.	
24	c		Maglorius B.	*Term*
25	d	Chrysant. et Dariæ M.	Vall. et Pol. V.	*beg.*
26	e	Evarist, P. M.	Eatta B.	
27	f		Rumbald B. M.	*Fast.*
28	g	*Simon et Jude, Ap.*	Alfred K.	
29	a		Elfleda V.	
30	B	24 *p. Pent.*	Egelnoth B.	
31	c		Foillan M.	*Fast.*

November XXX.

First q. 2 d. 22 m. aft. 12 noon. | Last q. 16 d. at 11 at night.
Full M. 9 d. 26 m. af. 6 morn. | New M. 24 d. 38 m. af. 8 ni.

1	d	*All Saints.*	Cissa Ab.	
2	e	All Souls.	Vulganius B.	
3	f		Winefreda M.	
4	g	Charl. Borom C. dup.	Clarus M.	
5	a	Vit. &c.	Malachias B.	
6	B	25 *p. Pent.*	Iltutus Ab.	
7	c		Willebrord B.	
8	d	4 Coronat. M.	Willohade B.	
9	e	Ded. Bas. Sal. Dup.	Kebius B.	
10	f	Triphon et Soc. M.	Justus B.	
11	g	Martin. E. Dup.	Jeron M.	
12	a	Martin P. M. Sem.	Lebuinus.	
13	B	26 *p. Pent.* S. Didac.	Dubritius B.	
14	c	Sem. Tr.	Laurence B.	
15	d		Machutus B.	
16	e		Edmund B.	
17	f	Greg. Thau. E. Sem.	Hugo B.	
18	g	D. Bas. Pet. et Paul dup.	Fulco C.	
19	a	Elizab. Vid. Dup. Pon.	Ermenb. Q. Ab.	
20	B	*27 p. Pent.*	Edmund K.	
21	c	Præsent. B. M. Dup.	Columban Ab.	
22	d	Cæciliæ V. M. Dup.	Bega V.	
23	e	Clement P. M. Sem.	Eadsinus B.	
24	f	Chrysog. M.	Christina Ab.	
25	g	Catharin. V. M. Dup.	Alnoth M.	
26	a	Peter Alexan. E. M.	Egbert Ab.	
27	B	*Advent.*	Oda V.	
28	c		Edwold Her.	*Term*
29	d	*Fast.*	Baruch Her.	*ends.*
30	e	*Andrew Ap.*	Theanus C.	

December XXXI.

First q. 1 d. 16 m. af. 7 at ni. | Last q. 19 d. 5 m. af. 8 at night.
Full M. 8 d. 31 m. af. 8 at ni. | New M. 24 d. 30 m. af. 10 for.

1	f		Virgilius B.	
2	g	Bibian. V. M. Sem.	Weede B.	
3	a	Francis Xav. Dup.	Lucius K.	
4	B	2 *Adv.* S. Barb. V. M.	Birinus B.	
5	c	Sabba Ab.	Eanflede Q.	
6	d	Nicol. E. C. Dup.	Congellus Ab.	
7	e	Ambros. Ep. D. Dup.	Odwald Ab.	
8	f	Concept. B. V. Dup.	Agatha Q.	
9	g		Elgiva Q.	
10	a	Melchiad. P. M.	Daniel B.	
11	B	3 *Adv.* Damas P. M. Tr.	Boysil Ab.	
12	c		Elfreda V.	
13	d	Luciæ V. M. Dup.	Judocus Her.	
14	e	*Ember Week.*	Edburga Ab.	
15	f	Euseb. E. M.	Hilda Ab.	
16	g		Colmanus C.	
17	a		Tetta Ab.	
18	B	4 *Advent.*	Daniel B.	
19	c		Macarius Ab.	
20	d		Mathild Q.	*Fast.*
21	e	*Thomas Ap.*	Eustachius Ab.	
22	f		Hilclid Ab.	
23	g		Ithwara V. M.	
24	a		Ruthius C.	*Fast.*
25	B	*Nativ. Christ.*	Gregory C.	
26	c	*Stephen.*	Tatheus Her.	
27	d	*John Ap. et Evan.*	Gerard C.	
28	e	*Innocents.*	Walstan C.	
29	f	*Thomas Cant.*	Thomas Cant.	
30	g		Ralph Ab.	
31	a	*Silvest. P. C.*	Ethernanus C.	

A continual Succession of the Popes of Rome, from St Peter to this present Time, with the Year of our Lord in which each Pope died.

St Peter sate at Antioch 7 years, at Rome 24	69
St Linus, Mart.	80
St Cletus, M.	93
St Clement, M.	102
St Anacletus, M.	112
St Euaristus, M.	121
St Alexander I. M.	132
St Sixtus I. M.	142
St Telesphorus, M.	154
St Hyginus, M.	158
St Pius I. M.	167
St Anicetus, M.	175
St Soter, M.	179
St Eleutherius, M.	194
St Victor I. M.	203
St Zepherinus, M.	222
St Callistus I. M.	226
St Urbanus I. M.	233
St Pontianus, M.	237
St Antherus, M.	238
St Fabianus, M.	253
St Cornelius, M.	255
St Lucius I. M.	257
St Stephanus I. M.	260
St Sixtus II. M.	261
St Dionisius, M.	272
St Felix I. M.	275
St Eutychianus, M.	283
St Caius, M.	296
St Marcellinus, M.	304
St Marcellus, M.	309
St Eusebius, M.	311
St Miltiades, M.	313
St Sylvester I. Confessor	335
St Marcus, C.	336
St Julius I. C.	352
St Liberius, C.	367
St Damascus I. C.	384
St Siricius, C.	398
St Anastasius I. C.	402
St Innocentius I. C.	417
St Zosimus, C.	418
St Bonifacius I. C.	423
St Cælestinus I. C.	432
St Sixtus III. C.	440
St Leo Magnus et I. C.	461
St Hilarius, C.	467
St Simplicius	483
St Felix II. C.	492
St Gelasius I. C.	496
St Anastasius II. C.	498
St Symmachus, C.	514
St Hormisda, C.	523
St Joannes I. C.	526
St Felix III. C.	530
Bonifacius II.	531
St Joannes II. C.	535
St Agapetus, C.	537
St Silverius, C.	540
St Vigilius, C.	559
St Pelagius I. C.	559
St Joannes III. C.	572
St Benedictus I. C.	577
Pelagius II.	590
St Gregorius Mag. et I. C.	604
Sabinianus	605
St Bonifacius III. C.	606
St Bonifacius IV. C.	614
St Deusdedit, C.	617
St Bonifacius V. C.	625
Honorius I.	638
Severinus,	639
Joannes IV.	641
St Theodorus, C.	649
St Martinus I. C.	654
Eugenius I.	654
Vitalianus,	669
St Adeodatus, C.	676
Domnus,	677
St Agatho, C.	682
St Leo II. C.	684
St Benedictus II. C.	685
St Joannes V. C.	686
Conon, or Cuno,	687
St Sergius I. C.	701
Joannes VI.	705
Joannes VII.	707
Sisinnius,	708
Constantinus,	714
St Gregorius II. C.	731
St Gregorius III. C.	741
St Zacharius, C.	752
Stephanus II.	752
Stephanus III.	757
Paulus I.	767
Stephanus IV.	772
Hadrianus I.	795
St Leo III. C.	816
St Stephanus V. C.	817
St Pascalis I. C.	824
Eugenius II.	827
Valentinus,	827
St Gregorius IV. C.	844
Sergius II.	847
St Leo IV. C.	856
Benedictus III.	858
Nicolaus I.	867
Hadrianus II.	872
Joannes VIII.	882
Martinus II.	884
Hadrianus III.	885
Stephanus VI.	891
Formosus,	896
Bonifacius VI.	897
Stephanus VII.	900
Romanus	901
Theodorus II.	901
Johannes IX.	905
Benedictus IV.	906
Leo V.	907
Christoferus	907
Sergius	910
Anastasius III.	912
Lando	912
Joannes X.	929
Leo VI.	929
Stephanus VIII.	931
Johannes XI.	936
Leo VII.	939
Stephanus IX.	946
Marinus II.	946
Agapetus II.	955
Joannes XII.	963
Leo VIII.	965
Benedictus V.	965
Joannes XIII.	972
Domnus II.	972
Benedictus VI.	974
Bonifacius VII.	975
Benedictus VII.	984
John XIV.	985
John XV.	996
Gregorius V.	999
Silvester II.	1003
John XVI.	1003
John XVII.	1009
Sergius IV.	1013
Benedictus VIII.	1024
John XVIII.	1033
Benedictus IX.	1045
Gregorius VI.	1046
Clemens II.	1047
Damasus II.	1048
St Leo IX. C.	1054
Victor II.	1057
St Stephanus IX. C.	1058
Nicolaus II.	1061
Alexander II.	1073
St Gregorius VII. C.	1085
St Victor III. C.	1087
B. Urbanus II.	1099
B. Paschalis II.	1118
B. Gelasius II.	1119
B. Callistus II.	1124
Honorius II.	1130
Innocentius II.	1143
Celestinus II.	1144
Lucius II.	1145
Eugenius III.	1153
Anastasius IV.	1154
Hadrianus IV. Anglus,	1159
Alexander III.	1181
Lucius III.	1185
Urbanus III.	1187
Gregorius VIII.	1187
Clemens III.	1191
Celestinus III.	1198
Innocentius III.	1216
Honorius III.	1227
B. Gregorius IX.	1241
Celestinus IV.	1241
Innocentius IV.	1245

Alexander IV.	1260	Bonifacius IX.	1404	Julius III.	1555
Urbanus IV.	1264	Innocentius VII.	1406	Marcellus II.	1555
Clemens IV.	1268	Gregorius XII.	1410	Paulus IV.	1559
Gregorius X.	1276	Alexander V.	1410	Pius IV.	1565
Innocentius V.	1276	Joannes XXII.	1415	Pius V.	1572
Hadrianus V.	1276	Martinus V.	1431	Gregorius XIII.	1585
Joannes XX.	1277	Eugenius IV.	1446	Sixtus V.	1589
Nicolaus III.	1280	Nicolaus V.	1455	Urbanus VII.	1590
Martinus IV.	1285	Callistus III.	1458	Gregorius XIV.	1590
Honorius IV.	1287	Pius II.	1464	Innocentius IX.	1592
Nicolaus IV.	1292	Paulus II.	1471	Clemens VIII.	1605
St Celestinus V. C.	1294	Sixtus IV.	1484	Leo XI.	1605
Bonifacius VIII.	1303	Innocentius VIII.	1492	Paulus V.	1621
Benedictus IX.	1304	Alexander VI.	1503	Gregorius XV.	1623
Clemens V.	1314	Pius III.	1503	Urbanus VIII.	1644
Joannes XXI.	1334	Julius II.	1513	Innocentius X.	1654
Benedictus X.	1342	Leo X. under whom Luther rises	1517	Alexander VII.	1667
Clemens VI.	1352	Hadrianus VI.	1523	Clement IX.	1670
Innocentius VI.	1362	Clement VII.	1534	Clement X.	1676
Urbanus V.	1370	Paulus III.	1549	*Innocent XI. who now presides* in St Peter's chair.	
Gregorius XI.	1378				
Urbanus VI.	1389				

A Catalogue of the Kings of England, from the Time of St Augustine converting this Nation to Christianity, till the Reformation.

Knegilsus,	611	Ethelwolph,	837	Edmond Ironside,	1016	Henry III.	1216
Senwalch,	643	Ethelbald,	857	Canute,	1017	Edward I.	1274
Sexburga,	672	Ethelbert,	862	Harold,	1036	Edward II.	1307
Escuin,	674	Ethelred,	867	Hardy Canut.	1040	Edward III.	1326
Kentwin,	677	Alfred,	872	St Edw., Confes.	1042	Richard II.	1377
Cedwella,	686	Edward,	901	Harold,	1066	Henry IV.	1399
Ina,	688	Athelstane,	924	Will. the Conqu.	1069	Henry V.	1413
Ethelard,	728	Edmund,	940	Will. Rufus,	1088	Henry VI.	1422
Cuthred,	741	Edred,	946	Henry I.	1100	Edward IV.	1460
Sigibert,	754	Edwin,	955	Stephen,	1135	Edward V.	1483
Kinulph,	755	Edgar,	959	Henry II.	1155	Richard III.	1483
Bithricus,	784	St Edward,	975	Rich. Cœur de Lion	1189	Henry VII.	1485
Egbert,	800	Egelred,	979	John,	1199	Henry VIII.	1509

A Catalogue of the Archbishops of Canterbury, from St Augustine till the Reformation.

St Augustin,	596	Athelard,	871	Rodolph,	1114	John Stratford,	1333
St Laurence,	619	Plegmund,	889	William Corvel,	1122	John Ufford,	1348
St Mellit,	619	Athelin,	915	Theobald,	1138	Tho. Bradwardin,	1349
St Justus,	624	Wolfhelm,	924	St Thomas,	1161	Simon Islip,	1349
St Honorius,	633	St Odo,	934	Richard,	1173	Simon Langhorne,	1366
Deusdedit,	655	St Dunstan,	959	Baldwin,	1184	William Witlesley,	1368
St Theodore,	668	Ethelgar,	988	Reginald,	1191	Simon Sulbury,	1375
Brithwald,	692	Syricius,	990	Hubert Walter,	1193	Will. Courtney,	1381
Tacwin,	731	Africus,	995	Stephen Langton,	1207	Thomas Arundel,	1396
Nothelm,	734	St Elpheg.	1006	Richard Magnus,	1223	Henry Chichley,	1414
Cutbert,	742	Living,	1013	St Edmond,	1234	John Strafford,	1443
Bregwin,	759	Agelnote,	1020	Boniface,	1244	John Kemp,	1452
Lambert,	762	Eadsin,	1038	Robert Kilwerby,	1272	Tho. Bourchier,	1454
Ethelard,	793	Robert,	1050	John Peckham,	1278	John Morton,	1487
Wulfred,	807	Stigand,	1052	Rob. Winchilsey,	1294	Henry Dean,	1501
Theologild,	829	Lanfrank,	1070	Walter Reynolds,	1313	William Warham,	1504
Celnoth,	830	St Anselm	1093	Simon Mepham,	1327	Reginald Pool,	1555

The State of the Church of Rome when the Reformation began, as it appears by the Advices given to Paul III. and Julius III., by Creatures of their own. With a Preface leading to the Matter of the Book.

In this Tract the author insists, with great strength of reasoning, on the corruptions of the church of Rome, as virtually acknowledged by those catholics, who, anxious to stop the progress of the Reformation, saw no other mode of doing so, saving the restoration of the discipline of the church by a general council. The advices here given are, however, of an ironical strain, and appear to have been composed to serve the purpose of the Lutheran controversy.

The Preface.

THE opposition that Luther made to indulgences at first, and soon after to other abuses in the Roman church, awakened many to enquire into the reasons of several things in which they had hitherto acquiesced without particular examination; which liberty, so dangerous to the interest of the Roman see, soon brought upon Luther, who was so notable an example of it, no little trouble from thence, insomuch, that he found himself constrained to appeal to a general council, an expedient no less hated by the court of Rome, which had not yet forgotten the councils of Constance and Basil, than it was generally desired by all the better sort of men, as before for the reforming of abuses, so now for the quieting of controversies in religion.

Leo the Xth being dead, who had not been wanting for his part to suppress these beginnings of a new inquisition into the authority of popes, was succeeded by Adrian VI., about four years after Luther's declaration. Adrian, like an honest man, ingenuously confessed that this distress was justly come upon the holy see as a punishment of those abominations that had been committed in it, and promised to the world a reformation; but the German princes insisted to have a free and general council called, which was by no means well taken to the court by Rome, whereupon the secular princes sent their manifesto to the pope of the *centum gravamina*, or the hundred grievances which they had suffered from that court. But Adrian died (not without vehement suspicion of foul play) before he had sat two years in the chair; and with him died almost all that was honest and good in the Roman court.

Clement VII. comes next to the papacy, who, of all things, could not endure the thoughts of a general council in times wherein he was sure the pope's authority would be called in question, he therefore laboured against it with all imaginable industry and artifice; but it being impossible to satisfy those that had not yet openly withdrawn themselves from the obedience of that see, without seeming to condescend to the general desire of Christendom in this matter, he tried at length to pacify them by making promises of calling a council, which, it was plain to wise men, he never intended to perform, since at first he would neither say where nor when it should be held, and at length, when the emperor pressed hard upon him, he absolutely insisted that the council might be held in Italy; a condition which (as things then stood) he was sure would not be submitted to.

Then comes Paul III., as great a dissembler as ever lived, who knew no less than his predecessors how fatal such a council as was desired must necessarily be to the gentlemen of the Roman see. He found that it was but more passionately desired for being refused, and was indeed put to the utmost stretch of his talent to keep a temper in so difficult a case; but being the fittest person in the world to do what was possible in this nice juncture, he put off, for some time, the indiction of a council, under the pretence of an earnest desire to call one; but, when that artifice was stale, he delayed the opening of it, after it was called, and when nothing else would do, he knew the best ways how to manage and govern it, and to make the world believe all the while that it was unconstrained and free.

But in the third year of his popedom, the clamour of the world being upon him for neither calling a council, nor so much as performing his promise of reforming the court and the church himself, he was forced to make some notable semblance of the latter, that he might a little longer keep off the former. To this end he required four cardinals, and five other prelates, to draw up, in the most impartial manner, a formal catalogue of abuses that needed a reformation; which accordingly was done in the former of the two following Advices that are here published.

The trick was to make the Christian princes believe that he that required, and they who gave this advice, were in good earnest; and so it was sent into Germany, where it produced quite other effects than were hoped from it, for all men's mouths were opened against the court more than they were before; and the court soon shewed that this solemn advice was but mere artifice and collusion to amuse the world, and to keep off the so much dreaded council as long as it was possible. As for the pope himself, how well he was disposed to follow the rules of this advice, appeared by the whole course of things afterwards; for his business all along was to support the absoluteness of the Roman see, and to maintain, "That all judgment in matters of religion ought to be referred to the apostolic see, and that divine and human laws, and the consent of ages, had given to the pope the supreme authority, as of calling councils, so of determining and ordering things that regard the unity and advantage of the church,"[1] as he told the emperor roundly, in a letter to him about seven years after.

As for the courtiers that gave the advice, one of them was the Theatine cardinal, John Peter Caraffa, who was eighteen years after pope, by the name of Paul IV., and who, therefore, had it in his power to put the counsel he gave to Paul III. into execution, if any such thing had been in his mind. But nothing could be more inconsistent with his council than his practice was; the advice acknowledged, that the unbounded licentiousness of popes in breaking laws, and doing whatever they had a mind to do, had reduced Christendom to its deplorable condition. But this man yielded not to any of his predecessors in pride and lawless liberty; he vouchsafed not to allow secular princes fit to be his companions; he began his papacy with breaking the oath of capitulation usually made in the conclave, and, upon that occasion, declared it to be an article of faith that the pope could not be bound; he made himself so odious to the world, and especially to the citizens of Rome, by perfidiousness and oppression, that the rage of the people against his name and family could not be appeased but by doing the most publick disgraces to him after he was dead.

Now, whether Paul IV., when cardinal, gave some good advice for fashion-sake, or having had some good purposes once, laid them all aside when he came to be pope, I shall not dispute, but it is a plain case, that these men have confessed most horrible scandals against themselves, and that at a time when their obligations to reform them were the greatest that the world could lay upon them, they moved not one step towards a reformation in good earnest, but made it their business to baffle the desires and hopes of all good men, which shewed it to be the vainest thing imaginable to expect afterwards any reformation by a council under the influence of the Roman court, which, by their own confession, was guilty of all the disorders of the church, or of such popes as those, who, by their own confession, had been the chiefest malefactors. The decrees of an Italian council, under the direction of such managers as these, were not likely to be very holy ones; nor were matters of doctrine in a fair way to be sincerely deliberated upon, and determined truly, by those who could not be brought to mend the most notorious faults they confessed against themselves, nor such points of doctrine, to be sure, as served to support those abuses in practice, which they were resolved not to reform.

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[1] *Padr. Paol. Aug.* 5, according to some copies, 24, 1544.—*Orig. Note.*

Certainly there could be no other reason to imagine that the grace of the Holy Ghost should be present with such a council, excepting this only, that the managers were brought to it with as much difficulty as if they had been sure to meet the Holy Ghost there.

The bull for intimation of the council was not published till five years after the advice; nor was it resolved that they should begin till two years after that, when the pope furnished his legates with powers to dissolve it, if it should not be an obedient council;[1] for no man could certainly say with what dispositions, or in what numbers, the German, French, and Spanish bishops might come, and it was good to provide against the worst. It was yet about a year before the council was opened, and the proceedings were then retarded by artificial difficulties, as well as accidental ones; and, with all the management, it did not thoroughly please, and so, after frivolous pretences, was in two years time, by a majority of voters, translated to Bolonio, the imperialists remaining still in Trent. The Papalins must have it nearer home, that they might tend it the better: but, do what they could, they were obliged, three years after, to re-assume it at Trent, the loss of which point was therefore to be supplied with other arts.

Pope Paul dying at this time, was succeeded by Julius III., who thought fit to suspend the council for two years, the effect of which was, that it came not together till ten years after. As for the motives that influenced these councils, and the artifices that brought them to effect, and the intrigues with princes, and the advantages which the court made of their opposite interests for bringing the council to a good end, all this is to be seen in Father Paul's history, but the particulars are too many to be touched here.

It was to Julius III. that the three bishops at Bononia addressed the second Advice, as Vergerius relates this matter, who best knew it, not to Paul III., as Wolfius delivers in his *Lectiones Memorabiles*, who, though he quoted Vergerius, had lighted upon a false copy, in which that passage at the end of the Advice, concerning our Queen Mary, was left out, which would have discovered that mistake of his, from whomsoever he had it, that it was found in the palace after the death of Paul III. Certainly the discovery of this Advice was the most fatal thing that ever happened to the reputation of the Roman cause; and if it had not been upon the file against them now for above an hundred years, I make no question but the popish gentlemen of this age would run it down for a sham advice, forged by Vergerius, or some other heretick, against the church of Rome.

The difference between that Advice of Nine to Paul, and this of Three to Julius, is in some respects very considerable, particularly in this, that the nine seemed to be serious, and were not; the three were serious, and seemed not to be so, which makes the advice of the former look like sincerity, and that of the latter to look like wit; whereas, in truth, the one was very gravely given, without any intention to have it followed; the other, with that pleasantness and confidence that uses to be amongst friends, but with design of executing what was advised. But in this they agree, that, as the advice of the nine represents the corrupt practices of the Roman communion, with the main reasons thereof, so that of the three justly shews what kind of faith theirs is, and how it is to be supported.

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[1] History of Council of Trent, p. 112.—*Orig. Note.*

Neither the one nor the other, that I know of, have yet had their turn in English; but they are so very instructing, especially the latter, that I thought a few hours spent in translating them into our language would not be thrown away.

They are so plain that they need no comment, and the use that is to be made of them is so ready, that I need not make any inference from them in behalf of the meanest reader; only it seemed reasonable to give some short account of the circumstances of the times in which these things were done, which is all the light that was requisite for those who may be strangers to the history of these affairs.

The Advice given to Pope Paul III. by four Cardinals, and five other Prelates, whose Names are underwritten, in order to the Amendment of the State of the Church.

Most Blessed Father,

We are so unable to express what mighty thanks the whole body of the church is bound to pay to Almighty God, who has in these times raised up you to be the supreme bishop and pastor of his flock, and gives you likewise that mind which you have, that we have no hope, so much as to conceive how great they are. For that spirit of God, by which, as the prophet speaks, the heavens are made firm, has decreed, as we cannot but see, by your hand to support the church, now that she is not only leaning, but just falling headlong into ruin; nay, to advance her to her ancient eminence, and to restore her to her former beauty.

It is no uncertain conjecture of this purpose of God, which we are enabled to make, whom your holiness called to you and required, that without any regard had to you, or to any one else, we should signify to you what those abuses are, and most grievous distempers, wherewith the church of God, and especially the court of Rome, has for a long time been affected, whereby also it has come to pass, that these pestilent diseases, growing to their height by little and little, the church, as we see, is upon the very brink of ruin. And because your holiness (being taught by the Divine Spirit, who, as St Austin says, does, without noise of words, speak in the heart) very well understands this to be the original of these mischiefs; that some popes, your predecessors, having itching ears, as says the Apostle Paul, heaped up teachers after their own lusts, not to learn from them what they ought to do, but that they should take pains and employ their wit to find out ways how it might be lawful for them to do what they pleased: To which we may add, that as the shadow follows the body, so flattery follows greatness, and truth can hardly find any way to the ears of princes; hence it has come to pass, that there have been doctors ever ready to maintain, that all benefices being the pope's, and the lord having a right to sell what is his own, it must necessarily follow, that the pope is not capable of the guilt of simony; insomuch, that the pope's will and pleasure, whatever it be, must needs be the rule for all that he does; which doubtless would end in believing every thing lawful that he had a mind to do.

From this source, as from the Trojan horse, those so many abuses and such mortal diseases, have broken forth into the church of God, which have reduced her, as we see, almost to a state of desperation: The fame of these things having come to the ears even of infidels (let your holiness believe us, speaking what we know) who deride Christianity more for this than for any thing else; so that through ourselves, we must needs say through ourselves, the name of Christ is blasphemed amongst the nations. As for you, most holy father, for so in truth you are, besides that prudence which you so long since have obtained, being also instructed by the Spirit of God, when you gave yourself wholly to this care, that the church of Christ, wherewith you are entrusted, might be healed of her distempers, and recover a good state of health, you saw, and you saw aright, that where the disease grew at first there the remedy must begin: And, following the example of the Apostle Paul, you intended to be a dispenser, and not a lord, but to be found faithful in the Lord, like that servant in the gospel, whom the Lord set over his family to give them their food in their season; and, in order to this, you resolved, at no hand, to will that which is unlawful, nor to desire the power of doing what you ought not. For these reasons you called us to yourself, who, how unqualified soever we may be in point of skill, for so weighty an affair, do not yet want a good affection towards the honour and glory of your holiness, and, above all, to the reformation of the church of Christ. You enjoined us, with most serious expressions, that we should go and bring together all those abuses, and lay them before you, protesting, *that if we proceeded herein negligently* and *unfaithfully*, the account that *should be given to Almighty God* of this matter committed to our trust, should be upon ourselves. And, that all things might be more freely handled by us, and opened to you afterward, you bound us by an oath, and under the penalty of excommunication, that we should discover no part of this our trust to any one whatsoever.

We therefore, in obedience to your command, have brought together those distempers in as few words as may be, and their remedies, the most effectual, at least, which we, for our part, could think upon. And now we rely upon your goodness and wisdom to mend all those faults, and supply all those defects of the performance which are left in it, by reason of our incompetency for this undertaking.

But to reduce all our thoughts to some certain heads; since your holiness is both the prince of these provinces, which are the ecclesiastic estate and territory, and withal the governor of the universal church, and likewise the Bishop of Rome, we have not taken upon ourselves to speak of those things which concern that principality, which by your prudence is so excellently governed as we see. We will touch upon these matters only that belong to the office of the universal pastor, and some also that are proper to the Roman bishop.

First of all, then, we think, most blessed father, according to what Aristotle says in his Politicks, that, as in every other commonwealth, so in the ecclesiastic government of the church of Christ, it should be esteemed the principal law of all, that laws should be observed as much as is possible; and that it be not lawful to dispense with the laws, but for a cause urgent and necessary. For no custom introduced into a commonwealth can be more pernicious, than in observance of laws which our ancestors thought were religiously to be kept, and doubted not to call their authority venerable and divine. All these things you know, most excellent pope; you have read them long since in the philosophers and divines: But one thing there is of moment next to this, or rather of far greater consequence, as we think, that it is not lawful for the pope, who is Christ's vicar, to make any gain to himself of the use of the keys, of the power of the keys we say, which Christ hath committed to him. For this is the commandment of Christ:

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"Freely ye have received, freely give." These things being in the first place provided for, since your holiness has the care of Christ's church upon you, so that it may be furnished with divers ministers, by whom that trust is to be discharged; and that these are all the clergy to whom divine service is committed, the presbyters especially, and those of them chiefly that have the care of souls, and, above all, the bishops; it follows, that, in order to a right proceeding in this government, the first care that is to be taken is, that these ministers be such that are fit for the duties of their function.

And here the first abuse in this kind is, that in the ordination of clerks, especially of presbyters, no manner of care and diligence is used; but every where the most uneducated youths, of the vilest parentage, set out with nothing but evil manners, are admitted to holy orders, even to priesthood itself, though that be the character which expresseth Christ more than all others. From hence grow innumerable scandals, from hence comes the contempt of the ecclesiastick order, and hence it is that the reverence of God's worship is not only diminished, but well nigh extinguished. We think therefore the best way would be, for your holiness to appoint two or three prelates of learning and probity to look after this matter, who should govern the ordinations of clergymen, and then to enjoyn all bishops, under the penalty of censures, to take the like care in their dioceses. Nor should your holiness suffer any to be ordained but by his own bishop, or with the licence of his bishop, or such as are deputed in the city. And every bishop should provide a master in his church for the instruction of the inferior orders of the clergy in good learning, and good manners, as the law requires.

Another abuse of a most grievous nature, is in the collation of ecclesiastical benefices, especially with cure of souls, and, above all, of bishopricks; the manner having been, that good provision is made for those who have the benefices, but for the flock of Christ and the church none at all. In bestowing therefore these benefices with care, and chiefly bishopricks, it is highly requisite that they be conferred upon good and learned men, who are able by themselves to discharge the duties belonging thereto, and who withal are most likely to be resident; for which reason, a benefice in Spain or Britain is not to be given to an Italian, nor the like, which rule is to be observed both in collations, when a vacancy happens by the decease of the incumbent, and in cessions too; whereas now, no regard is had to any thing else but the will and advantage of him that resigns: We think, therefore, it would be very well if one or more honest men were appointed to govern this business. Another abuse is, when benefices are conferred or resigned to others, that pensions are to be paid out of the revenues; nay, and sometimes he that resigns reserves all the profits to himself: In which matter it is to be observed, that pensions ought not to be allotted upon any other account, but as certain alms, which should go for pious uses, and for relief of the poor: For the revenues are annexed to the benefice as the body to the mind, so that of their own nature they belong to him that has the benefice, that, according to his rank, he may live honestly upon them, and be able to bear the charge of divine service, and to repair the church, and the houses belonging to it, and that he should spend what remains in pious uses: For this is the natural employment of such revenues.

But, as in the course of nature, some things are done otherwise than according to common rules, and besides the inclination of universal nature; so, as to the pope, who is the universal dispenser of ecclesiastical benefices, if he sees that the portion of priests, which ought to be laid out in pious uses, or some part thereof, may be employed for some particular good uses, and that it would be most expedient it should be so, he may, without doubt, provide accordingly. He may, therefore, very lawfully set a portion upon a benefice for the relief of an indigent person, especially a clergyman, that he may be able to live, in some measure, according to his order. But it is a great abuse that all the fruits should be reserved, and that wholly taken away which is to serve for the maintenance of divine service, and the support of the incumbent: And that pensions should be given to rich clergymen, who can live conveniently enough upon the revenues which they have, is surely a great abuse also, and both of them are to be removed.

There is another abuse also in the changing of benefices upon contracts that are all of them simonical, and in which no regard is had to any thing but gain. Another abuse to be taken away all together, has prevailed in this court, by the knavery of certain persons that are shrewd in their way: For whereas the law provides, that benefices cannot be given away by will, because they are not the testator's, but the church's fee; and that the church's patrimony should be continued as a common provision in the behalf of all good men, but never grow into a private estate; no little pains have been taken, in which more of worldly wisdom than Christian honesty is to be seen, to find out divers tricks for the eluding of the law. For bishopricks and other benefices are resigned, first, with a condition of resuming them; to which is added, a reservation to collate the benefices belonging to them, with another reservation to administer and govern. And so here comes to be a bishop, who has not so much as one right of a bishop, while the other is no bishop at all, who claims all the right belonging to one. Your holiness may see to what a pass things are brought by the flattery of making every thing lawful that is resolved to be done: For we would fain know what this is, but to make a private inheritance of a benefice? Another cheat besides this is invented, that bishops, upon their petition, have coadjutors granted to them, not so well qualified as themselves; so that, unless a man be resolved to shut his eyes, he must needs see that the coadjutor is by this trick made heir to the bishoprick. Again, it is an ancient law established by Clement, that the sons of priests should not succeed their fathers in their benefices; and this, least the common patrimony of the church should become a private estate: But, as we hear, this venerable law is dispensed with; and we must not conceal what every prudent person will, by himself, discern to be a great truth, that no one thing hath raised more of that envy against the clergy, from whence so many seditions have already happened, and more are at hand, than this turning of ecclesiastical profits and revenues from being a common, to a private thing. All men had some hope before this, but now they are reduced to despair, and sharpen their tongues against this holy see. It is another abuse, that benefices are disposed in reversion, and occasion is given to the expectant to desire another man's death, and to be glad when he hears of it; by which means also, when a vacancy happens, they that deserve best are excluded; besides the law-suits that are hereby caused. All this, we think, ought to be mended. By the same craft a farther abuse is introduced; for whereas some benefices are by law incompatible, and are so called, our ancestors intending to admonish us by the signification of the word, that they ought not to be conferred upon one person; this too is now dispensed with, and not only two, but more of these benefices; and, which is worst of all, bishopricks are enjoyed by the same man: Which custom, brought in by covetousness, we think, ought to be turned out again, especially as to a plurality of bishopricks. What shall we say to the union of benefices for a man's life? to avoid the incompatibility of them under this colour, is not this a meer fraud upon the law? Another abuse has prevailed, that bishopricks, not one only, but more, are collated upon the most reverend cardinals, or given them in *commendam:* Which we, most blessed father, believe to be no slight grievance in the church of God; in as much as, first of all, the office of a cardinal and that of a bishop are incompatible in the same person; for the cardinal's province is to assist your holiness in the government of the catholic church; but that of a bishop is to feed his flock, which he cannot do well, and as he ought, if, as a shepherd, he dwells not with his sheep; besides, holy father, the example of this custom does a world of mischief; for how can this holy see guide others and correct their abuses if she suffers such abuses in her principal members? For we do not think, that because they are cardinals, it should be more lawful for them to transgress the laws, but that they should least of all presume to do it, since their lives are to be a law to others; nor are they to be like the Pharisees, who said, but did not; but to our Saviour Christ, who began to do and then to teach. And besides this, licentiousness being the fewel of avarice, the use of it is prejudicial to the counsels they take in church-affairs. Moreover, for the obtaining of bishopricks, cardinals do court kings and princes, their dependence upon whom afterwards hinders them from speaking their minds freely; at least, if they were bold and willing enough to speak, yet they would easily be perverted into a wrong judgment by affection and interest. We could wish, therefore, that this custom were broken, and that all the cardinals might have an equal revenue, which would maintain them handsomely according to their dignity; which provision, we think, might easily be made, if we would be willing to serve Mammon no longer, and would serve none but Christ.

These things being set right which refer to the appointment of your ministers, who are, as it were, the instruments for the right performing of God's worship, and the well-ordering of the people in a Christian life, we must now come to those things which relate to the government of Christian people; as to which matter, most holy father, there is an abuse in the first place to be corrected, and the greatest care is to be taken that bishops, especially, no nor curates, be absent from their churches and parishes, unless for a weighty cause, but keep their residence; but especially the bishops, since they are the husbands of the church committed to their care. For we appeal to God, that no sight can be more lamentable to a Christian man going through Christendom, than this solitude of the churches. Almost all the pastors are withdrawn from their flocks, which are almost every where entrusted with hirelings: There ought therefore to be a great penalty upon bishops above all, and likewise upon curates, who are absent from their flocks, and who ought not only to be censured, but not so much as receive the revenues of the church, unless for some short time the bishops obtain leave of absence from your holiness, and the curates from their bishops. Let some of the laws and decrees of councils in this matter be read, whereby it is provided, that a bishop shall not be absent from his church above three Lord's days.

It is also an abuse, that so many of the most reverend cardinals are absent from this court, and do not so much as in part do any thing of that office which belongs to a cardinal. We think, indeed, that it is expedient for some few cardinals to live in their provinces, since they are, as it were, the root of the papacy, that by shooting out its string abroad in the Christian world, contains the people in their obedience to the Roman see. But yet we think it were very much for the interest of your holiness to recal them, though not perhaps every one, to their residence in this court: For besides, that by this means they would execute the proper office of cardinals, the state and retinue of your court would be provided for, and the want of those many bishops would be supplied, who ought to leave the court, and return to their churches.

Another great abuse, and by no means to be endured, since it is a scandal to all Christian people, arises from the hindrances and restraints that are upon bishops in the governing of their flocks, and chiefly in the punishing and correcting of wicked persons. For, first, there are ill men, and especially clergymen, who, by many ways, exempt themselves from the jurisdiction of their ordinary: But then, if they are not exempt, they betake themselves easily to the penitentiary, or to the datary, where they presently find a way to protect their impunity, and which is still worse, by giving of money. This scandal, most holy father, does so disturb Christian people, that it is not to be expressed. We beseech your holiness, by the blood of Christ, wherewith he hath redeemed his church, having washed the same in his blood, that these foul blemishes be taken away: Let these mischiefs be removed, to which, if in any republick or kingdom allowance were given, it would in a little time fall headlong into ruin, and would not, by any means, be able to subsist long; and yet we think it is lawful for us, so that we have the doing of it ourselves, to see these monsters brought into the commonwealth of Christendom.

In the orders of the religious there is another abuse to be corrected, that many of them are so degenerate, that they are grown scandalous, and their examples pernicious to the seculars. We think the conventual orders are to be abolished, not by doing to any man that injury of dispossessing him, but by forbidding them to admit any more; for thus, without wronging any one, they would soon be worn out, and good religious might be substituted instead of them; but at present, it were best that all children, who are not yet professed, should be taken from their monasteries.

We think also, that as to the preachers and confessors that are sent out by the fryars, there is need of animadversion and amendment, that great care should be taken by their chief that they be fitly qualified; and then, that they be presented to the bishops, to whom chiefly the church is intrusted, to be examined by them, or by fit persons; and that without their consent they be not admitted to the exercise of those offices.

We have already said, most holy father, that it is by no means lawful to make any gain by the use of the keys, in which matter the words of Christ stand firm and sure, "Freely ye have received, freely give." This does not only belong to your holiness to take notice of, but to all who share in this power; and therefore, we desire that it may be observed by your legates and nuntios: For, as the custom which has much prevailed dishonours this see, and makes the people clamorous, so the contrary would be exceedingly for the ornament of the one, and for the edification of the other.

Christian people are disturbed by another abuse, which concerns nuns that are under the care of the conventual fryars, wherein most monasteries, publick sacrileges are committed to the intolerable scandal of the citizens. Let your holiness deprive the conventuals of this care, and give it to the ordinaries, or to others as you shall see cause.

The publick schools are most perniciously abused, especially in Italy, where many professors of philosophy teach that which is wicked; yea, in churches themselves there are most ungodly disputes; and if any of them are pious for the matter, yet divine things are handled very irreverently as to the manner, and that before the people. Therefore, where there are publick schools, the bishops should be required to admonish the readers not to teach impiety to young men; but to shew the weakness of natural light in questions concerning God, concerning the lateness, or the eternity of the world, and the like; and to direct them to pious belief. And as no publick disputations about such questions should be permitted, so neither concerning matters of divinity, which by this means would lose very much the esteem and reverence of the people: Those things should be disputed privately, and other questions in natural philosophy be chosen for publick disputations: Which caution is to be given to all other bishops, especially of the greater cities where such disputations use to be held. The same care is to be taken about the printing of books; and all princes are to be written to, not to suffer any sort of books whatsoever, without farther examination, to be printed in their territories. The care of which thing should likewise be given to the ordinaries. And because Erasmus's Colloquies are now-a-days wont to be read to children in grammar schools, in which there are many things apt to dispose uneducated minds to impiety; therefore the reading of those Colloquies, and the like, in such places, ought to be prohibited.

Now, besides these things, which refer to the appointing of your ministers in this care of the whole church, and then in the administration and government thereof, your holiness may please to take notice, that there are other abuses introduced likewise.

The first concerns apostate fryars, or religious, who, notwithstanding their solemn vow, draw back from the religion of their order, and obtain leave not to wear the habit of it: No, not the least appearance thereof, but only some handsome habit of a clergyman. We say nothing now of lucre; for we noted at first, that merchandise was not to be made of the power of the keys received from Christ: we now say, that this kind of dispensation is not to be used: For the habit is the sign of the profession to which these apostates ought to be held; nor has the bishop power in this case; so true it is, that this liberty ought not to be given to these men. Neither, when they have broken away from their vow to God, should they be suffered to enjoy benefices or cures.

There is another abuse in the collectors for the Holy Ghost, for St Anthony, and others of this kind, which put cheats upon rusticks and simple people, and entangle them in a world of superstition. These collectors, we think, ought to be taken away.

Another abuse there is, in dispensing with a person in holy orders to marry, which is not to be allowed to any, unless it be for the preservation of human race in any nation, where the cause is weighty and of publick concern. This is especially to be observed in these times, in which this liberty is violently contended for by the Lutherans.

We conceive it also to be an abuse, to dispense with the marriage of those that are in the second degree of consanguinity, or affinity, unless it be for a weighty reason. Nor should dispensations be granted without other degrees, but where the cause is honest, and still without money; unless the parties were married before, in which case it is lawful to impose a pecuniary punishment, in order to absolution from sin already committed, and to convert it to pious uses, such as your holiness promotes. For, as where there is no sin in the use of the keys to be done away, no money can be demanded; so where absolution from sin is desired, a pecuniary mulct may be laid, and designed for pious uses.

In the absolution of a simoniacal person there is another abuse, and it is a dismal thing to consider, that this plague reigns in the church to that degree, that some are not afraid to be guilty of simony, and to go presently for absolution. The truth is, they buy their absolution, and so they keep the benefice they bought before.

We do not say, that your holiness wants power to forgive that punishment which is by positive law appointed for this crime, but that you ought not by any means to do it; that so horrible a wickedness may be more effectually suppressed, than which there is none that breeds more mischief and scandal.

Neither is liberty to be given to clergymen, unless for an urgent cause, to dispose of the goods of the church by will, lest that which is for the relief of the poor be converted to private pleasure and the luxury of building.

But neither are faculties to receive confessions, with the use of a portable altar, easily to be granted; for thus ecclesiastical affairs grow cheap, and that sacrament also, which is the principal of all the rest. Nor are indulgences to be given above once a-year in every greater city. Nor ought a commutation of vows to be lightly yielded to, but where the good is equivalent, and will bear it out.

It has been a custom also to change the wills of testators, who have left a certain sum of money for pious and charitable purposes; which, by the authority of your holiness, is transferred to the heir of the legatee, under pretence of their poverty, &c. and this is gained by money too. Surely, unless a great change happens in the estate of the heir, by the death of the testator, so that the testator himself, in all likelihood, if he had foreseen that change, would also have changed his will, it is an impious thing to depart from the last will and testament of the dead. Of filthy lucre we have spoken so often, that we must mention it no more.

And thus, according to our capacity, having summarily described all those things which belong to the duty of the supreme bishop of the catholick church, it remains, that we say something of that which belongs to the Roman bishop. This city of Rome is both the mother of the church and the mistress of other churches; wherefore the worship of God and purity of manners should flourish there most of all: But yet, holy father, all strangers are scandalized when they go into St Peter's church, and see what slovenly ignorant priests say mass there, so habited and cloathed, that they could not appear cleanly in a nasty house. This is so mighty an offence to all, that the most reverend the arch-presbyter and the penitentiary are to take care of this thing, and remove the scandal: And the like order is to be taken in other churches.

Nay, in this city, whores walk about as if they were goodly matrons, or they ride upon mules, and are at noon-day followed up and down by men of the best account in the families of cardinals, and by clergymen. We see no such degeneracy in any other city but in this, which is to be an example to all others. These whores live in splendid houses: It is a filthy abuse, and ought to be mended.

In this city also, malice and animosity reign amongst private citizens; to bring whom to a right understanding, and to make them friends, is a main part of the bishop: Wherefore some of the cardinals, who are fittest for this service, should be appointed to take up quarrels, and to reconcile the citizens to one another.

There are hospitals, pupils, and widows, in this city; the principal care of which belongs to the bishop and prince: Wherefore your holiness may please to take a fit care about all this, by some cardinals that are men of probity.

Now these are the things, most holy father, which we, for the present, have brought together, as our capacity would permit; that, as to us it seems needful, they may be corrected; but you, in your goodness and wisdom, will make a more perfect judgment of every thing. We indeed, though we have not answered the greatness of the concern, which is too hard for us, yet at least have satisfied our own consciences, and cannot but conceive great hope, that under your government we may see the church of God purged fair as a dove, at harmony with itself, and united into one body, to the never-dying honour of your name. You have taken to yourself the name of Paul; we hope you will imitate the charity of Paul, who was a chosen vessel to carry the name of Christ among the Gentiles. We hope that you are chosen to restore the name of Christ, forgotten by the nations, and even by us of the clergy; that hereafter it may live in our hearts, and appear in our actions, to heal our diseases, to reduce the flock of Christ into one sheep-fold, to remove from us that indignation and vengeance of God which we deserve, which is now ready to fall upon us, which now hangs over our heads.

The Names of the Cardinals, &c.

Gaspar, Card. Contarene.
Joh. Peter, Card. Theatine, afterwards Paul IV.
James, Card. Sodelet.
Reginald Pole, Card. of England.
Frederick, Archbishop of Brundusium.
Joh. Matthew Gibet, Bishop of Verona.
Gregory Cortese, Abbot of St George at Venice.
Fryar Thomas, Master of the Sacred Palace.

The Advice given by some Bishops assembled at Bononia to Pope Julius III. concerning the Way to establish the Roman Church.

Most Holy Father,

Your legate at Bononia has given us to understand, that 'tis your pleasure, that we the bishops lately assembled in this city, by your command, should, three by three, separately consult about the most effectual means of establishing and advancing the apostolic see, which is at present so much troubled, assaulted, and weakned by the perfidious Lutherans; and that we should deliver in writing our opinions of this matter, that your holiness may compare them together, and deliberate with yourself about them as you desire. We therefore, the three bishops, whose names are to this, though neither our prudence, learning, or experience in business, does avail much, will yet, in obedience to your will, distinctly declare our opinions, with such submission, that yet all shall be referred to the judgment of your holiness.

But in the first place, with all reverence imaginable, we would admonish your holiness to take care lest the same thing happen to this our advice, which we remember lately happened in another case, when some cardinals, with select bishops, nine in all, consulted about this very thing, viz. The way of reforming the church, and presented a paper, in which they offered their opinions: for the things there, that ought to have been suppressed and concealed, presently stole abroad, and were scattered and dispersed even as far as Germany; and so all our councils were discovered and laid open to our enemies the Lutherans. And these things were of wonderful advantage to them in the opposition they made against us; and it is incredible what hatred of us they raised by the books they published upon those advices, affirming, that we ourselves confess there are many errors and abuses in the church, which we are so far from being willing to correct ourselves, that we do not stick to defend and maintain them by force, and persecute with the utmost rigour any one that dares but to open his lips about the necessary amendment of them.

The divulging that council, most holy father, believe us, was a great disadvantage to our affairs; God forgive him, by whose fault or negligence it happened: But truly there ought to be all care and diligence used, that this our advice never come abroad, otherwise we shall add affliction to affliction, and heap evil upon evil; for we strike at things of the highest concern, and freely, without any respect of persons, we fall directly on the main cause; first, shew the disease, and then offer a convenient remedy. But these, we say, are to be kept as secrets.

When we had well and long considered what was the state of this weighty controversy, recollecting all things from the beginning, (for we should always run back to the first principles) we at last found it to be this: The Lutherans hold and confess all the articles of the apostles creed, that of Nice, and Athanasius. This is very certain; for we ought not to deny (especially amongst ourselves) what we all know to be so true. And these Lutherans refuse to admit of any other doctrine, but that alone, of which the prophets, Christ, and his apostles were authors; and wish likewise, that all men would be content with those few things that were observed in the apostles time, or immediately after, and would imitate the primitive churches; nor think of receiving any traditions which it is not apparent as the light were delivered and instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles. Thus do our adversaries judge; but indeed they judge ill: We, on the other hand, following the opinion of your holiness, would have all traditions, constitutions, rules, and ceremonies, which have hitherto been brought into the church, by the fathers, councils, or any private man, (with a good intention) believed, and received as doctrine necessary to salvation: But particularly as to tradition, we believe, as an article of faith, what the council of Trent, lawfully assembled, with the Holy Ghost, has decreed in the 3d session, viz. That our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles delivered more precepts, relating both to manners and faith, by word of mouth, than are in the scriptures; and that these, without writing, were handed down to us; and although we cannot prove this clearly, (for amongst ourselves we plainly acknowledge, that we have no proofs, but some sort of conjectures, to make out what we teach concerning tradition,) yet we confess this to be true, because the Roman church maintains it. This, in short, is the hinge on which the whole controversy turns; hence these tumults and contentions proceed. But we ought to venture all to keep their doctrine from spreading any farther, although it has got too far already, which, in truth, can never enough be lamented: For it is no trifle that is under debate, but the safety and welfare of your whole state, and of us, who are all your creatures and members, is now at stake. For in the days of the apostles, (to tell you the truth, but you must be silent,) and for several years after them, there was no mention made of either pope or cardinal; there were none of these large revenues belonging to bishops and priests; no sumptuous temples were raised; there were no monasteries, priors or abbots, much less any of these doctrines, these laws, these constitutions, nor this sovereignty which we now exercise over people and nations.

But the ministers of all churches (as well that of Rome as others) were willingly obedient to kings, princes, and governors. Let your holiness therefore judge how hard it would go with us, if, by ill destiny, we should again be reduced to the primitive poverty and humility, again subjected to the wretched servitude of being under the command of others: This is therefore, as we said before, a matter of the highest moment.

Moreover, this, in our judgment, is the only way of avoiding this grievous danger. We find, upon full examination of the matter, that the glory, authority, and power of the church first arose, when shrewd, discreet, active bishops began to preside over it, who used their opportunities to obtain from the emperors, that they would, by their authority and power, establish the primacy and supreme power over other churches, in this see. And this Pope Boniface III. amongst others, is said to have received from the Emperor Phocas. We observed likewise, that the affairs of the church began more and more to flourish every day, when cardinals were created, the number of bishops was increased, and so many and so goodly orders of monks and nuns were first founded. Nor can we doubt, but those popes, cardinals, bishops, monks, and nuns, have, by their cunning, their inventions, rites and ceremonies, turned away the church from that ancient doctrine which kept her so poor and humble, and have, by these arts, procured her favour and authority. We ought therefore to take the same measures to preserve her in that state to which they have raised her; that is, all kind of application and wit is to be employed; the number of cardinals, bishops, monks, and nuns is to be encreased; and, to speak particularly, your holiness is in the first place to take this course.

France, Italy, and Spain (notwithstanding the Lutherans boast that the greatest part of Europe is in their interest) are content with your empire, the last of which does most religiously observe all your laws and constitutions, does not change or innovate in any thing. And as for that nation, you need not be solicitous; for you can find but few amongst the Spaniards who have not an abhorrence for the doctrine of Luther: But if there are any hereticks amongst them, they are such as rather deny that the Messiah is yet come, or that mens souls are immortal, than question the power of your holiness. But, without doubt, this heresy of theirs seems to us more sufferable than that of Luther; and the reason is plain; for these Marani, though they believe nothing of Christ, or a future state, are yet wont to hold their tongues, or, at most, laugh amongst themselves, and in the mean time are not at all wanting in their duty to the Roman church.

But the Lutherans do not behave themselves thus; they openly dissent from us, and endeavour what they can to weaken and ruin our whole state. France and Italy seem plainly to affect innovations; and most of these nations, according to the copy that Germany has set them, are ready to lay hold on the next occasion to fall off from us: Moreover, there are many eminent cities in those two provinces, who have no bishop of their own, but are subject to the bishops of the greater and most powerful cities. Now your holiness should chuse out about a hundred of these, and create so many new bishops to govern them; then add fifty more to the present number of cardinals, and out of all these bishops, I say, and cardinals, as well old as new, select thirty or forty of the most subtile, and most versed in courts and business, who are skilful in the canon and civil laws; keep these about your person, let these be your counsellors and ministers in your most weighty affairs and private concerns; and send all the rest, as well those bishops that are cardinals as others, into their respective diocess; and order them to entertain the people with plays, shows, and all manner of diversions; and let them present themselves to the people both in the church, and riding frequently about the city, in as much pomp and splendour as they do at Rome. So will it come to pass, that the common people, who admire these pomps and ceremonies, and are wont to make much money, where there are many rich men, will at last be brought over, either by courtesy, or their own advantage, to favour your side; and we need not fear for the future what Luther, Brentius, Melancthon, or that late heretick Vergerius, shall write. Oh! how much did it concern us, that he should not have escaped from us, but have here been either clapt into prison, or thrown into the Tiber? For he who was brought up in your publick and private affairs, is acquainted with a great deal of our concerns, and of all our councils. But your holiness has long hands, and in your great wisdom will find a remedy for this evil; for it is, and ever will be, lawful to take all ways to free ourselves from the snares of our enemies; nor did we think fit to name those men, but for a very good reason; a word to the wise: Then let your holiness take care that these cardinals and bishops that reside in their diocess, bestow benefices on the children of their citizens; for this is an admirable and ready way to keep their minds steady in the faith.; and we know many of your subjects who would long ago have embraced Luther's doctrine, but for this one reason, that either they themselves, or their brothers, or their sons, enjoyed some ecclesiastical preferment. Nor would it be amiss to send a great many of those priests that they call Chietini and Paulini, into France and Italy: For, to say the truth, these common priests and monks do really abuse the mass too much, which they say with little or no devotion, chopping it up in haste, and making a publick sale of it; besides, they live such dissolute profligate lives, that men deservedly give no longer credit to them, nor suffer themselves to be persuaded (though our sophisters take great pains about it) that a wicked debauched fellow can draw Christ out of heaven to the altar, free souls from purgatory, and obtain forgiveness of sins, both to themselves and others, and all this by the works done; therefore these new priests, the Chietini, because they say mass slower, and with greater gravity, take no hire, but are content with their meat and cloathing, and in the course of their lives carry a greater shew of goodness, will restore mass to its primitive authority, and recover its reputation. You should likewise make it your business to get new orders of monks founded every where; for they, believe us, do great service in the establishment of your dominion; for you may consider how they have encreased it by the confessions, preaching, and worship which they have brought into the church; besides, we are taught this by long experience, that the sect of the Lutherans has been less able to intrude itself there, where there are the greatest numbers of monks (especially Dominicans and Franciscans) who have ever stoutly maintained your, and overthrown the adversaries doctrine.

Likewise give orders to the cardinals and bishops who reside, as well as to the priests and monks, that they institute new fraternities, as they call them, in honour of this and that saint. For our brother Thomas Stella, or Todeschin, boasts that he contributed much to the establishment and enlarging of your empire, by preaching the people, in many parts of Italy, into a zeal for these fraternities, especially that of *Corpus Christi.* Moreover, let them make supplications with the greatest shew and pomp imaginable; let them cause new statues and images to be made; burn lamps and candles before them; and use all sorts of instruments and organs in their temples; these are the things, I say, with which the people are chiefly delighted, and for whose sake they have almost forgot that doctrine which was so destructive and pernicious to us.

Nor are these, which we have mentioned, the only things to be observed, but the most reverend the cardinals and bishops ought likewise to be mindful of this,

That they themselves sing mass with the greatest pomp and magnificence they can possibly, and also consecrate fonts, give orders, purify churches, altars, and burying-places, christen bells, veil nuns, in the eyes of the people, and in the sight of all the congregation; for the vulgar are given to admire and to be amused with these things, in the contemplation of which their minds are, as it were, so intangled in a snare, that they have no relish for any other food, or any inclination to any other doctrine; as indeed (to say the truth) they were designed for that purpose; and really, in our judgment, these things should be augmented and multiplied; for, if the introducing and appointing those few, which we have now mentioned, were of such use to the settlement of your kingdom, of what advantage would it be, were there some new ones added? For example, that threefold oil for the Crismes, and for the sick, is consecrated every year upon Maunday-Thursday; and that by one bishop, together with twelve priests, with that thrice repeated adoration and salutation, with those exorcisms, with those breathings upon it, and with that rich balm which is usual. Let your holiness appoint, that the consecration be not performed under five salutations, and twenty priests. Command likewise, that some other precious liquor, besides balm, such as manna, be added; because we find it rained that in the wilderness, which therefore deservedly ought to take place amongst our ceremonies. Likewise, as often as the water of baptism is consecrated, it is customary to put salt and oil into it, and to dip the Paschal taper thrice in it, and to divide it into four parts. Order that, moreover, they mingle some vinegar with it; for that was given Christ to drink on the cross, and therefore that ought to be of some use amongst the ceremonies. Also, in the dedication of churches, the bishops are wont to draw all the letters of the Latin and Greek alphabet with their crosier in the dust; command them to write the Hebrew letters too, if they know them, (though that does not signify much; for they do not understand Greek, and hardly Latin, and yet they can write it, and it is the same thing as if they knew them) for the reason of Christ's crucifixion was written on the cross in those three languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and whereas the bishops only anoint the palms of the priests hands, order them to anoint both the palms and backs of their hands, as well as their head and whole face.

For if that little oil has so much virtue to sanctify them, surely a greater quantity of oil will have more virtue for that purpose. Lastly, when bells are christened, they make a perfume of frankincense and other incense, appoint that musk and amber be mixt with it, to raise and increase the religion of the thing, and the wonder of the people. Once more, when any bishop sets himself to officiate in any divine service with pomp and solemnity, he ought to have many ornaments to distinguish him from ordinary priests; such as (to omit the rest) the bones and relicks of some dead man, which he usually wears at his breast, set in gold, in the form of a cross. Do you command him to hang a whole naked leg, arm, or head of some saint, about his neck, by a good thick cord; for that will contribute very much to the encrease of the religious astonishment of all that see it. The truth is, these ceremonies were all invented and continued by popes; you therefore, that are pope, may, if you please, augment them; nay rather indeed, for that purpose and design which we mentioned, ought to do it. Besides, we would advise, that your holiness should lay your commands on those cardinals and bishops that happen to reside in their diocess, that they take care to have Logick, Sophistry, and the art of the School-men, Metaphysicks, the Decretals, Sextus, the Clementines, the Extravagants, and the rules of Chancery publickly taught and read in their cities. It had been well, if men had ever applied themselves industriously to the reading such sort of books; for then our affairs had never been in so bad a posture as they are; but, despising this sort of learning, they began to employ themselves in learning Greek and Hebrew, and, in a little time, to examine the translation of the Bible by the true original, and to study divinity, and the antient fathers of the church; and hence sprang all the misfortunes we lie under; therefore you must endeavour, that, setting these studies aside, men should again fall to the study of the school men, and of your canon-law, by which, it is manifest, the study of divinity was in a manner overwhelmed and buried. But let your holiness use caution in this; for we mentioned before only the Decretal, and Sextus, and the Clementines, and the Extravagants, and not that which is called the Decretum, which ought not to seem strange; for it is a pernicious book, and lessens your authority extreamly, although it seems in some places to enlarge it: For, amongst other things, in several places, it denies that the pope can add the least tittle to that doctrine which our Saviour delivered to us, and the apostles taught; for thus says the canon, *Transferat, &c.* 24. q. 3. "They change truth into a lye, who preach any other thing, than what they received from the apostles." This is a downright Lutheran maxim; for what else do our adversaries daily inculcate, than that it is not lawful to depart, in the least degree, from those things that were in use amongst the apostles; but who of us doth not every day often depart from them? Indeed, in our churches, we scarce retain (as we hinted at the beginning) the least shadow of that doctrine and discipline which flourished in the times of the apostles, but have brought in quite another of our own. Nay, we are expressly called liars by that Decretum, inasmuch as we have done this; yet we have done it by the advice and instructions of popes; nay, by their peremptory order and command. But we wish there were not so many canons as there are of this kind, that enjoin things directly contrary to what the popes and all of us do every day (we speak of matters of faith and doctrine, not of manners.) Take one or two of them for instance: Thus says the canon that begins *Contra* 25. q. 1. "Nothing can be established contrary to the constitutions of the fathers, nor any thing altered, no, not by the authority of this see." And then another canon, that begins *Ideo, &c.* says, "Thus, by the divine permission, we are so made pastors of men, that we ought not in the least to transgress whatever our fathers, in their sacred canons or civil laws, have appointed; for we go against their most wholesome institutions, if we do not keep inviolably what they according to divine pleasure have ordained." Do not Pope Zozimus and Leo the Third (nay and the whole Roman church) plainly here declare aloud, that the authority of this see can do nothing against the canons, against the law, and against the ordinances of the antient fathers, which ought to be religiously observed? How, therefore, shall we answer our adversaries, when they press and urge us with this, and turn that of the fifth Psalm upon us? There is no certainty in their mouth; for they accuse us of lightness and inconstancy, who have such express canons, which forbid the popes to alter the decrees of the fathers, or to do any thing contrary to them; and, notwithstanding all this, there is nothing more frequent than the presumption of altering what has been established by the antient fathers and councils. How, I say, shall we answer this; especially since the *Book* of Decrees is so celebrated and famous, and is in all schools, courts of judicature, and churches, held in the greatest honour and esteem? And, besides those few which we have given you a taste of, it contains a great many others that favour the cause of our adversaries; and favour it in such a manner, that they seem to have been penned by some of them. Moreover, we shall consider of some course to be taken with these decrees; for it seems very absurd, that any thing should be taught which is contrary to what your holiness does not only do, but commands to be done.

But we have reserved the most considerable advice which we could at this time give your holiness to the last: And here you must be awake, and exert all your force to hinder, as much as you can possibly, the gospel from being read, (especially in the vulgar tongue) in all the cities that are under your dominion. Let that little of it which they have in the mass serve their turn, nor suffer any mortal to read any thing more; for as long as men were contented with that little, things went to your mind; but grew worse and worse from that time that they commonly read more. This, in short, is the book that has, beyond all others, raised those storms and tempests in which we are almost driven to destruction. And really, whoever shall diligently weigh the scripture, and then consider all the things that are usually done in our churches, will find there is great difference betwixt them; and that this doctrine of ours is very unlike, and in many things quite repugnant to it. And no sooner does any man discover this, being set on by some of our learned adversaries, but he never ceases bawling against us till he has made the whole matter publick, and rendered us odious to all men. Therefore those papers are to be stifled; but you must use caution and diligence in it, lest that create us greater disturbance.

D. John Della Casa,[1] Archbishop of Beneventum, the legate of your see at Venice, behaved himself handsomely in that business; for although he did not openly and avowedly condemn that book of the gospel, or order it to be suppressed, yet, in an obscure dissembling manner, he insinuated as much; whilst in that long catalogue of heretics which he put out, he has found fault with part of the doctrines maintained in it, particularly some certain chapters which seem most to make against us. Seriously, a renowned divine action, whatever others chatter; for at first blush it seemed ridiculous to many, that he should condemn so many authors at once, who writ about religion, when himself had never read so much as one syllable of divinity, and published I know not what, to which he gave this title, "Of the Divine Art." But this is nothing, and they who censure this in him have little business of their own to employ them, and shew themselves to be great novices in the court of Rome. For he, as he is a true and eminent courtier, spake freely what was his opinion, which we think makes much for his credit.

It now remains, most holy father, that we should in short make a reply to what may perhaps be objected by you, that having done this we may finish our epistle.

Your holiness, therefore, perhaps may say, if it is at this time so dangerous a thing to hold a council of these bishops, though few in number, lest some of them should dare to raise a clamour, and be severe against my dignity to undermine it, how much more dangerous would it be, if besides these there were an hundred others created? We shall offer three things in answer to this: First, Look (as you generally do) that those bishops, who are to be created, be ignorant and unlearned, but very skilful in the affairs of court, and addicted to the interest of your family, for that alone will suffice. Then avoid a council as much as you can, though Cæsar be very urgent, clamorous, and importunate. Lastly, If only to save your fame and reputation, you desire, or would seem to desire, a council, you may re-assemble that. But (as has been hitherto) let there only be admitted who you are certain will go on your side, and let the others be kept out and driven away. But of all things, be most careful that no embassies from any of the German princes, who are of the Ausburg confession, come into the council; for, good God! what mischief, what damage did we many ways receive by the embassy which the Duke of Wirtemberg sent to Trent? I wish Crescentius the legate had faggoted them up together, both Theoderic of Pliennigen and those two doctors, Werner of Muchingen and Hieronymus Gerardus, as well as those two scurvy divines, Brentius and Burlinus, (for those were the duke's embassadors) and so thrown them into the next river Athesis; nor should he have spared Sleidan, the envoy from the R. P. of Strasburgh.

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[1] Author of the poem "Dell urno."—*Orig. Note.*

For since they could not obtain their audience of the council (and heretics are not worthy to be heard,) they returned into their countries with greater animosity against your holiness than they had before; there they write books against us, and embroil every thing. It had been therefore much better policy not to have kept our faith with them, (as our canons order,) but made them inhabitants and freemen of the river Athesis, as an example to all other hereticks, that they presume not to come near our most sacred and holy councils.

These are the things, most holy father, which, in obedience to your holiness, we thought fit to offer to you, being ready to have given better if we could: We truly have spoke freely and ingenuously what we thought, but we must again and again put you in mind to be careful that these things be not divulged; and if you act according to our advice, we have no small hopes that your holiness will preserve France and Italy; (for, as we said, we have no apprehensions of Spain) in the faith, and establish and strengthen your kingdom. As for Germany (to tell you the truth) we can by no means hope it will ever be reduced under your command, therefore we advise you to throw away all thoughts of it; for if Cæsar, when victorious, after he had granted so many articles, which are plainly repugnant to the catholic church, (as you may see in his Interim,) could not bring that nation to an agreement with us, you may be certain there is no way left to regain it. Add to this, that the people in thirty-six years are quite degenerated into another race; for they who were born and educated under your government, who had a singular sense of their duty to you imprinted on their nature, are dead; and there is on the other hand a succession of young men, who, as they had no experience of your doctrine, neither love nor admire you; insomuch, as they do not stick (oh villainy!) to call you Antichrist. We know there are some indifferent good scholars who favour us heartily, and really wish to restore those things that were delivered them by our ancestors, and reinstate you in your former power; this they endeavour with all their might, and sometimes scatter their notions in company, sometimes publish books to maintain and support the sinking papacy; but these are much the fewest, and of no authority or judgment, therefore they can do nothing. But it is wonderful to see with how much greater vehemency and affection the Germans are carried to hear those who teach the Lutheran heresy, than to frequent mass, or hear them that preach your doctrine. Lastly, All Italy saw the letter of Cardinal Pole, your legate, who is to reclaim England from heresy, who writ in this manner:

"We stay'd for some days at Tilinga and Ausburgh, and made most diligent enquiry into all matters belonging to religion, but we found nothing of this kind that could please us. For the churches of our adversaries are every day wonderfully frequented, and their preachers followed with great alacrity: Ours, on the other hand, are forsaken; and if you saw our churches, you would call them desarts, they are so few, and those I know not who, old men and women, that come to mass." Thus he and his friends, particularly D. Aloysius Priulus, wrote a great deal to this purpose.

In short, we may despair of that nation, therefore your holiness may very lawfully exact something more than ordinary from those who are still your subjects, that what you lose out of your revenue by their revolt may be thence supplied. But we would likewise admonish you of this, that in raising money out of the Datary and Pænitentiary, as they call it, and other offices, as also in the exaction of tithes and tribute, you use circumspection; and though you are desirous to pick up money from every thing, yet carry yourself so in it as to silence the clamours of people for the future. It is certain, indeed, that all the riches of the world are yours, who are Christ's vicar, to whom the possession of all things belongs; and therefore you may lawfully take what you please any where. But do this neatly and dextrously; for (let us confess the truth) it is incredible with how great hatred people are incensed against you, and what horrid things are spread amongst the multitude concerning you; and there has hardly been any pope, to whom, both in words and writing, they have more manifestly declared their aversion. For, as for England, upon which you value yourself so much, as if it were to be ascribed to your good fortune that that queen takes care to extirpate heresy out of the kingdom, you have certainly no share in that praise: then we fear lest that sudden felicity should not be lasting. Besides, the queen stiles herself supreme head of that kingdom, next and immediately after Christ; so that, though the old worship and ceremonies were never so much restored, your power and authority is not to be retrieved. In short, you must be very watchful and face the storm, unless you are desirous to venture all at one cast.

Wishing your holiness all health, we, humbly prostrate, kiss your sacred feet.

Your holiness's most devoted
Servants and creatures,
Vincentius de Durantibus, Bishop of Termulæ.
Giles Talceta, Bishop of Caprulæ.
Gerards Burdragus, Bishop of Thessalonica.

Bononia, Oct. 20, 1653.

The Petition of the Bishops.

The dispute between the king and church was now drawing to a crisis. The king renewed his declaration of indulgence upon 27th April, 1688, and upon the 4th May following enjoined the bishops to disperse it through their several dioceses, for the purpose of its being read by the clergy in all the churches.

"The Archbishop of Canterbury, Sancroft, resolved upon this occasion to act suitably to his post and character. He wrote round his province, and desired that such of the bishops as were able would come up and consult together in a matter of this great concern; and he asked the opinion of those whom their age and infirmities disabled from taking the journey. He found that eighteen of the bishops and the main body of the clergy concurred in the resolution against reading the declaration. So he, with six of the bishops that came up to London, resolved in a petition to the king to lay before him the reasons that determined them not to obey the order of council that had been sent them. This flowed from no want of respect to his majesty's authority, nor from any unwillingness to let favour be shewed to dissenters, in relation of whom they were willing to come to such a temper as should be thought fit when that matter should be considered and settled in parliament and convocation: But this declaration being founded on such a dispensing power as had been often declared illegal in parliament, both in the year 1662, and in the year 1672, and in the beginning of his own reign, and was a matter of so great consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state, they could not in prudence, honour, and conscience, make themselves so far parties to it as the publication of it once and again in God's house, and in the time of divine service, must amount to.

"The archbishop was then in an ill state of health. So he sent over the six bishops with the petition to the king, signed by himself and the rest. The king was much surprised with this, having been flattered and deceived by his spies. Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, was possessed with a story that was too easily believed by him, and was by him carried to the king, who was very apt to believe every thing that suited with his own designs. The story was, that the bishops intended by a petition to the king to let him understand that orders of this kind used to be addressed to their chancellors, but not to themselves, and to pray him to continue that method; and that by this means they hoped to get out of this difficulty. This was very acceptable to the court, and procured the bishops a quick admittance. And they had proceeded so carefully, that nothing concerted among them had broken out; for they had been very secret and cautious. The king, when he heard their petition, and saw his mistake, spoke roughly to them. He said he was their king, and he would be obeyed; and they should be made to feel what it was to disobey him. The six bishops were St Asaph, Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Chichester, and Bristol. The answer they made the king was in these words; 'The will of God be done,' and they came from the court in a sort of triumph. Now matters were brought to a crisis. The king was engaged on his part as the bishops were on theirs. So all people looked on with great expectations, reckoning that upon the issue of this business a great decision would be made, both of the designs of the court and of the temper of the nation."—BURNET'S *History*, Lond. 1725, 12. III. 126.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of William Archbishop of Canterbury, and of divers of the suffragan Bishops of the Province now present with him, in behalf of themselves, and others of their absent Brethren, and of the clergy of their respective Dioceses,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT their great averseness they find themselves to the distribution and publication in all their churches of your majesty's late declaration for liberty of conscience, proceedeth neither from any want of duty and obedience to your majesty, our holy mother, the church of England, being both in her principles and constant practices unquestionably loyal, and having to her great honour been more than once publickly acknowledged to be so by your majesty, nor yet from any want of due tenderness to dissenters; in relation to whom, they are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and settled in parliament and convocation. But among many other considerations, from this especially, because the declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as has been often declared illegal in parliament, and particularly in the years 1662, 1672, and in the beginning of your majesty's reign, and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state, that your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, and conscience, so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation, and reading it, even in God's house, and in the time of his divine service, must amount to, in common and reasonable construction.

Your petitioners therefore most humbly and earnestly beseech your majesty, that you will be graciously pleased not to insist upon the distribution and reading your majesty's declaration.

CANTERBURY,
ST ASAPH, BATH AND WELLS,
CHICHESTER, PETERBOROUGH,
ELY, BRISTOL.

A Letter from a Dissenter to the petitioning Bishops.

It was too much to expect that all the oppressed dissenters could be won by the reasoning of Halifax and Burnet. Many there doubtless were, who, like the author of this Tract, saw, or wished to see, nothing in the present national crisis, save the exaltation of dissenters of every description over their old enemies of the church of England.

My Lords,

HAVING seen a paper that goes under the name of your petition to his majesty, for not insisting upon his order for reading his most gracious declaration in your publick assemblies, I confess I was not a little startled at it, that men so long, and so much professing loyalty, should appear so miserably defective in that point. I challenge you (after all your exclaiming against the poor dissenters as factious and rebellious) to give an instance of their disobeying their prince's command in any such matter; what they stuck at was purely for conscience sake, which you have not to plead in this thing. Here was no assent nor consent required, no interfering with any law of God, but only a publication of his majesty's most pious design to set all his subjects at liberty from that bondage they so dolefully groaned under. Now, as Samuel reasoned with Israel about their affairs then, pray, my lords, give me leave to reason with you about this important affair now; you are men of worth and learning, you are professors of the gospel of peace and love, and it might therefore be well expected from you, that you should have put the king upon it before he did it, and improved your great interest in his majesty on the behalf of the sore oppressed and horridly abused dissenters; but alas! *altum silentium*, to say no more, what provoking and incensing the king there was against them you best know: however, after heaven had inspired his majesty with this glorious project, we expected your rejoicing at it, your thanking the king for it, and hearty closing with him in it. But who could imagine the murmuring, the grumbling, the discontent this great act of goodness and grace has raised among you, especially the unmannerly (pardon the expression) refusing to make it known to the people, though the king so absolutely commanded it. Pray, my lords, let me ask you a question: Suppose the king, instead of his declaration, had issued out a proclamation commanding justices of the peace, constables, informers, and all other persons, to be more rigorous (if possible) against dissenters, and do their utmost to the perfect quelling and destroying them, and had ordered this to be read in your churches in the time of divine service, would you have made any scruple of that? Ah, no! methinks I see your chirping parsons, how brisk they look in the desk with such a paper in their hands, as the second course after the first mess of prayers is over, being a dish more dainty than the rest, and how the paraphrase upon it would furnish them with matter all the day after, without being beholden to the Bible for any other text.

Good, my lords, consider what can we or the whole world think of you, who are so averse to mercy, and so eager to any thing of rigour? You intimate in your paper, that you want no tenderness to dissenters; strange and wonderful news if true; but pray, my lords, tell us the meaning of this expression in plain English, for it is more intricate to us than Samson's riddle was to the Philistines. An interpreter the other day undertook to expound it thus, that your lordships want no tenderness to dissenters, because you never judged tenderness a thing fit for them; and it must be carried some such way; for, to take it in the literal sense, it is a great untruth (which we cannot suppose your lordships guilty of) to say you want no tenderness to dissenters, when the whole land knows you never shewed any. How many scores of prisons were filled with dissenters not many ages past, and their families suffering at home, nor did your lordships, out of your great revenues, ever send a penny to relieve them; here would have been a notable proof of your tenderness, and to have been a testimony against (or at least using endeavours to prevent) the horrible wrongs, oppressions, and abuses put upon them, even to the ruining their families. Something of this nature (my lords) would have convinced this unbelieving generation of your tenderness. But *hujus contrarium miserrimum est.*

My lords, the design of this letter is to offer you good and seasonable advice, and pray be not angry with me for my good will: I am a person that has suffered much, very much, by the fury of that church you sit at helm to guide, and yet, God is my witness, I desire not an hair of your head should fall to the ground, so far am I from revenge; and therefore pray, my lords, for your own sake, for your churches sake, for England's sake, and, if all this will not do, then for God's sake, debate the matter well you are now in hand with, weigh every thing in a right ballance, and consider thoroughly, whether flying in your sovereign's face and disobeying his most just command be a cause will bear you out in suffering. My lords, I pity you, and am really concerned for you; retract, retract, before it be too late; ask God and the king pardon for your opposing the best of works, and give us (who would fain have) some ground to believe you inclinable to heal, as you have been to destroy. I think you have it in your liturgy, "From pride, vain glory, and hypocrisy," &c.; a good prayer,—I pray God keep you all from it. My lords, believe me if you can, (I am sure you may,) that

I am

Your well-wishing servant.

London, June 1st, 1688.

An Answer to a Paper importing a Petition of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Six other Bishops to his Majesty, touching their not distributing and publishing the late Declaration for Liberty of Conscience.

Vide, utrum tunica filii tui sit, an non? Quam cum cognovisset pater, ait, tunica filii mei est, fera pessima comedit eum. Gen. xxxvii. ver. 32, 33.

With Allowance.

London: Printed by Henry Hills, Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty, for
his Household and Chapel, 1688.

The bishops had no sooner taken their ground in direct opposition to James's measures, than pamphlets and libels of every description were published against them with unreserved hostility, under the authority of government. They had sedulously avoided the appearance of giving publicity to their petition: but that to which they themselves seemed decently averse, was privately managed by others, for the petition was scarce presented before it got into print, and was dispersed over the whole kingdom by the clergy instead of the Declaration of Indulgence; the king, therefore, resolved no longer to keep terms with the church of England, but to publish the petition in his own way, and with his own comments. Accordingly the following piece, which appears to have been printed by authority, is a sort of casting the gauntlet by the crown to the church.

NOT to amuse my reader with any reasons or excuse of this undertaking, let this suffice for both, that several copies of this paper, instead of distributing his majesty's declaration for liberty of conscience, having been privately dispersed through most counties of England, I thought it every man's duty and (among the rest) mine, to undeceive them who have not the same brains, but more honesty and loyalty, than those that sent it, and bestow some ink upon the tetter, that it spread no further. In order to which, and that every man may at once see the whole before him, and thereby come to the truer conclusion, I shall take my rise from the occasion of this paper, and thence proceed to the matter of it. Now the occasion was thus:

His majesty finding it had been the frequent endeavours of the four last reigns to reduce this kingdom to an exact conformity in religion, and how little the success had answered the design, but rather destroyed trade, depopulated the country, and encouraged strangers, and being resolved to establish his government on such a foundation as might make his subjects happy, and unite them to him by inclination as well as duty, on the 4th of April, 1687, issued his most gracious declaration for liberty of conscience, thereby declaring, that he will protect and maintain his archbishops, bishops, and clergy, and all other his subjects of the church of England, in the free exercise of their religion, and full enjoyment of their possessions and properties, as now established by law, without any molestation, &c.: That all execution of penal laws for matters ecclesiastical, as nonconformity, &c., shall be, and are thereby suspended: That all his subjects have leave to meet and worship God in their own way, without disturbance. And forasmuch as the benefit of the service of his majesty's subjects is by the law of nature inseparably annexed to, and inherent in his royal person, and that no one for the future may be under any discouragement or disability, by reason of some oaths or tests usually administered, that no such oaths or tests shall be hereafter required of them; and that he would dispense with them, &c.

And because several endeavours had been made to abuse the easiness of the people, as if he might be persuaded out of what he had so solemnly declared, his majesty, as well to stop the mouth of the gainsayers, as to shew his intentions were not changed since the said 4th of April, by a second declaration of the 27th of April last past, enforces and confirms the said former declaration, conjures his loving subjects to lay aside all private animosities and groundless jealousies, and to chuse such members of parliament as may do their part to finish what he has begun, for the advantage of the monarchy over which God hath placed him, as being resolved to call a parliament that shall meet in November next at furthest.

This declaration was forthwith printed, and, by order of council, required to be distributed, published, and read in the respective churches through the kingdom: and in that it was not enjoined to be read in any the congregations thereby permitted. What greater evidence can there be of his majesty's real intentions to the church of England, when, however he suffered others, he owned not yet any established national church but the church of England? Upon this, the ensuing paper was on 18th of May following (between the hours of nine and ten at night) presented to his majesty by six bishops, the subscribers.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of William Archbishop of Canterbury, and of divers of the suffragan Bishops of the Province now present with him, in behalf of themselves, and others of their absent Brethren, and of the Clergy of their respective Dioceses,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT their great averseness they find in themselves to the distribution and publication in all their churches of your majesty's late declaration for liberty of conscience, proceedeth neither from any want of duty and obedience to your majesty, our holy mother, the church of England, being both in her principles and constant practices unquestionably loyal, and having to her great honour been more than once publickly acknowledged to be so by your majesty, nor yet from any want of due tenderness to dissenters; in relation to whom, they are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and settled in parliament and convocation. But among many other considerations, from this especially, because the declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as has been often declared illegal in parliament, and particularly in the years 1662, 1672, and in the beginning of your majesty's reign, and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state, that your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, and conscience, so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation, and reading it, even in God's house, and in the time of his divine service, must amount to, in common and reasonable construction.

Your petitioners therefore most humbly and earnestly beseech your majesty, that you will be graciously pleased not to insist upon the distribution and reading your majesty's declaration.

CANTERBURY,
ST ASAPH, BATH AND WELLS,
CHICHESTER, PETERBOROUGH,
ELY, BRISTOL.

And here also for method's sake, and before I come to the matter of it, I hold it requisite that I speak somewhat to the persons the subscribers, and the time of their presenting it.

As to the first, the holy scriptures stiles bishops the angels of their churches, and, by the common law of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury is [1] *Primus par. Angl.* The bishops, lords ecclesiastical secular,[2] and sit in parliament *jure episcopatus*, which they hold [3] *per baroniam*. The statute (*pro clero*) calls them peers of the realm;[4] that of Queen Elizabeth, one of the greatest states of the realm.[5] They have jurisdiction in ecclesiastical causes, and are not bound to obey any mandate but the king's; and by reason of all this, presumed to have a more than ordinary influence upon the people. Our Saviour calls his disciples the salt and light of the world: And why? but that they should season others with their doctrine, and guide them, by their example, into the way of peace. His name is the Prince of Peace; his sermon on the mount was the gospel of peace; the blessings in it are to the poor in spirit, the meek, the merciful, the peace-makers, &c. His life was one continued practice of it; and his last legacy to his disciples was peace. He gave to Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's; and that tribute, which yet was the product of an absolute power, he not only paid it without disputing the authority; but commanded it to others: and though the imperial power after his death was of the same absoluteness, yet St Paul says not, the senate had declared it illegal, but calls it the Ordinance of God, and enjoins subjection to it. What the apostles in their time were, the same ever, and now challenge the governors of all churches; next, and under kings, they are in the stead of God to the people, and where they make a false step, what wonder if the unthinking people forget the precept, and take after the example? They see nothing but (*sub imagine lusca*) by twilight, and conceive according to the colour of those rods are cast before them; they hear a noise, but know not whence it cometh, or whither it goeth, and run away the cry, without so much as laying a nose to the ground for it. What made the people set up Adoniah against David's disposition of the crown to Solomon? Abiathar, the high priest, was in the head of them. What made the nobles break the yoke? The prophets had prophesied falsely, the priests applauded it with their hands, and a foolish people loved to have it so. Or what made the Jews, who had so often acknowledged our Saviour, turn head against him and crucify him? The chief priests, the scribes, and elders, had possessed the people that the Romans would come and take away their city. Thus we see what influence great men have upon the heedless multitude, and therefore how wary ought they to be how they give them the least example of disobedience; for it is seldom seen, but where the one disputes the other cavils, and where the leaders make but a shrug at the government, the people think it high time to be mending it. Our own histories are as one example of it; or, if they run narrow, Tacitus may be believed of his, *Erant in officio, qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari, quam exequi.* There were (saith he) some in power that were more for commenting than executing the emperor's directions. Nor are disputes or excuses of less danger, for it is a kind of shaking off the yoke, and an [6] essay of disobedience; especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously. And if by such means a fire break out in the state, it will want no fuel when it is kindled from the altar.

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[1] 4 Inst. 5. [2] Idem. 362. [3] 25 E. III. c. 24. [4] 8 Eliz. c. 1. [5] 1 Inst. 134.
[6] Lord Bacon's Essay of Subjection.

And for the time of their presenting it, I shall consider it as it may respect the present circumstances of the kingdom, or that half scantling of time they gave his majesty to consider of their excuses.

As to the former, the glut of reformers in Edward the Sixth's time was great, and the qualifications so indifferent, that the church of England has ever since laboured under it, and the same elements that compounded her, half destroyed her; for as the laws, not the doctrine, brought them first together, they no sooner found themselves streightened in the one, than they made it up with the other, and themselves somewhat in the broils, that were otherwise nothing in the peace of the state. These humours, during her and King James's reign, lay fermenting in the body, but in his son's broke out into a pestilence. The crown fell, the church followed it, and the most diligent enquirer might have sought England in herself, yet missed her; till at last it pleased Him, whose only it is to still the raging of the sea, to say to the madness of the people, *Huc usque, nec ultra.* His late majesty King Charles the Second was restored; and so little averse were the catholic lords to the church of England, that their votes, which otherwise might have kept them out, brought them once more into the House of Peers; nor were they scarce warm in their seats, before the act of uniformity was passed, and driven with that violence, that it had like to have overturned all again. The dissenters were not fit for employ, they had money in their purses, and the world was wide enough; the catholic lords were less to be trusted, they cumbered the ground, and 'twas but fit they were down. There remained nothing but to cast out the heir, and then the inheritance would be the easier divided. And here also it pleased God to appear in the mount; he plucked him out of the deep waters, and set him on the throne of his ancestors; and as he came to the crown through the greatest of difficulties, he has been preserved in it by no less a providence. He stifled two serpents in the cradle of his empire, and in a three years government conquered all example in his own. And now, when our troubled waters had begun to settle again, what need of whistling up the winds for another storm? When the wounds of the kingdom were almost closed, what charity was it to unbind them too soon, or, under pretence of easing the patient, to set them bleeding a-fresh? In a word, when the brands of our late rebellions lay smothering in their almost forgotten embers, what prudence was it to rake them into another flame? I see little of the dove in it, and am loth to say too much of the serpent.

And for that half scantling of time they gave his majesty to consider of their excuses, it seems here also that the spirit of direction (like Baal in the kings) was some way or other out of the way. The declaration was no new thing, it had been published the 4th of April, 1687, and his majesty had received the general acknowledgments of the kingdom for it, which argued their satisfaction in it. Their corn was in the ground, and now, if ever, was the time to sow tares; and therefore, to prevent their choaking it, his majesty, the 27th of April, 1688, (which was one full year and three weeks after,) enforces his first declaration, and commands it to be read in all churches within ten miles of London, on the 20th and 27th of May, and in all the other churches through the country on the 3d and 10th of June following, time enough (one would think) to have considered the matter, so as to have given the king some time to have advised. Whereas, on the contrary, they made no scruple of it, till the 18th of May, about ten at night, and then (the 19th being a day appointed for hunting) they present the paper before mentioned, as well knowing that if his majesty had an inclination of countermanding his declaration, he was so straitened in time that he could not do it, for it was to be read the day after. And what can be rationally interpreted from it, but that they had been all that while numbering the people to see whether the party were strong enough? And I am the rather inclined to it, for that since the time of the first declaration, the doctrine of non-resistance has not been so much in vogue as it was formerly; it would keep cold for another time, and to have pressed it now, who knows but the people might have believed it? In short, Nathan, Zadoc, &c. had some pretence for opposing Adoniah; "me thy servant, and Zadoc the priest, he hath not called." So Core, Dathan, and Abiram, were ecclesiastical princes, and thought they might have as much right to govern as Moses; but when the church of England (founded on the law of England) acknowledges the king supreme in all causes, themselves [1] *infra ætatem, et in custodia Domini Regis;* when the king, by his declaration, has secured them in their religion, possessions, and properties, and by virtue of his royal prerogative (and for the quiet of the nation) only indulged it to others, (yet making no doubt of the parliament's concurrence to it,) is it just that their eye be evil because the king's is good? Or must the King of Heaven be confined to a party? I never heard that disobedience was any qualification for it; and, therefore, if they will not enter themselves, why do they shut it against others that would enter?

But perhaps the petition (if yet there can be any reason for the breach of a duty) may give us the reason of it. The title says "In behalf of themselves, and others of their absent brethren, and of the clergy of their respective dioceses." What makes good what I before hinted, that instead of distributing and publishing his majesty's declaration to be read in their respective dioceses, as in bounden duty to their supreme ordinary the king, they ought to have done; and the clergy, in respect of their canonical obedience to them, must have obeyed under the pain of suspension, and in case of contumacy of deprivation: They had been feeling the pulse of their clergy, and finding little return from them, but "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth," they concluded the flock would follow the shepherd; and consequently, if the party were not strong enough, the multitude of the offenders might make it dispunishable; whereas it has been seen, that a ferry-boat's taking in too many passengers to encrease the fare, has been often the occasion of sinking all together. [2] And if the loyalty of the church of England receive any blemish by it, what can they say, but that she was "wounded in the house of her friends?" For by the same reason, that a metropolitan refuses the injunctions of his supreme ordinary the king, by the same reason may a diocesan refuse his metropolitan, and every inferior clergyman his diocesan; and when the chain is once broken, you may dispose the links as you please.

But the petition says, "It was neither from any want of duty and obedience to his majesty." No! Then why was it not complied with? "Shew me thy faith by thy works," saith St James; nor will it be possible to clear that son of disobedience, that said "I go," but went not. A bishop (as before) is not bound to obey any mandate but the king's, which exception proves the rule, and that he is inexcusably obliged to obey the king's; for all bishops are subject to the imperial power who is to be obeyed against the will of the bishop. Mauritius [3] the emperor (says Bishop Taylor) commanded St Gregory to hand an unlawful edict to the churches; the bishop advised the prince, that what he went about was a sin, did what he could to have hindered it, and yet obeyed. It was the case of Saul and Samuel: The king desires Samuel to join with him in the service of the Lord; he, with the liberty of a prophet, refused at first, but afterwards joined with him: Whereupon the said bishop, in the same place, further says, "That even the unlawful edicts of a lawful prince may be published by the clergy:" How much more then those that are lawful? And that this declaration is such, I shall shew presently, when I come to speak to their word *illegal.* In short, the [1] Archbishop of Canterbury is ordinary of the court, and a bishop's private opinion may be warrant enough for him to speak when he is required, but [2] not to reprove a prince upon pretence of duty.

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[1] Glan. l. 7. c. 1. Bract. l. 5. 427.

[2] Only seven clergymen in London, and but two hundred through the whole kingdom, gave obedience to the royal mandate by reading the declaration; and even they, shunned by their brethren and deserted by their congregations, scarcely suffered the cock to crow upon their sin before they repented and atoned for it.

[3] Ductor Dub. fol. 606.

"Our holy mother the church of England being both in her principles and constant practices unquestionably loyal." Nor have they hitherto appeared other, and if not religion, moral gratitude must have obliged them to it. All the bishoprics of England (but [3] Sodor and Man, which was instituted by Pope Gregory the Fourth) are of the foundation of the kings of England, [4] and those in Wales of the Prince of Wales. Nor is it less than reason, that they look up to the hand that fed them; or to whom more justly ought they have paid the tribute of obedience, than to him that took them from the flock, and set them among princes? In a word, the late war was *bellum episcopale;* and if King Charles the First would have confirmed the sale of church lands, he had saved himself. And why then do they reproach the king his son with their loyalty, when they instance the contrary in so small a trial of that obedience, especially when, were the matter doubtful, the presumption were for obedience, and even unjust commands may be justly obeyed? For as we fear the thing is unjust, so have we reason to fear the evil of disobedience, for we are sure that is evil; and therefore we are to change the [5] speculative doubt into a practical resolution, and of two doubts take the surest part, and that is to obey; because, in such cases, *Reum facit superiorem, iniquitas, imperandi; innocentem subditum, ordo serviendi:* The evil (if there be any) is imputed to him that commands, not him that obeys, who is not his prince's judge, but servant; and they that are under authority are to obey, not dispute; nor shall any thing done by virtue thereof be said to be [6] *contra pacem.* David commanded Joab to put Uriah in the head of the battle, to the end that he might fall by the enemy: Joab obeys; Uriah is killed; and yet not Joab, who might have prevented it, but David, who commanded it, is charged with the murder. In a word, to pretend loyalty for a common principle, and yet make disputing and disobedience the practice of it, what is it but a drawing near with the mouth when the heart is farthest from it? The voice perhaps may be the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau.

"And having to her great honour been more than once publickly acknowledged to be so by your majesty." And does his majesty less than acknowledge it in this declaration? He has in the word of a king secured to them their religion, possessions, and properties; and, why? but to assure them, he repented not the character. And it was their interest, if not duty, to keep it up; nay, the honour of their church depended on it, inasmuch as men value things according to the present good or evil they do in the world; and what advantage can that religion give us to another life, when it shall be found mischievous or destructive to this? They have, I said, the word of a king for their security; but if they force him in his own defence, to secure against it, whom can they blame but themselves, who first made the challenge? Abiathar's service to David was acknowledged by Solomon; but when he once began to boggle, he forgave, but removed him. And our Bishop Bonner, though he got his bishoprick by thwarting the pope, yet he lost it again by opposing the king. In a word, the holy spirit in the Apocalypse acknowledges the good works of the seven churches of Asia, but bids some of them remember whence they had fallen, and repent, and do the first works, or he would remove their candlestick.

"Nor yet from any want of due tenderness to dissenters." No! Why then have those penal laws been executed with so much rigour against them? Or, why are they so averse from having them eased at present? What brought them into this kingdom,

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[1] Heylin's Life of A. B. Laud, 209. [2] Id. Ductor, Dub. 608. [3] 4 Inst. 285.
[4] 1 Inst. 94, et 97. [5] Id. Duct. Dub. f. 136, et 531. [6] 9 Coke 68. 10 Coke 70.

I have touched before, and what turned them out again, our trade with them is demonstrable enough in the late protestants of France. I will not say but they might have been kept out at first; but being settled and embodied into a people, it may seem ill policy to remove any greater number to gratify a lesser. It is not the nobility or the gentry that are the traders, nor is it the gown that enriches more than particular persons; but the trade of the merchant, and the industry of the middle sort, that enriches a nation, and without which, *vena porta*, let a kingdom have never so good limbs, it will have but empty veins. It was trade gave England its first credit abroad, and the manufacture at home found matter to it; the one drained other kingdoms to water our own, and the other brought a balance to it, in making the export come up to the import, and both together secured the dominion of the sea, and made the wealth of either Indies a kind of accessary to it; and all this carried on by the middle sort of people. Take our sea-ports, and the seaman is but here and there a true church of England man; the merchant that employs him not much better at heart; the artisan through the kingdom has more than a spice of the disease, and the body of the people not least infected with it. However, let them be quiet within themselves, and they dispute no authority; but when they are uneasy, and mewed up at home, what wonder if they change it for a freer air? What makes us complain of the want of trade? That our neighbours have gotten into our manufacture; that our ships are not so well manned as formerly, and the rents of lands fallen; the reason is obvious, ourselves have cut off our own hands. The merchant sits down with what he has, or turns builder; the workman carries his art with him; the seaman will have his opinion as well as his pay; and the lump of the people their consciences, or good night, landlord! whereas, since his majesty's last indulgence, trade is visibly increased, building stops of itself, the kingdom begins to people again, and the numerous addresses on this occasion speak so general a satisfaction, that if such be the dawn, what may there not be expected from its full day? And is there no equity that the catholic also come in for a share, though the word *dissenter* seems not (in proper speech) to comprehend him; for neither the law of England, or themselves. ever knew him by that name? However, that some tenderness might be due to them, may be gathered from the English Litany. The church of England knows the king professes the faith of Rome; and therefore, when they beseech God, "That it may please thee to keep and strengthen in the true worshipping of thee, in righteousness and holiness of life, thy servant James, our most gracious king and governor," what do they mean by it? If after the way which some of them call idolatry, so worships he the God of his fathers, and they beseech God to keep and strengthen him in the true worshipping of him, they imply that worship to be a true worship; and if they do not believe it, and yet use the words, how will they avoid a sin? for whatever is not of faith is sin. In a word, the king has made a general indulgence to all his subjects, the catholics fall under no particular exception in it; and therefore the law of reason, as well as the law of the land, gives them the benefit of it.

"In relation to whom, they are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when that matter shall be considered and settled in parliament and convocation." What the temper hitherto has been, is but too sensible already, and what it is like to be for the future may be guessed by what is passed. The king (who by the law of England is *supremus in ecclesiasticis*) has thought fit, considered, and settled the matter; and were a parliament now sitting, the [1] king is sole judge, all the rest but advisers. The royal prerogative is a part of that [2] law of the land, and by that authority the king has settled it; and therefore it becomes no man to be wiser than the law. Nor is the advice of Ignatius to his clergy foreign to it, *nolite*[3] *principes irritare ut*

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[1] 22 E. 3. 3.

[2] Stan. Pl. Cor. 162. 1 Inst. 97.

[3] Epist. 12.

acerbentur, ne ansam detis iis qui illam contra vos quærunt. Provoke not princes, saith he, to become bitter, lest ye hand an occasion to those that seek one against ye. But supposing it a matter only cognisable in parliament, why could not they have held till then, and in the mean time obeyed? especially when the king had, by the same declaration, declared his resolution of calling a parliament in November next at farthest; and our law says, *Extra*[1] *parliamentum nulla petitio est grata, licet necessaria.* No petition, how necessary soever, is grateful out of parliament. Or, how then could the convocation be concerned in it? for, (besides that the matter is merely political, and singly respects the quiet of the kingdom,) if the king, who is supreme ordinary over all England, may, by the ancient laws of this realm, and without parliament, make ordinances and constitutions for the government of the clergy, and deprive them for non-obedience thereunto, as has been more[2] than once resolved, he may; what have the convocation to be consulted in it? especially when they have so often in Henry the Third, Edward the[3] Second, and Edward the Third's time, been commanded by the king's writ, that as they love their baronies (which they hold of the king) that they intermeddle with nothing that concerned the king's laws of the land, his crown and dignity, his person, or his state, or the state of his council or kingdom: (*Scituri pro certo quod si fecerint, rex inde se capiet ad baronias suas*) willing them to know for certain, that if they did, the king would seize their baronies. And by the statute of Henry[4] the Eighth, it is provided, that no canons or constitutions should be made or put in execution by their authority, which were contrariant or repugnant to the king's prerogative, the laws, customs, or statutes of the realm. In a word, the king has commanded, they have disobeyed, and by their ill example perverted others, and are yet very uncondescending (for so the people word it) themselves. And what would Henry the Eighth have done in such a case? made use of his last argument, or thrown up the game for a few cross cards?

"But among many other considerations, from this especially, because this declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as has been often declared illegal in parliament:" And what were those considerations? If a man should put an ill construction upon them, it may be said, their lordships never intended it; and if they intended not to amuse the people, why did they not speak plain English, and specify those considerations? inasmuch as all petitions ought to contain certainty and particularity, so as a direct answer may be given to them, which could not be here: For whatever the king's answer might have been, somewhat more also might have been hooked in from the words, and Alexander would have given it a short answer, (*aut ligna inferte, aut thus.*) either made it a chimney or an altar. But it seems it moved in sundry places, though the best scripture for this pretended illegality be a declaration in parliament. Their lordships instance nothing beyond their own time; but I conceive it not impossible to bring them those of elder times that have been so far from doubting the king's dispensing power, that they held it unquestionable.

The statute 1 Hen. IV. cap. 6. says, the king is contented to be concluded by the wise men of his realm, touching the estate of him and his realm, saving always the king's liberty, *i. e.* his prerogative, of varying from that law as he should see cause.

In the parliament-roll, 1 Hen. V. n. 22. the statutes against provisors are confirmed; and that the king shall not give any protection or grant against the execution of them, saving to the king his prerogative.[5]

And what was meant by that, may appear by a prior roll[6] of the same year, N. 15. where the commons pray, That the statutes for the putting aliens out of the kingdom may be held and executed: The king consents, saving his prerogative, and that he dispense with such as he shall please. Upon which the commons answer, That their intention was no other, and by the help of God never shall be.

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[1] 4 Inst. 11.

[2] Crook Jac. 37. Moore 755.

[3] 4 Inst. 322.

[4] 25 H. VIII. c. 19.

[5] Serj. Rollo's Abridg. 2 part. tit. Prerog. 180.

[6] Id. tit. Prerog.

Queen Elizabeth hath dispensed with the ancient form and manner of investing and consecrating of bishops; and the parliament of the 8th of her reign, cap. 1. declares it lawful, as being done by her inherent prerogative. And when, by the same prerogative or privilege, and royal authority (for so it is worded) she dispensed with the universities, &c., so popish a thing as Latin prayers, and which their lordships the bishops still use in convocations, though it be directly contrary to the statute 1 Eliz. cap. 1. for using the common prayer in the vulgar tongue only; what is meant by it, but that the queen might lawfully dispense with that statute? for, if otherwise, there is no ecclesiastical person in the kingdom but would have found the temporal censures too heavy for him, when it had been too late to have asked a parliamentary consideration, whether legal or not.

"And in particular, in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your majesty's reign." As to the first of which, matter of fact stands thus: King Charles II., by his declaration from Breda, had declared liberty for tender consciences, and that no man should be disquieted for difference in opinion in matters of religion which did not disturb the peace of the kingdom. And in his declaration of the 26th of December following stood firm to it, but that no such bill had been yet offered him. While it thus lay, an act of indemnity and one other of uniformity were passed. The first regenerated themselves; and the second, with the old ingredient, "the growth of popery," was a probable way to exclude others. The 25th and 26th of February the commons come to some resolves against that and dissenters; which, with the reasons of them (*wherein yet they declare not the declaration illegal*) they present his majesty on the 28th in the Banqueting House. The king complies; and it was too soon after a rebellion to have done otherwise. However, if they had declared it illegal, it was but the single opinion of the commons, wherein the lords made no concurrence: And therefore to say this dispensing power was, in the parliament of 1662, declared illegal, when (in common and reasonable construction) a declaration in parliament is intended of both houses of parliament; why may it not be as well urged, that those other votes and resolves of the commons, touching the bill of exclusion, were a legal declaration in parliament, when yet the lords swept their house of it?

Then, for that other of 1672, the king, in the interval of parliament, was engaged in a war with the Dutch, and, to secure peace at home while he had war abroad, had put forth a declaration for indulgence to dissenters. The parliament meet, grant a supply of twelve hundred thirty eight thousand seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds; and, without charging the declaration with illegality, pray his majesty to recal it. The argument prevailed, and the king did it; which shews, that it was in the king's option not to have done it, or done it.

And, lastly, for that other in the beginning of his majesty's reign, that also (without declaring it illegal) was but some heats of the commons. There were at that time two open rebellions; the king (who is sole judge of the danger of the kingdom, and how to avoid it) had granted commissions to certain persons not qualified according to the statute 25 Car. II. The commons offer to bring in a bill for the indemnifying those persons: The king knew his own authority, and ended the dispute. And if any man doubts the legality of the king's dispensing with that statute, a subsequent judgment (in the case of Sir Edward Hales) has determined the point;[1] and that the power of dispensing with penal laws, upon necessity or urgent occasions, of which the king is sole judge, is an inseparable prerogative in the king, not given him in trust, or derived from the people, but the ancient right of the crown, innate in the king, and unalterable by them. And that this has been the ancient judgment of the judges from time to time, I shall meet with the occasion of shewing it in the next paragraph.

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[1] Trin. 2. Jac. II. in B. R.

"And is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state." And so indubitably is it, that nothing can be more; for the best of laws being but good intentions, if a prince should be tied up to such unalterable decrees, as in no case whatever he might vary from them, it might so happen that what at one time was intended for the good of church and state, may at another prove the destruction of both, if not as timely prevented. The present case is a pregnant instance of it: one would have thought, that the frequent endeavours of the four last reigns for the reducing this kingdom to an exact conformity in religion, might have answered the design; but (if his majesty in his declaration had not told us his thoughts of it) our own experience might have taught us, the effects thereof have, in a manner, brought the kingdom to nothing. And what should the king have done in this case, sat still, and expected a miracle, or interposed his royal authority for the saving it? The question answers itself. And if the power of dispensing with penal laws were not inseparably and unalterably in him, how could he have done it? What elder parliaments have declared in it, I have already shewn; and that the judges successively have gone with it, is, or may be, obvious to every man.

Such was the resolution of all the justices in the exchequer chamber, 2 Rich. III. 12, and that the king might grant license against a penal statute. And what is that but a dispensing with it? In like manner by all the justices in the same place, 2 Hen. VII. 6, that the king may grant a *non obstante* to a penal statute, though the statute say such *non obstante* shall be merely void, and such was the case there; the 13 Hen. VII. 8, to the same *purpose; allowed for good law, Plowd. Com. 502; confirmed by* Sir Edward Coke, 7 Coke 36, and 12 Coke 18, 19; *and, lastly, by a judgment in his* now majesty's reign, of which before. And if so necessary a part of the government, so solemnly determined by parliaments and judges, is fit to be slighted, or not obeyed, which amounts to the same, I leave it to every man.

"That your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, and conscience, so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation, and reading it even in God's house, and in the time of his divine service, must amount to in common and reasonable construction." And on the other hand, I conceive, that both in prudence, honour, and conscience, they were highly obliged to it: For what is prudence but the active faculty of the mind, directing actions morally good to their immediate ends? That this declaration is morally good appears by the purport of it, and that is, "*his* majesty's desire of establishing his government on such a foundation as may make his subjects happy, and unite them to him by inclination as well as duty." And what greater prudence could there have been than by their lordships distributing that declaration as enjoined to them, and by their pastoral authority requiring it to be *read in* all churches, &c. to have directed it to its immediate ends, which were the *establishing* the government, and making the subjects happy? Or, if wisdom must come in for a share, the offices of that are election and ordination, the choice of right means for, and ordering them aright to, their end. The right means of quieting the nation was before them, and I think it no question, whether their lordships not distributing it has ordered it aright to the end. The king had enjoined it to be published, and wisdom, in this case, like scripture, is not of private interpretation, but lies in him that has the power of commanding, not in him whom conscience binds to obey. In a word, if obedience in subjects is the prince's strength and their own security, what prudence or wisdom could it be, by weakening the power of commanding, to lessen their own security?

Then for honour and conscience, though in this place they seem to mean the *same* thing, and may be both resolved into *nil conscire sibi*, yet I'll take them severally. And how stands it with the honour of "the church of England, both in principles and constant practices unquestionably loyal, and, to her great honour, more than once so acknowledged by his majesty," to start aside in this day of her trial? Both the last Armaghs, Usher, and Bramhal, Bishop Sanderson, Bishop Morley, &c. have all along, by their doctrine and practices, beat down that other of resisting princes, in that the church of England held no such custom; nor have the most eminent of her clergy, Dr Sherlock, Dr Scott, and others, until this last uncomplying compliance, taken any other measures. And ought not their practice now to have made good their principles? or that advice of the present Bishop of Ely to the church of England to have been considered and followed?[1] "Let her be thankful (saith he) to God, for the blessings she hath, and unto the king, under whom they will be continued to her; and take heed of overturning or undermining the fabric, because she cannot have the room that she would choose in it." And what greater assay to it can there be than disobedience? inasmuch as he that thinks his prince ought not to be obeyed, will, from one thing to another, come at last to think him not fit to be king. Nor must the anniversary of the now Bishop of Chester[2] be past in silence: "Though the king (saith he) should not please or humour us, though he rend off the mantle from our bodies, (as Saul did from Samuel,) nay, though he should sentence us to death, (of which, blessed be God and the king, there is no danger;) yet if we are living members of the church of England, we must neither open our mouths, or lift our hands, against him, but honour him before the elders and people of Israel." And having instanced in the examples of the prophets, our Saviour, his disciples, and Christian bishops, under heathen persecutors, and demanded whether ever Sanhedrim questioned their kings? "Nor must we (saith he) ask *our prince, why he governs us otherwise than we please to be governed ourselves; we must neither call him to account* for his religion, nor question his policy in civil matters, for he is made our king by God's law, of which the law of the land is only declarative." In a word, this and the like has been doctrine of the church of England, and when, on that ground, his majesty has more than once acknowledged her loyalty, who in honour more obliged to make it good than those that serve at her altar? unless (perhaps) they coin a distinction to salve it, and that the church may be of one opinion, and the churchmen of another.

And then in conscience their obligation was higher; for besides what I said before, that the people are apter to follow example than precept, every man (and even their lordships with the rest) is party and privy to an act of parliament, and bound in conscience to the observance of it. Nor is there either bishop, or clergyman in the church of England, who has not subscribed to the lawfulness of this declaration's being read in the church during the time of divine service. As thus:—Every clergyman, at the time of his institution, subscribes (in a book kept for that purpose) that the king's majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm, and that the book of Common Prayer containeth nothing in it contrary to the word of God.[1] Now, the book of Common Prayer, as it is now used in and through the church of England, is enacted, by authority of parliament, to be read in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book; and the rubric, *i. e.* the order and form how those prayers shall be read, is, to all intents and purposes, as much enacted as the book itself; and in that rubric, next after the Nicene creed, (in the communion service,) follow these words: "Then shall the curate declare unto the people what holy-days, or fasting-days, are in the week following to be observed, &c. And that nothing shall be proclaimed or published in the church, during the time of divine service, but by the minister; nor by him any thing, but what is prescribed by the rules of this book, or enjoined by the king, or by the ordinary of the place." Now, when all clergymen have subscribed that the book of Common Prayer containeth nothing in it contrary to the word of God, and that the king has enjoined that his declaration be read in all churches, during the time of divine service, these subscriptions of theirs (besides the authority of king and parliament) conclude themselves from offering any thing against the lawfulness of reading it, as it had been enjoined to them, and the rubric required of them; and being so, what excuse can there be why they did not read it?

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[1] His Coronation Sermon, pag. 27. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely in 1684, preached in 1685 the coronation sermon of James II. and Queen Mary. He was one of the petitioning bishops, but refused to take the oaths to William and Mary, and absconded in 1691, under suspicion of treasonable practices.

[2] His sermon on that occasion, p. 13, 14. Cartwright succeeded to the see of Chester in 1686. "In the next year [1687] he being then in favour with King James II., and ready upon all occasions to run with his humour, purposely to obtain a translation to a better bishoprick, he was by him not only added to the number of ecclesiastical commissioners, but also appointed one of the three delegates or commissioners (Sir Rob. Wright, Ch. Just. of the King's Bench, and Sir Thomas Jenner, one of the barons of the Exchequer, being the other two) to go to Oxon, to examine and determine the affairs relating to Magdalen College; and what they did there in ejecting the president and fellows thereof, a book entitled, "An impartial Relation of the illegal Proceedings against S. Mary Magdalen College in Oxon, &c. Lond. 1689, *qu. sec. edit.* collected by a Fellow of that College," will at large tell you. At that time this bishop making it his sole endeavours to be gracious with the then leading men, and to shew himself in all public assemblies, particularly in those wherein the Roman catholic bishops were consecrated, he gained the ill will so much of the sons of the church of England, that when the Prince of Orange made his expedition into England, he, out of fear of suffering for what he had acted, and of the insults of the rabble, (then committing great disorders in London, and most parts of the nation,) did withdraw himself in private, sculk, and, in a disguise, fled into France; where, repairing to his royal master K. James II., then lately come thither to avoid imminent danger in England, had by him, upon the news of Dr Ward's death, the bishoprick of Salisbury conferred on him. And while he abode at S. Germains he did usually read the liturgy of the church of England in his lodgings to such protestants that came thither to him. Afterwards he went with his said master towards Ireland, landed there on Tuesday the 12th of March, 1688, and died at Dublin, 15th Apr. 1689."—*Wood, II.* 830.

Or suppose that clause, "*Or enjoined by the king,*" had not been in the rubric, (as it was first inserted in this act of uniformity, and every man that was of the convocation of 1661, knows by whom,) were none of the king's declarations ever read in churches (and that during the time of divine service) before that time? I think there were, and (amongst many others) that of the declaration of sports for one. Or that the "ordinary of the place" had enjoined the contrary, ought not the king, the supreme ordinary, and, as their subscriptions farther acknowledge, "the supreme governor of this realm under God," to have been first obeyed? I think he ought; for the authority of the greater supersedes the lesser; nor is there any power in his dominions but what is derived from him; and whatever station the king has given them in the church, it is not to be presumed he thereby locked out himself. Nor must a remark of the said Bishop of Chester, in his sermon before mentioned, be forgotten here: "The Jews (saith he[2]) say, that the keys of the temple were not hung at the high priest's girdle, but laid every night under Solomon's pillow, as belonging to his charge." The moral of it holds true; for when a prince shall have little authority in the church, it is not to be expected he should have much better in the state.

And, lastly, for their lordships "so far making themselves parties to it, as the distribution and reading of it, &c. must amount to, in common and reasonable construction." A clergyman's merely reading the Common Prayer in his church, is not giving his assent to it, unless, after his so reading it, he shall publicly and openly, before the congregation there assembled, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the said book, intitled, The Book of Common Prayer, &c., which necessarily implies that neither the distributing nor reading it, &c. can in common and reasonable construction amount to the making the publisher, or reader of it, a party to it.[3]

The apostle says, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake;"

[1] Ecclesiastical Canons, 1603, Art. 36.

[2] Page 15.

[3] Vid. Act of Uniformity before every Common Prayer Book, par. 3, 4.

and upon this the Bishop of Hereford grounds his judgment for the reading this declaration. "The king (saith he[*]) expressly commanding it to be read in all churches, without requiring him that reads it to declare either his consent, assent, allowing, or liking it; I would gladly know how this is contrary to the word of God? Shew it me. Or if, as it is said, this dispensing power be contrary to the laws of the land, as is declared in the parliament 1662 and 1672, is it contrary to the law of God? Shew it me," page 5, 6. "Or that to read any thing in the house of God is declaring my consent to it?" page 8. "No certainly;" page 9, "for in the reading this declaration there is no doctrine taught, only matter of fact declared, and perchance to try my obedience," page 10, "and done out of pure obedience to my king, upon God's command, and to so good an end as the preserving truth and peace among us; which if we lose on this occasion, they will have much to answer for who are the authors of it," page 13. Besides whom, there are several other bishops of the church of England, who have obeyed his majesty's commands in it, albeit they may not have so publicly declared it. And having said so much to the matter of the paper, I think I may well pass the prayer of it, "That his majesty will be graciously pleased not to insist upon the distribution and reading that declaration."

And therefore, upon the whole, if this declaration had not been thought fit to have been distributed, as enjoined, less ought the said paper to have been dispersed privately, and by such previous disposition, stolen the form of the design into the matter it was to work on; and considering the evils we had passed, and that the kingdom wanted a lenitive, not a corrosive, least of all ought the people on the wall to have been heard with new jealousies. The people (I say) who need more a balance than a fly, somewhat to moderate, not multiply, their motion.

In short, trust is the sinew of society, which is the right object of true policy; and distrust, a disbanding of it. The king, as he has "more than once acknowledged the church of England's loyalty," has as often declared, that "he will protect and maintain his archbishops, bishops, and clergy, and all other his subjects of the church of England, in the free exercise of their religion, as by law established; and in the quiet and full enjoyment of all their possessions, without any molestation and disturbance whatever." The king has said it, and shall he not perform it? He has pledged his royal word, and shall we doubt the truth of it? It is not with God that he should lie; nor with his vicegerent that he should be changed; and, therefore, let us (as his majesty by his declaration conjures us) lay aside all private animosities and groundless jealousies, let us fear God and honour the king, and not discover the falsehood of our own hearts by distrusting our princes.

In a word, let every man in his station contribute (his mite) to the peace and greatness of his country; let him shew his love to God in his obedience to his prince; and let no man, by setting up conscience against duty, run the hazard of dashing the first table against the second.

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[*] His late discourse on this occasion.

The Articles recommended by the Archbishop of Canterbury to all the Bishops within his Metropolitan Jurisdiction, the 16th of July, 1688.

The bishops were no sooner acquitted and discharged from the Tower, than they resolved upon measures for improving the victory they had obtained. The result of their consultation was the following paper of instructions to the clergy, the political import of which is, that they ought strenuously to maintain the protestant cause in its various branches, ally themselves as closely as possible with the gentry and landed interest, and make common cause with the dissenters against the church of Rome. In the latter point the common danger had so much moved the prelates, that even Sancroft, though a rigid high-church-man, projected a comprehension with the more moderate dissenters, and a revision of the service of the church, to accomplish that purpose.

Sir,

Yesterday the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered the articles, which I send you inclosed, to those bishops who are at present in this place; and ordered copies of them to be likewise sent in his name to the absent bishops. By the contents of them you will see, that the storm in which he is does not frighten him from doing his duty; but rather awakens him to do it with so much the more vigour: and indeed, the zeal that he expresses in these articles, both against the corruptions of the church of Rome on the one hand, and the unhappy differences that are among protestants on the other, are such apostolical things, that all good men rejoice to see so great a prelate at the head of our church, who, in this critical time, has had the courage to do his duty in so signal a manner. I am,

Sir,

London, July 27, 1688. Yours.

Some Heads of Things to be more fully insisted upon by the Bishops in their Addresses to the Clergy and People of their respective Dioceses.

I. That the clergy often read over the forms of their ordination; and seriously consider, what solemn vows and professions they made therein to God and his church, together with the several oaths and subscriptions they have taken, and made upon divers occasions.

II. That in compliance with those and other obligations, they be active and zealous in all the parts and instances of their duty, and especially strict and exact in all holy conversation, that so they may become examples to the flock.

III. To this end, that they be constantly resident upon their cures in their incumbent houses; and keep sober hospitality there, according to their ability.

IV. That they diligently catechise the children and youth of their parishes, (as the rubrick of the Common-Prayer Book, and the 59th canon injoin,) and so prepare them to be brought in due time to confirmation, when there shall be opportunity; and that they also, at the same time, expound the grounds of religion, and the common Christianity, in the method of the Catechism, for the instruction and benefit of the whole parish, teaching them what they are to believe, and what to do, and what to pray for; and particularly often and earnestly inculcating upon the importance and obligation of their baptismal vows.

V. That they perform the daily office publicly (with all decency, affection, and gravity) in all market and other great towns, and even in villages, and less populous places, bring people to public prayers as frequently as may be; especially on such days, and at such times, as the rubrick and canons appointed on holy days, and their eves, on Ember and Rogation days, on Wednesdays and Fridays in each week, and especially in Advent and Lent.

VI. That they use their utmost endeavour, both in their sermons and by private applications, to prevail with such of their flock as are of competent age, to receive frequently the Holy Communion: And to this end, that they administer it in the greater towns once in every month, and even in the lesser too, if communicants may be procured, or, however, as often as they may: and that they take all due care, both by preaching and otherwise, to prepare all for the worthy receiving of it.

VII. That in their sermons they teach and inform their people (four times a year at the least, as what the canons require) that all usurped and foreign jurisdiction is for most just causes taken away and abolished in this realm, and no manner of obedience or subjection due to the same, or to any that pretend to act by virtue of it: but that the king's power being in his dominions highest under God, they upon all occasions persuade the people to loyalty and obedience to his majesty in all things lawful, and to patient submission in the rest; promoting (as far as in them lies) the public peace and quiet of the world.

VIII. That they maintain fair correspondence (full of the kindest respects of all sorts) with the gentry and persons of quality in their neighbourhood, as being deeply sensible what reasonable assistance and countenance this poor church hath received from them in her necessities.

IX. That they often exhort all those of our communion, to continue stedfast to the end in their most holy faith, and constant to their profession; and to that end, to take heed of all seducers, and especially of popish emissaries, who are now in great numbers gone forth amongst them, and more busy and active than ever. And that they take all occasions to convince our own flock, that it is not enough for them to be members of an excellent church, rightly and duly reformed, both in faith and worship, unless they do also reform and amend their own lives, and so order their conversation in all things as becomes the gospel of Christ.

X. And forasmuch as those Romish emissaries, like the old serpent, *Insidiantur Calcaneo*, are wont to be most busy and troublesome to our people at the end of their lives, labouring to unsettle and perplex them in time of sickness, and at the hour of death; that therefore all, who have the cure of souls, be more especially vigilant over them at that dangerous season; and that they stay not till they be sent for, but inquire out the sick in their respective parishes, and visit them frequently: that they examine them particularly concerning the state of their souls, and instruct them in their duties, and settle them in their doubts, and comfort them in their sorrows and sufferings, and pray often with them, and for them; and, by all the methods which our church prescribes, prepare them for the due and worthy receiving of the holy Eucharist, the pledge of their happy resurrection. Thus with their utmost diligence, watching over every sheep within their fold (especially in that critical moment) lest those evening wolves devour them.

XI. That they also walk in wisdom towards those that are not of our communion: and if there be in their parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to concur with them in the spirit of meekness, seeking by all good ways and means to gain and win them over to our communion: more especially that they have a very tender regard to our brethren the protestant dissenters; that, upon occasion offered, they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them, discoursing calmly and civilly with them; persuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance with our church, or, at least, that whereto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing. And in order hereunto, that they take all opportunities of assuring and convincing them that the bishops of this church are really and sincerely irreconcileable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the church of Rome; and that the very unkind jealousies which some have had of us to the contrary, were altogether groundless.

And in the last place, that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of Peace, for an universal blessed union of all reformed churches, both at home and abroad, against our common enemies; and that all they who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of his holy word, may also meet in one holy communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love.

The Examination of the Bishops, upon their Refusal of reading his Majesty's most gracious Declaration; and the Non-concurrence of the Church of England in Repeal of the Penal Laws and Test fully debated and argued.

It hath pleased that Almighty Power, which rules the hearts of princes, to enlighten and adorn his present gracious majesty with such peculiar beams of grace and clemency, those truly royal virtues that render him the nearest pourtrait of that Deity whose vicegerent he is: To win, therefore, the universal love of his people, a conquest truly worthy of it indeed, reserved for his great self, he has set up the standard of compassion, resolving to recover the alienated affections of those of his subjects whom the administration of his predecessors may have any ways rendered uneasy.

There are but two things in the world dear to all mankind, religion and property. The last of these I confess in the most moderate distribution of common right has all along had its free course in the true channels of equity, only the first has been a little restrained, for conscience has sometimes been shackled.

The sighs therefore and groans that have lately breathed from that restraint have lately moved him to that sacred commiseration, that he is resolved to break the fetters that extort 'em, the penal laws. Which to effect he has already declared his determination for that choice of magistrates in authority under him, that in his princely judgment he thinks will be most hearty in contributing their best and ablest endeavours for that great end.

To carry on this pious work, it is not at all to be doubted but the suffering party on all sides, who are aggrieved by those laws, by the meer dictates of self-preservation, will be no ways wanting to throw off a yoke they have so long unquietly borne.

And if all their helps, his majesty (as in reason may be expected) is so well secure of, there remain only the concurrence of the church of England, which, if obtained, his kingdom will reap the fruit, and himself the honour of being the founder of those lasting blessings, so much in themselves the more glorious, as that all hands and all hearts are assistant to their creation.

But since the late refusal of reading his majesty's most gracious declaration seems to intimate the church of England's aversion (or at least their leading endeavours to create that aversion) to the repeal of the penal laws and tests, the design of this address to our episcopal pastors is to examine the stress and tendency of those laws, and truly to reason and argue with our pious mother the church of England, why the preservation of those laws either is, or ought to be, any part of her care, and indeed, how far those statutes, her sometimes darlings, are in themselves either just, equitable, or consistent with Christianity itself; and how far she is equally, if not more, than the dissenters obliged to abolish them. Nor shall I endeavour to urge her consent from any resignation or compliance (those fainter motives of meer generosity) to the pleasure and will of the king, that desires to have it so; but enforce the argument from the bonds and ties of conscience and justice that require her assistance to their dissolution; and hereby illustrate the equity and reasonableness of his majesty's proposal, and prove the work itself no more than the incumbent duty of every Christian subject to labour to perfect. For inquiry, therefore, first into the penal laws, I shall make bold to trace the grounds of their rise and original.

After the death of Queen Mary, her protestant sister, Elizabeth, being seated on the throne, under so fair a prospect of establishing her religion, as having the half, if not *the majority of the nation of her persuasion, all hands were set at work for so glorious an enterprize. But the main engine was,* That the reformers having before their eyes the late severity of her sister's reign, the protestant church either truly, or rather seemingly ashamed (as time will shew) of the Romish cruelty, the popular out-cries against Smithfield fires, was conscious that she had no means so proper to recommend herself to the people's esteem as the avoiding all those occasions of odium which had rendered the Romish church so much the object of their aversion; and therefore the change must be wrought and affections won by the opposite extremes of mercy and moderation.

These measures for a while seemed terrible; but, alas! in few years indulgence appeared a too slow-paced progress of reformation; for still, notwithstanding the encouragement of a protestant queen, and the establishment of our church, the ecclesiastic advances went on too leisurely, and conversions not fast enough, to satisfy either the church's itch of power, or warmth of zeal, under the looser reins of toleration. For whilst the popish party were connived at, and permitted any liberty of their worship, their church, though falling, could not want some few unshaken members at least that would still follow even its very ruins; and perhaps the Romish priests, though thrown out of church preferment, could not, or would not, forbear to confirm and encourage their thin and scattered party, and possibly through an indispensible (as they thought) duty to that communion, in which invincibly persuaded, they only expected salvation, they might not omit either arguments or industry (as opinion wants neither) to render their religion nevertheless lovely for the cloud it wore; which indeed is but natural to all religions, whilst they think their own either the only, or at least the nearest, way to heaven.

These Remoras, how small stops soever to her advancing glory, the church of England beholding with impatience, and repining even at her smallest favours to the Romish party, whilst but the least impediments to her yet unsatisfied ambition, (for to be uppermost was not enough, unless she could be all too) began to think of some more expeditious way for the weeding of popery, and to look out for a sharper pruning hook than meer teaching and preaching to do the work of reformation; set agog therefore upon dispatch and execution, she felt the itch of her forefathers, and if honour and reputation could be safe, she should not scruple at a little of the old-fashioned shamble-work to gain her point. But considering that to punish dissent in religion, and barefaced too with death, would carry too much the looks of Old Smithfield, and so bestain her own long boasted gentleness and innocence; she is therefore put to no little study and invention to over-leap this difficulty, and accomplish her projection; *till* at last she lights upon this incomparable stratagem to mask her designs, and smooth all, viz. to punish recusancy with death, under the black and dismal brand of high treason. The measures and gradations used and made towards raising this artful superstructure, take in short as follows.

In the first year of Queen Elizabeth, she asserts her spiritual and ecclesiastick supremacy in all things and causes whatever; and creates an oath to be tendered her subjects for confirmation of that power.

In the fifth of her reign, grown warmer in that supremacy, she imposes the oath upon all her ministers and officers of the government, even to lawyers, attorneys, &c. and particularly to be taken by every member of parliament: And the second refusal of taking it, after a first tender of it three months before, is made high-treason.

In the 13th of her reign, all persons taking upon them by colour of any bull, writing, or authority whatever to absolve or reconcile any persons, or grant or promise to any person or persons within her majesty's dominions any such absolution or reconciliation by any speech, preaching, teaching, writing, or any other open deed; and if any person or persons shall willingly take or receive such absolution or reconciliation shall suffer pains of death; and also lose and forfeit all their lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, as in cases of high treason. [A very sour sort of grape to set their children's teeth an edge with.]

In the 23d of Elizabeth, this act is explained and confirmed, and, in fine, the person reconciling or reconciled to the church of Rome, priest or layman, are equally declared traytors, and so onwards till the very taking of orders from Rome is high treason, and doomed to suffer as such.

Ay, God knows, a very just sentence if the indictment be but true. But I desire to know by what legerdemain is this reconciliation made high treason? Is either the life or dignity of the king or the government struck at by my being a member of this or that communion? by my believing this or that the way to heaven? Can faith in God be treason against man? for that's the result of the point. Can a Christian's best endeavour to save his own or his brother's soul be a machination to destroy his prince or his country? or can my praying or not praying to a saint, my adoring or not adoring the Eucharist, render me a true or not true liege-man? If errors in faith can amount to high treason, and the government is in conscience obliged to treat them as such, Lord have mercy upon us, how came the Jews to live with that impunity in the commonwealth, that, instead of misbelieving in points of doctrine, believe not so much as in the gospel, or Christ himself.

No, no, the sophistry of the matter lies not there; 'tis not the doctrine of a Romanist as to godwards makes him a traytor, but his belief of the pope's being head of the church in derogation to the ecclesiastic supremacy inherent to, and lodged in the crown, and so religiously asserted and maintained by the protestant laws of the kingdom. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ?* There lies the apostacy, the hideous yawning gulph that swallows all, faith, duty, honour, loyalty, and consequently calls for axes, halters, gibbets, and what not.

Is this the treason then? 'tis well we have fixed it there, though upon true inspection the impeachment will be found full as feeble here as before. For this is but mere matter of faith still all this while, nor carries in it the least shadow of a breach of the subjects duty to the sovereign. For instance, when this law was made, suppose a poor Roman catholic of those days, by an invisible power of persuasion, rooted and grounded in him by an article of faith (how rightfully is not the matter) received from age to age and generation to generation in favour of the pope, could not possibly believe her then she-majesty by her accession to the crown to be instantly the spiritual head of the church in all matters and causes whatever, that otherwise before was utterly incapable even of so much as a subdeaconship in a country parish, and if St Paul may be believed, not so much as qualified for speaking in a religious assembly; yet nevertheless this Roman catholic lived under her government with all the allegiance and fealty, in all respects of obedience, and believed himself in conscience so obliged to do, as much as any other of her more believing protestant subjects, would it not be a little severe to adjudge him a traytor?

And that the Romish opinion, that the spiritual supremacy lies not in the temporal prince, is meer matter of faith, is demonstrable from the very sovereign power itself, when so many successive kings never believed they had that supremacy themselves. For prerogative is of its nature so jealous, that though never so considerable a jewel in a crown had they had faith to have challenged it theirs, they would have had wit enough to have worn it too.

What if our protestant kings and their parliaments for them believe that supremacy wholly lodged in the crown; must their Roman catholic subjects be traytors, because they cannot be of their belief? If the princes belief must be the standard of the peoples loyalty, by the same equity the catholick kings might have made it high treason in their reign to assert that supremacy in the crown then, as the protestant kings do to deny it there now; and consequently the protestants then (if such there had been) might by equal justice have been traytors too. If crowned heads must necessarily be believed the spiritual heads of the churches under their obedience, I wonder what strange stretch of faith those thousands of Christians must have that are born and bred subjects to the Mahometan Grand Signior.

But that the members of the church of Rome may not look altogether so black for this unhappy part of their belief, and that their asserting of that spiritual supremacy in their pope does not any ways threaten either the crown or the publick peace, that wise and prudent monarch King James the First shall be their compurgator. For as many laws as that prince made for the defence of the established church of England, and as great industry as he used for the extirpation of the Romish religion, he was nevertheless pleased to allow the pope, though not universal head of the church, yet patriarch of the west (in which precinct of consequence must England be included.) And if so zealous a protestant king thought it no diminution to his own or his churches dignity to be of that opinion, and to grant the pope that prerogative, what mortal high treason against the crown of England do the members of the popes own church commit in throwing him in the East too (a part of the world not much relating to us) into the bargain, and so making him universal patriarch. *Jocob. Contr. Perron.*

But some people will tell you, 'tis almost an impossibility to fancy any such thing as principles of loyalty in a Romish subject to a protestant king.

I shall not endeavour to confute this uncharitable censure by the universal heroick examples of that parties loyalty in the battels of Charles the First; so truly may I call it universal, that upon petitions made to Cromwell for his clemency to the Roman catholicks, he was observed to challenge them to prove so much as one man of that religion that had ever fought for him or served him. But to wave that plea, how are we sure that the Romanists are guilty of traytorous principles? Does any man of them own any such principles? No, sure they have more wit than to talk treason, and be hanged for it. If they are so hardy as to do that, we have other laws to noose 'em without the help of penal statutes.

Do they then commit any open act of treason? Let 'em do that if they dare. If we once catch 'em at that game, the government has 'em fast enough by the heels and the necks too. Nor is that the treason that these statutes pretended to arraign. Who ever heard of any overt act of treason indicted by the 13th or the 23d of Elizabeth?

Then, if neither speaking nor acting of treason be the capital guilt these statutes are levelled at, then thinking of treason must be the crime. A Roman catholick then belike is such an offender, that by the very affections of his soul cannot be loyal to the crown; and to prove all this mortal accusation infallibly true, the protestant wisdom has by divine inspiration formed a law to arraign and condemn the very thoughts of the heart, of which God only can be judge.

In fine, if the government can make matter of faith, nay even thoughts themselves, high treason, when their hand was in they might e'ne as lawfully have made it high treason to eat too. For if the firm belief in God, and the zealous worship of him by the best light of a christian conscience, be either the bread of life, or at least the means to get it, as we are so taught, the same legality that can condemn the one may exclude the other too.

To this they'll say, 'Tis true indeed, a lay Romanist is more excusable, and that part of the statute that affects him is a little hard; however 'tis very strong, and nothing but high justice against the Romish priest, for here are visible overt acts of treason: As taking of orders from Rome, in themselves little less than damnable and diabolical, and undoubtedly antichristian, as received from the papal see, the very seat of Antichrist; and then returning home again expressly against the commands of the law; all which outrageous trangressions are but reasonably declared high treason, and justly exposed to the severest of punishments under the legality of that denomination.

To this thundering charge, as big as it sounds, I shall only make this short reply.

If the church of England has and always does admit a convert Romish priest into the protestant clergy, without any re-ordination to capacitate him for that admission, as we need look no further than to the constant practice of the church, (without so much as one example to the contrary) from the very beginning of the Reformation, how unjustly are taking orders from Rome charged with high treason! If the orders from Rome be in themselves holy and sacred, how are they damnable or anti-christian? And how the taking of them high treason? If not holy nor sacred (as if high treason in the very receiving of them they cannot be) does the church of England entertain pastors into her ministerial function unconsecrated for the divine service of God? God forbid! No, the very practice and concession of the church in this case does so confront the palpable injustice of this statute, as nothing can be plainer. And how black, how capital, or traytorous soever the popular calumny, or the protestant law-makers had occasion to make these Romish orders, under all their loads of guilt, they stood upright enough not to want the crutch of an act of parliament, as some others have done (as much more sacred as they are) for their support and confirmation. And if such are the Romish orders, and the free choice of our belief in God, and the church we hope to be saved in, be in our own election (for our own souls are answerable for it) by the same liberty of choice, why may not a man be either a member or pastor of the flock he chuses, as his abilities to serve God in either station shall dictate to him? And if no such holy orders is to be had and received at home, why is it death to seek for them abroad? And why are men banished and excluded from their native right in the kingdom in which they are born, for only endeavouring to secure themselves their no less native right in that of heaven?

One observation in the statute of the fifth of her reign I had almost forgotten, not a little worthy remark. In this statute, where the incapacity of taking the oath of the queen's spiritual supremacy (for a refusal of an oath in that case is only a conscientious incapacity of taking it) is made high treason; in one clause of it the queen is pleased to tell us she is so sufficiently assured of the faith and loyalty of her temporal lords, that this act, nor any thing contained in it, shall not extend to her barons, nor the oath to be imposed upon them, &c.[1]

What contradictions and cobweb laws are here! A commoner, belike, for his incapacity of taking that oath, is guilty of high treason: But a baron so incapacitated is a very faithful and loyal gentleman; as if they were not both of them equally subjects to the crown, and equally criminal in any transgression against it. 'Tis true, had the particular favour and indulgence of the government resolved to exempt a peer from the penalty of this law, it had been something; but to discharge him *eo nomine* from the guilt too, makes the whole statute such an arbitrary declaration of treason, that both the compilers of such laws, and the defenders of them, ought to blush at. But as whole as the barons kept their scutcheons in this statute, they came in for a snack in the 13th of her reign, being in that statute indictable for delinquency against it.

What rubbish is here put together to build the great fence of a church with! But our church has at least this apology, that it does not pretend to infallibility. And who knows but the jargon of these, and the rest of her penal laws, might be wilful oversights on purpose to make out her assertion to the world, and prove her fallibility true.

But to come to the full result of all. Here's the church of England so poorly prevaricating, as to follow those very steps which, with all her highest noise and exclamations she pretends, are her greatest detestation and abhorrence. And whilst the more frank and generous Romanist enacts and executes his capital laws against heresy from his church, *under the downright name of heresy, our poorer spirited protestant law-makers are for punishing heresy from their church under masque and disguise, obtruding* their penal laws upon the world under the meanest of hypocrisy and imposture.

And to be plain with our later protestant law-makers, the sham passed so current then, that it has been practised ever since. Is there any one law made against our later nonconformists whose preamble does not run upon this topick, the breach of the peace, and the undermining the very foundations of the government? and all for deserting the church of England, and meeting in their own religious assemblies, to offer up their prayers and devotions to God according to their consciences. Was there ever a late conventicle disturbed with any other warrant than as riotously and routously assembled, and thereupon punished with fines, imprisonments, and sequestrations, sometimes even to the ruins of whole families? Does not the same masquerade run through all the penal laws, and the very meer meeting to worship God charged with no less than sedition and tumult?

But wherein lies the sedition and tumult? Was it in their so meeting? No sure. For as the intention makes the guilt, the intention was only a religious worship, and not a state disturbance.

Was the sedition then in the doctrines they preached? If so, why was it not proved against them? Their meeting-house door stood open, and their enemies were both potent and numerous enough to hear and detect any seditious design or doctrines against the crown or state. And the law was furnished both with rods and axes to punish any crime of that kind according to its demerit, before the penal laws were so much as thought on.

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[1] The catholic peers retained their votes and seats in the House of Lords until the Test Act of 1678, by the operation of which they were effectually banished from the house.

Dryden has commemorated the increased severity as to exclusion of catholics in the following lines:—

> Our first reformers were a modest race,
> Our peers preserved in peace their native place;
> And when rebellious arms o'erturn'd the state,
> They suffered only in the common fate;
> But now the sovereign mounts the regal chair,
> And mitred seats are full, yet David's bench is bare.
>
> *Hind and Panther.*

No, though that was the pretence, it pinched not there; the dissenters grew too numerous, and the church of England began to see her grandeur shrink and her dominion lessen, and therefore her old arts must once more be her refuge. The non-conformists must be crushed and suppressed, and, to avoid all imputations of oppression and cruelty, sedition and riots must be the charge against them, and the law gilded over with that fair title to make it swallowable. 'Tis true, indeed, the law here did not reach to death; however, it took care to make their purses, if not their veins, bleed for it, and that too sometimes with so total a drain, that whole families have been reduced to the condition of starving, which is the very next door to it. And all things considered, liberty, next to life, is so dear, that whole years of noisome imprisonment have been very little the easier punishment.

Having given you this true pourtraict of our penal laws, I shall only add some few lineaments more, and so finish the piece. And to make a further balance betwixt ourselves and Rome in that point, how unchristian or unwarrantable soever all such penal inflictions for meer conscience may be, the church of Rome has, or at least fancies she has, some little pretext for such laws. For under her famous tenet of *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*, and her confinement of salvation only within her own boundaries, she may have sometimes consented to the practice of now and then cutting off a stray sheep, to terrify the rest of the flock from leaping from the fold, as imagining to herself from so doing, and in now and then sacrificing one or two lost sons of perdition, (for such she accounts them,) and thereby lopping off some corrupt member already past hope of redemption, she only secures possibly the whole body, as she thinks, from apostacy and damnation: and consequently, such exemplary acts, though of the greatest rigour, are only intended as absolutely necessary for that great end,—universal salvation. But, alas! our more charitable church, that pretends not to bound the grace of God, but by a larger latitude and more extended operation of the blood of Christ, equally allows salvation to true zeal and piety in both churches, and indeed in all christian professions. Under all this concession, I say, our protestant church utterly wants this loophole, and, upon true examination, will be found wholly inexcusable, if not unpardonable; for in executing of her sanguinary laws in punishment of meer matter of conscience, she cuts off, not like Rome, the supposed members of perdition, but even those professors of Christianity, which, by her own confession, may be equally with herself the sons of grace and coheirs of salvation.

Nay, I'll venture to add one bold word more, because a true one. The church of England in her once executing of her sanguinary laws, is undoubtedly guilty of more barbarity than the ten primitive heathen persecutions: For in all cases of sufferings for religion, 'tis an undeniable maxim, "That he that makes the martyr least thinks he makes him." The bloodiest pagan tyrants, in all their studied arts of blood and Christian massacre, did not believe that they butchered the then only professors of truth and heirs of heaven; but, on the contrary, in devotion to their own supposed true deities, they thought they only executed apostates, blasphemers, and infidels, for such they accounted the Christians as profest deserters of their heathen gods and sacrifices: Nor is the forementioned Romish case much different, as lying under the unhappy belief of heretics irreparable state of damnation. But all this while our church of England (I am sorry to her shame it must be spoken) outdoes the very heathens themselves, in enacting and executing those penal laws, by which she cuts off those very members of Christianity, who (if true zealots in their profession) she owns are in the number of the elect of God; and if any true zealots amongst them, those certainly that have con-rage and constancy to die for their religion, are not the least of them, and consequently she cannot deny, but in executing those laws she both makes the martyr, and knows she makes him too.

And if she's so blameable in her severity against the Romanists, much more criminal must her rigour against the dissenters be, whom she owns to differ from herself in little more than ceremonies and punctilios.

Nay, the ferment has sometimes boyled so high, that our protestant church has put her zeal upon the stretch to find means to vent her indignation, when some of those very laws against recusancy have been extended against the protestant dissenters, and the greatest part of their sufferings received from the lash of those laws. I shall not pretend to dive so far as to ascertain whether that comprehension was originally designed by those laws, or otherwise an artificial superstructure to serve a state turn; but either way the severity of those laws is not a little notorious, where so trivial matters of dissent in religion, as has been said before, have been so cruelly treated.

But if our protestant church cannot possibly be reconciled to liberty of conscience, and therefore these laws were her weapons against it, her more generous way, at least more agreeable to a Christian profession, had been first fairly to have overthrown it by dint of argument, before she had made use of dint of steel to do it by: and for that purpose I wonder how that famous Bishop Taylor[1] has passed for so great a doctor of the church all this while, and his treatise upon that subject called Liberty of Prophecying not yet answered; or, at least, the author under no small ecclesiastic fulminations (if no other way to answer it) for so terrible a blow against the churches long main favourite bulwark, the penal laws.

'Tis true, some people will object, what are all these laws to the church, when enacted only by the civil power as an expedient for its own security and defence, and therefore warrantable and lawful; nor in any respect are chargeable upon the ecclesiasticks.

Alas! this is such a feeble objection, that 'tis scarce to be named without blushing; as if the clergy did not act in parliament by their representatives, nay, the very bishops sitting there in person, assenting to, and undoubtedly little less than original founders of those laws. But grant it, as they say, the meer establishment of the civil power; the clergy, by owning the justice, and asserting the necessity of such laws for defence of their church, the lay power in this case is little more than the cat's-paw to take out the chesnut. Nor are the civil rulers and temporal power of a Christian government any ways more authorised to outgo the gospel moderation and clemency for any politick consideration whatever, than the more immediate oracles of truth the preachers themselves.

And this the great legislators of those penal statutes very well knew, and therefore, as I told you before, they cunningly converted recusancy into high treason, and nonconformity into riots and routs; to find something, though but seemingly justifiable for the fangs of their laws to lay hold of, and so boulstered up their penal statutes to make them able to walk upright.

I'll only put this one question to all the doctors of our church: With what conscience can a church, that owns itself fallible, establish laws to punish dissenters in religion, when, by her own concession of fallibility, she neither has nor can have any certainty or assurance, (how strong soever she thinks or hopes her own foundation,) but that she punishes those that possibly may be more in the right than herself; more especially, in those professions that found their dissenting doctrines on her own basis, the scriptures?

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[1] The celebrated Jeremy Taylor Bishop of Down and Connor; among whose excellent discourses occurs, "Θεολογία Ἐκλεκτική, A Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying, shewing the Unreasonableness of prescribing to other Men's faith, and the Iniquity of persecuting different Opinions." Lond. 1647, 4to. In this book he pleads with great freedom for liberty of conscience: 'The sum of it,' as he saith himself, 'is nothing but the sense of the words of scripture: that since we know in part, and prophecy in part, and that now we see through a glasse darkly, we should not despise or condemn persons not so knowing as ourselves, but him that is weak in the faith we should receive, but not to doubtful disputations; therefore certainly to charity and not to vexations, not to those which are the idle effects of impertinent wranglings. And provided they keep close to the foundation, which is faith and obedience, let them build upon this foundation matter more or less precious, yet if the foundation be entire they shall be saved without losse.'

I cannot tell what equity wiser heads may find out for the ordination of penal laws, but truly, in my opinion, the great Prince of Peace, that reprimanded the drawing of that sword that cut off but the ear of the high priest's servant, though in his own immediate cause, very little intended the raising his church, or the propagation of his gospel, by either axes or gibbets, or gaols or dungeons. And he that left us the standard of Christianity in the innocence of doves, never commissioned us the rapine of vultures; and though we are conceded the subtilty of serpents, I know no warrant that he gave us either for the stings or the poison of them.

And though my zeal for truth makes me thus plain in detecting the only shame and frailty of the reformed church, I hope she has goodness enough to forgive the boldness of a blushing son, who is no otherwise solicitous than for her covering her own nakedness. And that I may truly term it such, the reformation, that otherwise may boast her purity and principles only founded on holy writ, and all the rest of her doctrines and practices derived from those sacred oracles, will be only found tripping here; and in all her support of scriptural records in all other points, I am afraid must have recourse even to the exploded authority of tradition only for her penal laws. For I shrewdly suspect that lollards, towers, and inquisition houses, (let her mince it as she will,) will be found the only precedents for the estates she has confiscated, the families she has beggared, the gaols she has filled, besides her sometimes loading of gibbets, and ripping up the bowels even of her own co-disciples, because dissenting professors of Christ, and all by her penal laws.

Nor will it suffice for an excuse to insinuate that the establishment of religion and conformity of worship on one side, and the preservation of peace and tranquillity of the state on the other side, exact the necessity of such rigid laws. [Though by the by, the peace of states is rather destroyed than upheld by such laws; for what civil war in almost all the Christian world, that directly or indirectly has not had the oppression of some religious party, its greatest, if not only incendiary?]

No, to gain the first of these great ends, let the teachers and professors of our established church live up to the heighth of their profession, and recall the wanderers, and reduce the strays into the fold by their own convincing examples of Christian piety; a much more commendable way of making proselytes than the forementioned rigid arts of conversion. And for the second great end, the government's security, if her temporal fences are not strong enough, let her make stronger; and if any of her dissenters are the disturbers of her peace, let her single out the guilty from the innocent, and wreak her just vengeance where 'tis deserved, and not punish the dissent itself (which, as being meer matter of religion, is wholly uncapable of such crime) for the sake of any corrupted members, that either are of or herd under the covert of such or such a congregation of Christians. For, to do that work by the undistinguishing merciless hand of her penal statutes, is so little conformable to the evangelical precepts, that I am afraid the doing such notorious ills that good may come of it, whatever religious security or gospel propagation may be intended by them, these penal laws, I say, that can swallow the estates, fortunes, liberties, and lives, of their weaker brethren and fellow Christians, instead of being either Christian or just, or any ways related to 'em, will at last appear much nearer of kin to that famous rover that wanders round the world to seek whom he may devour, insomuch that their ordination will be found little less than borrowing engines from hell to help to set up heaven!

Now to the case of the church of England, if these are her penal laws, (for I shall not trouble myself with a tedious recital of the several statutes of that nature, as being all but scions from the same root,) I should gladly know what beauties, or rather invisible charms, the church of England can find in these statutes, to be in the least solicitous for their preservation. For, alas! maugre all her volumes written upon the unreasonableness of separation from her communion, and her justification of her zealous endeavours for conformity, unless the means and methods used to obtain it (as these laws were intended for such) be equally justifiable, her whole pretensions fall to the ground.

Nor will it excuse her to say, that they were chiefly enacted *in terrorem*, as being but seldom put in execution; as if a studied ill deed were therefore more excusable because committed, suppose but once in an age, when a foul act for that very cause should rather appear the more deformed, as 'tis the rarity that makes the monster. Besides, Queen Mary had that plea to make; for what were 206 protestants, even by Foxes muster-roll, burnt for religion in her five years reign, to the some millions of protestants in those days, when half the kingdom was of that persuasion? an infinite larger number to cull out so many sufferers from, than all the popish priests that Rome has sent over these 130 years past, or shall do in as many more to come.

To return therefore to his majesty's proposal of abrogating these laws, 'tis a greater duty upon the church of England to abolish them than in the dissenters themselves; for as 'tis a yoke, imposed upon their weaker brethren, in itself wholly unjust, the sufferer under that yoke in endeavouring to break it, only acts by the motives of self-defence, the common principle of nature; but the imposer of that yoke is tyed, by the obligations of religion itself, to repeal and repent his own act of injustice.

Besides, if all arguments of conscience cannot prevail, and policy, not equity, (though Heaven forbid so uncharitable a thought,) is our churches guide, yet even then too, what does she yield up in abolishing those laws? Why, truly nothing. For whilst the government continues in the hands of a prince of the Romish religion, those statutes will utterly lie dead, for the royal indulgence, a prerogative in the crown, will never put them in execution; and if abolished, however the next protestant prince has the power of resumption, if his conscience shall think fit to give them a resurrection. What reason, therefore, has the church of England for her nonconcurrence to a proposal so equitable, when she has not so much as the least pretext even of meer interest itself for the refusal?

But this I am sure, as the church of England can have no solid reasons to oppose their repeal, the state has very substantial ones to enforce it; for as trade is the greatest support and strength of a kingdom, I know no politicks so conducing to the commerce and wealth of a nation as liberty of conscience. What greater encouragement to naturalization? And England, that is not overloaded with people, can have no fairer inlet to bring in whole families and estates, and indeed the wealth of the world, (besides the opening that current of commerce, even amongst our present natives, which the late restraint of worship had so much shut up,) than liberty of religion. Nor can I better instance the effects of this policy, than in the growth of the Dutch greatness and the decay of the Spaniards, from their different extreams of national conduct in that point.

I am certain his majesty resolves to eternize his glory, by being the truest *Pater Patriæ* of all the crowned heads since the conquest; nor has he a fairer prospect of making his kingdom a true paradise of peace and plenty, but by taking this pattern at least from the first paradise, that is, by making the lion and lamb lie down in peace together; our long disunions being no otherways to be reconciled, and our enmities hushed, but by this only universal pacification.

I shall only add this last consideration: The execution of our penal laws, and the restraint of conscience, has been the greatest blow that ever was given to the hereditary right of the subjects of England, their natural properties and immunities given and sealed to them by Magna Charta itself. For who can call his liberty or his estate his own, whilst a superior opinion in power shall seize our persons and confiscate our estates, for no other cause but difference of worship and faith; and neither person, estate, or liberty, redeemable under a less composition than renouncing God, for conformity of worship absolutely against conscience is little else. And all this capital offence, so, unfixed and so undeterminable, a sort of transgression, that a man has only a meer lottery to be in the right or the wrong: For the blackest criminal in one reign has been the whitest saint in the next, and so *vice versâ* over again; witness the reigns of Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, where the protestants were the devils one while, and the papists another; nay, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, both papists and protestants were at one time in the wrong. For 'twas remarkable in his reign, that in the same day have papists been hanged for traytors for disowning his church supremacy, and protestants burnt for hereticks for denying transubstantiation. Thus, in their turns, have all religions and opinions lain under the scourge of the severest of laws, and all for want of that obedience to a law, which humanity itself is utterly unable to pay. For though our breach, or not breach, of all other laws, either human or divine, lies in our own free will and choice; to conform or not conform to this or that belief is wholly above the power of man,—faith only being irresistible. And if our worldly well-being, and all we enjoy in this life, depends upon such capricious decrees of law, certainly the Great Charter of our liberties and estates, that confirmed them both under no such condition or restriction, is not a little invaded by the penalties of such laws; and I cannot tell what greater or more glorious design his gracious majesty can undertake, than by repairing so deep a breach wrought through the very fundamentals of his people's original freedom and birth-rights; nor is there, or has been, a greater friend or patron of the church of England than his present majesty, who himself alone tenders her the means and opportunity to wash off those long stains and blots, which either the petulance or remissness of her protestant defenders of her faith, through these penal statutes, have cast or left upon her, and so to restore her to whiteness and innocence.

Having made this fair inquest into the penal laws, I shall take a little search too into the Test, and lay down those reasons that equally oblige us to concur with his majesty in a repeal of that too.

In order to which, it behoves us first to sum up all the great and popular arguments (if I may so call 'em, though in reality rather the language of fears and jealousies than the voice of right reason) daily urged for the preservation of the test, viz. "That the whole defence of the protestant religion relies on that basis. If the test were once abrogated, the church of England would soon be blown up, when all offices, both ecclesiastical and civil, and all power and authority, both in church and state, shall be lodged in Roman catholic hands, and what not?"

To answer which hideous and formidable outcry, we'll begin, first, with the pretended dangers threatned the church of England by repeal of the test. Not to insist upon his majesty's retired word and honour, his inviolable engagements to maintain the church of England, as now by law established, in her uninterrupted rights and privileges, all her churches and church livings whatever thereunto belonging, &c. in itself alone no little security. But, waving that plea, the ecclesiastical government and the church of England neither are, nor can be, shaken or touched by the abrogation of the test, the test being indeed no part of her defence. For, first, the very taking of the test is no part of the qualification of any of the clergy of England, nor was ever so much as mentioned or thought upon to be imposed or tendered to the clergy; no, as jealous as the founders of that test were (or pretended to be) of the danger of popery, and as zealous as they could be for the security of the protestant religion, they very well knew the church of England had two impregnable bulwarks, the two greats acts of uniformity that themselves sufficiently alone established, guarded, and preserved the church of England in all points without any fortification from the test, nor indeed was the test wanted in the ecclesiastic administration, those very statutes being a greater and stronger test before; for by those statutes is the whole liturgy, the administration of the sacraments, and indeed all the canons and articles of the church supported. For by the fence of those laws, first, no Romanist can possibly be admitted into the clergy, unless under the most damnable hypocrisy, (which no human test can discover,) an hypocrisy too no ways beneficial to the Romish cause, whilst tied up to the divine service as now by law established. Secondly, no other divine service, as the mass, or the like, can be introduced into our churches already constituted or assigned for the divine service of the church of England.

The strength of these two laws his majesty very well knows, and is so far even from the thought of hurting or infringing the least particle of either of those laws, or the security our church has, does, or can receive from them, by abrogating any penal laws or tests whatever, that, on the contrary, there is not undoubtedly that farther confirmation of those laws, and the religious observance of them, or any thing conducing thereunto, that may or shall be offered to his majesty in parliament, that his majesty shall not readily assent to, and as inviolably maintain.

If then the church of England, her administration and government (as 'tis plain) stand of themselves alone secure and firm, without any borrowed prop or support from the test whatever, the test, therefore, is only a buttrice (or at least so intended) to the civil magistracy, as, First, excluding all Roman catholics from all offices of trust in the state; Secondly, *from all domestic services near the person of the king*; and, Thirdly, *from all right to session in parliament.*

These three incapacities are by the test thrown upon the Romanists. And for confuting all suspicions and jealousies, let us examine how the loosening of these three restrictions can tend to the subversion of the protestant religion as now by law established.

In the first place as to the civil government: What office in the state can a Roman catholic hold, any ways empowering him to prejudice the church of England? Suppose even in the courts of judicature (for if any apparition of any such power, 'tis there) where Romanists (imagine) in all those offices? Why may not a Sir Thomas Moor be as honest as a Lord Chief Justice Hales, and execute his office with as great integrity and justice? Why not men of equal abilities be of equal uprightness in all religions? Besides, the distribution of *meum* and *tuum* (more especially when liberty of conscience shall be past into a perpetual law, and all penal inflictions for matter of religion thrown out of their jurisdictions) will then be the whole business that lies before them; and wherein is a Roman catholic judge any more incapacitated for the administring of justice than another man? Moreover, in a kingdom where their number is so truly inconsiderable, as scarce the two hundred men in the nation, if they have hopes of making any converts or any endeavours that way, it can only be done by holding the scale of justice upright, and in all posts of trust by keeping up the steadiest standard of right and equity, as the only means thereby to recommend and endear themselves to the world, and wipe off those blemishes that the mistaken jealousies and popular misapprehensions have so long so unkindly cast upon them. And this, and this only, they are very sensible, is their chart to steer by, and their great pilot, their royal master, the best read student in the arts of empire that possibly ever graced a throne, equally knows to be his only course, and undoubtedly as sacredly resolves to make it so. And if the judges of the land suppose of the Romish religion, (besides their oaths that bind 'em, and his majesty's honour that shall influence them to it,) have these obligations more and above, even of interest to their very religion itself, to move in so regular a sphere of justice, where lies our danger? And if this higher station will be so inoffensive, what can the poorer justices of the peace, or the inferior subministration of the government, signify, in popish or not popish hands?

But in this case I have heard some people say, "Alas! what stretch of the laws will not such judges make? Perhaps, for instance, pick a hole in the abbey-lands, and start some dormient title or other to revert them to the church of Rome; a patrimony that will not a little enrich the Romanists and advance their cause."[1]

This idle objection was scarce worth naming; as if the stretching of our laws in that point was not as notorious and arbitrary as a total violation of the subjects right, and rending the whole frame of the laws asunder. But to check this idle surmize; if a Romish parliament itself in the reign of Queen Mary, with the very restoration of the Romish religion and papal supremacy into the saddle, never so much as attempted to revert those lands;[2] nay, on the contrary, their whole title was confirmed to the present possessors by a decretal from Rome itself, as was then so solemnly done by Cardinal Pool, the then pope's legate; how groundless must the fear be of any thought or attempt of reverting them now? Or why must the Romish judges in any kind subvert or undermine the laws, contrary to all their best politicks in the present state of England, to no true advantage either to themselves or their church, and possibly to be answerable for it with their heads, if they live to the next protestant prince?

To come next to the officers of his majesty's household, &c. To have those posts too barricadoed with tests, and the imperial dignity so shackled, as to be debarred the choice of its own menials, nay, even of its conversation itself, is an insolence put upon majesty, as had been scarce tolerable from an ordinance of forty-eight, much less an act of parliament. But for our less wonder at it, we are to consider 'twas hatched in the same republick nest: For no less than the great old patriot of three names sat for the brooding of it.

I think I need not raise arguments to prove how little those gentlemen of honour, the courtiers I mean, of any religion whatsoever, in that innocent station are, or can be, concerned in shaking either church or state. It is enough to say, that greater indignity, under the sanction of a law, was never imposed upon a crowned head. The meanest gentleman in England, whilst this test keeps footing, has a prerogative above the king. For the choice of his steward, bailiff, attorney, or solicitor, &c. are in his own free election: But these were privileges thought too large for a king; and therefore he is stinted and bounded to such elections as the more imperial wisdom of his great masters in parliament judge fittest for him.

Monarchical rule is said to be like that of heaven, where the *primum mobile* acts altogether by inferior spheres and second causes. And so majesty by its officers and ministers, as so many vehicles, by which the influences of the royal power are conveyed, to set the great machine a moving: But truly this ascendency the late law-makers judged too great for the king of England; and therefore they found an expedient to render the monarchy little more than precarious, making the whole ministers of the state the creatures of the test, and not of the king.

Now I desire to know how in reason we can imagine, that a king, in himself the fountain of honour, and original of power; though in his nature the mildest and best tempered of princes; though without the least thought of unhinging the frame of the government, or disturbing the settled church of his kingdom; to blast his own glory, and lose his subjects' hearts; (for that would be all the crop 'twould yield him:) I wonder, I say, how we can imagine, that the best and most gracious of princes, though without the fore-mentioned designs, could nevertheless brook so unprincely a yoke as the test. And truly to testify his majesty's heartiest endeavours against both penal laws and test, in not labouring to abrogate the first, as they stand in force against the lives and liberties (and how unjustly has been proved before) of the members of his own communion, he would be the most unnatural of men; and in not labouring to repeal the last, as standing so egregiously in force against the right and prerogative of his crown, and indeed originally forged in affront to himself, he should be the most dishonourable of princes: Nor will it serve to object, that his late majesty (whatever diminution to the prerogative it might be) by passing it into a law, has alienated that power from the crown. For, to answer that argument, we are assured, that whatever alienations of that kind the easiness of the present possessor of the crown, or any other reasons may induce him to make, are no ways truly binding to the successor.

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[1] See the previous Tract upon this subject, entitled "Abbey-lands not assured."

[2] That such resumption was however meditated, is plain from the letters of Cardinal Pole.

Now, to come to the last point, the qualification of members in parliament by the test: And, first, I shall not so much insist upon the notorious invasion of the birth-right of the peers by this exclusion from parliament, as being a point already so well handled by better pens, and never yet answered; nor shall I so much insist upon the illegality and unreasonableness of tests in general of any kind, as was once argued in parliament by the Lord Delamere in opposition to a test proposed by the Earl of Lindsey, a test, which (though not thought legal to be imposed as such) contained no other than the highest obligations of loyalty that every subject owes to his prince. But if the making of tests in parliament, which with the sovereign consent (as kings are but men, and sometimes the exigence of affairs may extort the royal fiat) lies in the majority so to do: suppose the forgers of this test (for, by the by, they were none of the best friends of the church now established) had followed their blow, and formed a second test to deny episcopacy to be *Jure divino*, (a dispute much bandyed in those days,) here had the bishops been thrown out of the parliament, if not the whole hierarchy out of the kingdom. And so by tests *ad infinitum*, how might the basis of the whole government been overturned, and the very houses of parliament dwindled at last to the scandalous dimensions of the old-fashioned Rump. For if one test to exclude a score, why not another to lop off a hundred? And indeed, how are our present parliaments the comprehensive body of the nation, when so many of the peers, not there by representatives, are shut out? Nay, how much is the dignity of the laws they make, and the very constitution of our later parliaments themselves, impaired and lessened by such an exclusion?

But to come to the main business, viz. to obviate the greatest and terriblest clamour of fear and jealousy against the repeal of the test, viz. "If the test were destroyed, who knows but parliaments may be so managed as to turn out the church of England, and set up popery even by law itself?"

This indeed is the Gorgon that frights half mankind out of their little sense. But where, or how, is this popish parliament to be gotten, (for a protestant one will hardly be so complaisant: But to search out every cranny that this imaginary danger is supposed to creep in at, let us examine the House of Lords, and try their inclinations that way.

If the test were laid aside, and the excluded lords restored, what would their number signify? At our last parliament, the protestant peers amounted to 160, and the excluded Romish Barons (nor are they much increased since) were not a tenth of their number. So that here's an absolute want of a prodigious creation of Romish barons to rise to a majority; nay, and of so many estates too, to support the grandeur, as possibly would stagger imagination itself to find a treasure enough to purchase: For so many new dignifications, especially of gentry, or landed men, to start up lords among so thin-sown a party, would put them damnable hard to it. But for once, grant such an extravagant donation of honour, and such golden mines to maintain it, might form a House of Lords capable of over-balancing on the popish side, where shall the House of Commons be had? For without both they do nothing. They would go nigh to find such a dead weight in the lower house, as all the tuggs of Rome would never be able to stir; and this stupendous parliamentary subversion of the church of England a phaenomenon only in *nubibus*.

A popish House of Commons too! Alas, they'll tell you, very easily. "Has not the king, for instance, got a new way of regulating corporations; nay, has he not (or will do before next sessions) already modelled all their charters, and undoubtedly left few or none, either citizens, burghers, or freemen, in whom the election lies, but such as are his friends and creatures?"

Very well: suppose he has, or will take care, to the best of his endeavour or power, to establish corporations to his own heart's liking: After all, where shall there be one Roman catholick in all the next election; and what shall these creatures, (if you'll have them so) do more than choose every numeral member a protestant: For till the test be legally dissolved, they must all be so. And truly what if this next, though protestant parliament, out of an abhorrence of the unchristian barbarity of the penal laws, shall do themselves, their posterity, their country, and his majesty justice in dissolving them? And what if likewise their true sense of the most servile imposition that imperial dignity ever bore, their tenderness for his majesty's honour and prerogative, together with their gratitude for the plenty and peace his reign has blessed them with, shall incline them also to break those fetters of the crown, the test; and all no more than high justice and right reason shall oblige them to; must it therefore follow, that they shall do themselves, their families, their yet unborn heirs, and their no less concern their country, that wrong, as to give up their tenderest and nearest care, their religion, or any thing tending to it?

"Well," but say they, "if this next parliament will not do the work, when the test is once gone, it is but calling new popish ones that will."

Ay, but who shall choose them? The electors are all the same: For the corporations are, or will be, settled to his own model; and, test or no test in being, their inclinations will be all the same; and upon any new choice, beyond all dispute, the majority of the old members elected again; and if any new ones amongst them, those too as far from leaning towards Rome as the popular frantick jealousies are from common sense.

Upon the upshot, I defy all mankind to form one reasonable projection, or indeed, imaginary possibility, of such a popish parliament. For instance, we must run into endless labyrinths and chimæras for the meer shadow of such a danger. For, first, the king must dissolve all his late charters again, no matter whether forfeited or not, and so throw dirt in the face of his own yesterday's royal acts and grants: For all the freemen, burghers, or aldermen, and whatever the present electors, and consequently all the trading part of the nation, must be displaced and cashiered, (a very violent reform, and an ingratitude which his majesty's nature abhors, to those very men, that by rescinding the penal laws and test, shall have duty fully given him all he could ask:) And a new set of Romans planted in their rooms; or otherwise, if the present electors continue in their posts, a majority of papists must be crowded in to over-vote them: But where to be had, let Machiavil himself inform us. For, alas! where are these popish upstarts to be found. Not amongst the present inhabitants of the corporations: For how many corporations are they in England, that have not so much as one man amongst them of that religion. Nay, take some parts of England, as the west for example, where corporations stand thickest, and papists grow thinnest, and you shall not find in whole counties the hundredth (nay if I trebled it I should not mistake) part of papists, of all degrees whatever, to supply such a corporation majority of electors, or any thing like it. And indeed, take the whole nation round, and make every Romanist that writes the age of man an alderman, they shall fall so short still of the account, that they must be forced to send over for Jago Pilgrim,[1] (a good jolly troop too) or some other as extravagant helps, to make out the number, or otherwise our outcry will be but noise, and our fears but fantoms.

But suppose any such wondrous electors, such alien or foreign supplies of Romanists, could be found, and so irregularly thrust into corporations, as to carry a popish majority of corporation members: Nor will such a bare majority do the work. One additional hundred of popish members extraordinary must be had, to over-power the knights of the shire, who, in spight of all pretended corporation feats, will be firm protestant members; the over-byassing of whole counties being an apprehension that lunacy itself can never forge. Nevertheless, suppose all these alien supplies so obtruded upon us, enough to carry the cause, alas, what palliation, nay, what eloquence of angels is enough to vindicate such irregular and such arbitrary foundation of a parliament; and instead of a legal assembly, and truly national senate, a popery so established the sacred sanction of a law, even half an eye would see through the fraud, and the whole world explode and condemn so visible a deceit and illusion: Insomuch, that his majesty with as much justice, and twice as much honour, (pardon the profanation even of such a supposition) might as well set up, *Sic volo sic Jubeo* for law, and save himself the trouble of calling of parliaments for dissolving penal laws or tests, or any other such tedious, and indeed, of the two, more unprincely toil and labour.

What mountain height are fears raised to; but how shallow a basis are they built upon? Alas, we are not in any kind to take comparisons from Queen Mary's, or Queen Elizabeth's reign. The turning the scale of parliaments in those days was the least part of a reasonable man's wonder. What an easy matter for the influence and ascendancy of imperial power to sway laws, and establish churches, as the sovereign inclination leaned; when the church of Rome was not so low in its wane, or the young reformation so high in its increase, but either party were in a manner the moiety of the nation, and consequently the favour of the crown might go far, and a majority on the royal side, be more easily obtained.

But in the present, even despicably diminutive number of Romanists, and so almost a total bent of the whole nation to the other side, the project is so impracticable, and the turn so impossible, as only delirium can shape a fear of it.

But now to sum up all and draw towards a period. Between such penal laws and such tests, and the wonderous episcopal tenderness for their beloved preservation, our church, though a good mother, is but a coarse nurse, when such unlicked brats as these are here hugged and dandled bantlings. And our conscientious mute prelates were certainly under the fascination of no ordinary hot zeal, or something else as warm, to be wrapt into disobedience in so poor a cause, viz. the reading so inoffensive a paper as his majesty's declaration. But perhaps after all there may be more in it than we are aware of. For who can fadom the depth of such a disobedience? Who knows but this very mask of conscience might be one of the subtlest stratagems of interest; who, I say, knows but the loss of so considerable a church regalia, so dear an ensign of ecclesiastick sovereignty as their *tormenta* and *flagella*, their tests and penal laws; and so sensible a diminution of their grandeur, their Diana grandeur, threatened by the relaxation of those laws, might be so near a concern to them, that, seeing the royal indulgence to religious liberty daily more and more gaining upon the hearts of the people, and to stop the career of so general a compassion, the fatal effects of so growing a contagion, their denial of reading so pacifick a declaration might possibly be one of the most exquisite artifices to stifle the generous product of it into abortion; their very refusal being really no more than purposely to court sufferings, to gain proselytes, as well for knowing, upon the least punishment for it, though ever so much their due, to have their condoled and pitied cause seen through those popular false opticks, as should turn even justice itself into persecution; and so by alarming the old ignorance into new jealousies, they might so harden that present (too universal) popular lenity towards tender consciences, and more than probably to affect the frightened populace, and thereby so far influence the next election as to defeat the whole royal purposed clemency, and gain their own point.

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[1] Alluding to one of the fragments of Oates's plot, who declared 20,000 pilgrims from St Jago were ready to invade England.

I should be sorry to be mistaken in this suspicion, but truly the shallowness of so weak-reasoned an obstinacy against so innocent a command of the king, looks so very like some such sort of ecclesiastical polity, that I am afraid the conscientious stumble at so diminutive a gnat will at last be found a meer artful piece of priest-craft to keep their Dagon from falling: And what that Dagon is let the world judge; for, excepting the engines of their tyranny, and the supporters of their pride, I know no strength the penal laws or tests either have or can yield them.

But above all things, that the illegality of the king's dispensing power should be a specter that appeared so dreadful to their lordships, yet walks invisible to every mortal eye-sight else, is not a little surprising; the very straitest-laced prerogative men never denied the king his dispensing power in cases of offence only against himself, *absque damno alterius;* and wherein the bare exercise of religious worship is, or can be *alterius damno*, their wisdoms would have been kind to inform us: Or wherein any minister or officer, qualified or not qualified by the test, in any civil or military station, (for his majesty pretends to no other dispensation) can be *damno ecclesiæ* would be another piece of discovery as kind as the other. Wherein, and what has our churchmen or our non-dispensing churchmen suffered by all this toleration? Have they lost the least particle of their government, discipline, rights, privileges, or possessions whatever? Is there any of our nontested magistrates, or our unpinioned dissenters in all this freedom, has wronged our church of so much as a sprig of mint, or a corn of cumminseed that she can challenge hers? Is she denied either law or justice for so much as the claim of a tythe egg?

And that this dispensing power may not look altogether so hideous, what is the king's dispensing power in penal laws really any more than his pardoning power? The transgression of those laws incurs such a penalty or punishment, and the royal clemency is graciously pleased to remit the forfeiture. And, indeed, what does his declaration amount to more than a *noli prosequi*, (only a more universal one,) the common and daily plea of the crown. His majesty, by his unquestioned right, can pardon; and what's his declaration truly more than that he will do it? Our great crown-sticklers have to a very fair purpose so long preached up our kings, the vicegerents of God, to come at last to the denying them any part of the brightest prerogative of the Divinity Mercy. And as to the backing the credit of their assertion, by their parliamentary authority of 72, &c.

I am sorry to hear our divine Gamaliels lay hold of so weak a handle, as to set up a transient vote against a fundamental prerogative. And as to their insinuation, that upon our conceding a dispensing power, in the case of the penal laws and tests, it must therefore follow, that we should open an inlet to lay aside all laws, both ecclesiastick and civil; 'tis an *ergo sequitur*, so strangely far stretched, that they might even as well have said (and the consequence have hung as well together too,) that because some of our severe fathers of our church have reasons of conscience and policy to support laws for the depopulating of kingdoms, therefore the gentler father of our country ought to have the same reasons too.

I hope their lordships, if for nothing but the reputation of their wisdom and learning, did not tender these petitioning reasons to his majesty as intended for convincing ones. For truly by the strength, both of their alledging and inferencing, this part of their petition, if not all of it, I am afraid looks more like written for the reading of the rabble than of the king.

But to conclude. As the fore-mentioned are all our dangers from their repeal, wherein are his majesty's demands unreasonable in asking the repeal of the penal laws, in which almost the whole *vox populi*, witness the late numerous addresses, joins with him, and the principles of nature, humanity, and conscience plead for him, or in asking the repeal of the test, for the asserting of his own honour and the recovering the birth-right of a king, by endeavouring to shake off the most shameful vassalage that monarch ever truckled under. And why must his endeavours of doing his people so much right in the first and himself so much right in the last be so poorly misinterpreted, by the unnatural surmises of his ungrateful people? But let us blush and mend, and, by giving up these laws, do equity in return for clemency and mercy.

An Enquiry into the Reasons for abrogating the Test imposed on all Members of Parliament. Offered by Sa. Oxon.

Samuel Parker, D. D Bishop of Oxford, a man of some talents and activity, disgraced himself during this busy period by his implicit compliance with the arbitrary commands of James II. This involved him in a dispute with Dr Burnet, who treated him as unmercifully as Andrew Marvel had done upon a former occasion. Indeed Parker had exalted the king's supremacy in terms which amounted to direct blasphemy. Burnet's account of the controversy is as follows:—

"He wrote a book against the tests full of petulant scurrility, of which I shall only give one instance. He had reflected much on the popish plot, and on Oates's evidence; and upon that he called the test the sacrament of the Oatesian villainy. He treated the parliament that enacted the tests with a scorn that no popish writer had yet ventured on; and he said much to excuse transubstantiation and to free the church of Rome from the charge of idolatry. This raised such a disgust of him, even in those that had been formerly but too much influenced by him, that, when he could not help seeing that, he sunk under it. I was desired to answer his book with the severity that he deserved; and I did it with an acrimony of style that nothing but such a time and such a man could in any sort excuse. It was said the king sent him my papers, hearing that nobody else durst put them into his hands, hoping that it would raise his indignation and engage him to answer them."—Burnet, III. 1265.

The following two treatises appear to have been of Burnet's manufacture.

When the cardinals in Rome go abroad without *fioccos* on their horses heads, it is understood that they will be then *incognito*, and they expect nothing of that respect which is paid them on other occasions. So since there is no *fiocco* at the head of this discourse, no name nor designation, it seems the writer offers himself to be examined without those nice regards that may be due to the dignity he bears; and indeed when a man forgets what he is himself, it is very natural for others to do it likewise.

It is no wonder to see those of the Roman communion bestir themselves so much as they do to be delivered from the test, and every thing else that is uneasy to them: And though others may find it very reasonable to oppose themselves in all the just and legal ways that agree with our constitution to this design, yet it is so natural to all that are under any pressure to desire to get free from it, that at the same time that we cannot forbear to withstand them, we cannot much condemn them; but it raises nature a little to see a man that has been so long fattened with the spoils of our church, and who has now got to a degree so disproportioned to his merit, to turn so treacherously upon it. If he is already weary of his comfortable importance, and will here give her into the bargain, and declare himself, nobody will be surprised at the change of his masque, since he has taken much pains to convince the world that his religion goes no deeper than his habit: Yet though his confidence is of a piece with all his other virtues, few thought it could have carried him so far; I confess I am not surprised, but rather wonder to see that others should be so, for he has given sufficient warning of what he is capable of; he has told the world what is the worst thing Dr Burnet can do, p. 50, but I am sure the doctor cannot be quit with him, to tell what is the worst thing that he can do; it must needs be a very fruitful fancy that can find out all the degrees of wickedness to which he can go; and though the pamphlet is a good essay of his talent that way, yet that *terra incognita* is boundless. In the title-page it is said, that this was first writ for the author's own satisfaction, and now published for all others whom it may concern. But the words are certainly wrong placed; for the truth of the matter is, that it was written for the author's own benefit, and that it is now published for the satisfaction of all whom it may concern. In some sense perhaps it was written for the author's own satisfaction; for so petulant and so depraved a mind as his is capable of being delighted with his treachery, and a poor bishoprick, with the addition of presidentship, being too low a prize for his ambition and avarice, he resolved to assure himself of the first great bishoprick that falls; the Liege Letter, let us see how far the jesuits were assured of him,[1] and how much courted by him: And that he said, that none but atheists supported the protestant religion now in England; yet how many soever of these may be among us, he is upon the point of lessening their number by one at least, and he takes care to justify the hopes which these fathers conceived of him. They are severe masters, and will not be put off with secret civilities, lewd jests, entertainments, and healths drank to their good success; so now the price of the presidentship is to be paid, so good a morsel as this deserved that Dr Stillingfleet, Dr Tillotson, Dr Burnet, and some other divines should be ill used, and he, to preserve the character of Drawcansir, which is as due to him as that of bays, falls upon the articles of the church, and upon both houses of parliament. It is reproach enough to the House of Lords that he is of it; but it is somewhat new, and a character becoming Sa. Oxon, to arraign that house with all the insolence to which he can raise his wanton pen. Laws that are in being are treated with respect even by those who move their repeal, but our Drawcansir scorns that modest strain; he is not contented to arraign the law, but calls it barbarous, and says, "That nothing can be more barbarous and prophane than to make the renouncing of a mystery, so unanimously received," a state test, pag. 133, pag. 64. But he ought to have avoided the word *prophane*, since it leads men to remember that he had taxed the praying for the king, as under God and Christ, as crude, not to say prophane: When in the prospect he had then [36] of a bishoprick, he raised the king above Christ, but now another prospect will make him sink him beneath the pope, who is but at best Christ's vicar. But this is not all; there comes another flower that is worthy of him. He tells us, "That the test was the first-born of Oats's plot, and brought forth on purpose to give credit and reputation to the perjury," pag. 5. And because this went in common between the two houses, he bestows a more particular mark of his favour on the House of Lords, and tells them, "that this was a monument erected by themselves in honour of so gross an imposture," (*ibid.*) But after all, the royal assent was added, and here no doubt it itched somewhere; for if it had not been for the manner of the late king's death, and the papers published since his death, he would have wreaked his malice upon his memory, for he will never forgive his not advancing him: And the late king being so true a judge of wit, could not but be much taken with the best satyr of our time, and saw that Bays's wit, when measured with another's, was of a piece with his virtues, and therefore judged in favour of the Rehearsal Transposed. This went deep, and though it gave occasion to the single piece of modesty with which he can be charged, of withdrawing from the town, and not importuning the press more for some years, since even a face of brass must grow red when it is so burnt as his was then; yet his malice against the elder brother was never extinguished but with his life: But now a strange conjuncture has brought him again on the stage, and Bays will be Bays still.[1]

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[1] In the Letter to the Liege Jesuit, Parker is avowed to be a great favourer of the catholic religion.

He begins his prologue with the only soft word in the whole piece, "I humbly conceive;" but he quickly repents him of that debonarity, and so makes thunder and lightning speak to the rest, as if his design were to insult over the two houses, and not to convince them. He who is one of the punies of his order, and is one of its justest reproaches, tells us, pag. 8, "That to the shame of the bishops this law was consented to by them in the House of Lords." But what shame is due to him who has treated that venerable bench, and in particular his metropolitan, in so scurrilous a manner? The order has much more cause to be ashamed of such a member: Though if there are two or three such as he is among the twenty-six, they may comfort themselves with this, that a dozen of much better men had one among them, that I confess was not much worse, if it was not for this, that he let the price of his treachery fall much lower than Sa. Oxon does, who is still true to his old maxim that he delivered in answer to one who asked him, "What was the best body of divinity? which was, That that which would help a man to keep a coach and six horses, was certainly the best." But now I come to examine his reasons for abrogating the test.

The first is, "That it is contrary to the natural rights of peerage, and turns the birthright of the English nobility into a precarious title, which is at the mercy of every faction and passion in parliament, and that therefore, how useful soever the test might have been in its season, it sometimes must prove a very ill precedent against the right of peerage: and upon this he tells a story of a protestation made in the House of Lords against the test that was brought in, in 1675, together with the resolution of the house against that penalty upon the peers of losing their votes in case of a refusal. He represents this as a test or oath of loyalty, against the lawfulness of taking arms upon any pretence whatsoever against the king."

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[1] This refers to the controversy between Parker and Andrew Marvell, and to the latter's treatise entitled "The Rehearsal Transposed," in which he assigns to Dr Parker the name of Bays. Marvell was generally judged to have the best of the dispute, since even Anthony Wood seems to adjudge the palm, though reluctantly, to the whig disputant.—"The reader is to note, that this pen-combat exercised between our author and Marvell was briskly managed with as much smart, cutting, and satyrical wit on both sides as any perhaps of late hath been, they endeavouring by all the methods imaginable, and the utmost forces they could by any means rally up, to blacken each others cause, and to set each other out in the most ugly dress; their pieces, in the meanwhile, wherein was represented a perfect trial of each others skill in a jerking, flirting way of writing, entertaining the reader with a great variety of sport and mirth in seeing two such right cocks of the game so keenly engaging with such keen and dangerous weapons. And it was generally thought, nay, even by many of those who were otherwise favourers of Parker's cause, that he (Parker) through a too loose and unwary handling of the debate, (though in a brave, flourishing, and lofty style,) laid himself too open to the severe strokes of his too sneering adversary, and that the odds and victory lay on Marvell's side. Howsoever it was, it wrought this good effect upon our author, that for ever after it took down some of his high spirit, insomuch, that though Marvell in a second part replied upon our author's reproof, yet he judged it more prudent rather to lay down the cudgels than to enter the lists again with an untowardlly combatant so hugely well versed in the then but newly refined art (though much in mode and fashion ever since) of sportive and jeering buffoonery. And moreover, it put him upon a more serious, sober, and moderate way of writing in other good treatises which he since did set forth, and which have proved very useful and beneficial to the public."—WOOD'S *Athenæ*, II. 818.

But in answer to all this, one would gladly know what are the natural rights of peerage, and in what chapter of the law of nature they are to be found; for if those rights have no other warrant but the constitution of this government, and they are still subject to the legislative authority, and may be regulated by it. The right of the peerage is still in the family, only as the exercise of it is limited by the law to such an age, so it may be suspended as oft as the publick safety comes to require it; even the indelible character itself may be brought under a total suspension, of which our author may perhaps afford an instance at some time or other.

2. Votes in either house of parliament are never to be put in balance with established laws; these are but the opinions of one house, and are changeable.

3. But if the test might have been useful in its season, one would gladly see how it should be so soon out of season, for its chief use being to secure the protestant religion in 1678, it does not appear that now, in 1688, the dangers are quite dissipated, that there is no more need of securing it. In one sense we are in a safer condition than we were then, for some false brethren have shewed themselves, and have lost that little credit which some unhappy accident had procured them.

4. It was not the loyalty in the test of the year 1675, that raised the greatest opposition to it, but another part of it, "That they should never endeavour any alteration in the government, either in the church or state." Now it seemed to be an unreasonable limitation on the legislative body to have the members engaged to make no alteration; and it is that which would not have much pleased those for whose satisfaction this book is published.

The second reason was already hinted it, of its dishonourable birth and original, pag. 10, which, according to the decency of his stile, he calls "the first sacrament of the Oatesian villainy," pag. 9.[1] This he aggravates "as such a monstrous and inhuman piece of barbarity as could never have entered into the thoughts of any man but the infamous author of it;" this piece of elegance, though it belongs to this reason, comes in again in its fourth reason, pag. 6; and, to let the House of Lords see their fate, if they will not yield to his reason, he tells them, that this will be not only an "eternal national reproach, but such a blot upon the peers, that no length of time could wear away, nothing but the universal conflagration could destroy," which are the aptest expressions that I know to mark how deeply the many blots with which he is stigmatized are rooted in his nature. The wanton man, in his Drawcansir humour, thinks that Parliaments and a House of Peers are to be treated by him with as much scorn as is justly due to himself. But to set this matter in its true light, it is to be remembered, that, in 1678, there were, besides the evidences of the witnesses, a great many other discoveries made of letters and negociations in foreign parts, chiefly in the courts of France and Rome, for extirpating the protestant religion; upon which the party that was most united to the court, set on this law for the test, as that which was both in itself a just and necessary security for the established religion, and that would probably lay the fermentation which was then in the nation: and the act was so little acceptable to him, whom he calls its author, that he spake of it then with contempt, as a trick of the court to lay the nation too soon asleep. The negociations beyond sea were too evidently proved to be denied; and (which is not yet generally known) Mr Coleman, when examined by the committee of the House of Commons, said plain enough to them, that the late king was concerned in them; but the committee would not look into that matter, so Mr Sacheverell, that was their chairman, did not report it; yet the thing was not so secret, but that one to whom it was trusted gave the late king an account of it, who said that he had not heard of it any other way, and was so fully convinced that the nation had cause given them to be jealous, that he himself set forward the act, and the rather because he saw the E. of S. did not much like it. The parliament, as long as it was known that the religion was safe in the king's negative, had not taken any great care of its own constitution, but it seemed the best expedient that could be found for laying the jealousies of his late majesty, and the apprehensions of the successor, to take so much care of the two houses, that so the dangers with which men were then alarmed might seem the less formidable, upon so effectual a security; and thus all the stir that he keeps with perjury and imposture, ought to make no other impression but to shew the wantonness of his own temper, that meddles so boldly with things of which he knew so little the true secret: For here was a law passed of which all made great use that opposed the Bill of Exclusion, to demonstrate to the nation that there could be no danger of popery, even under a prince of that religion; but as he would turn the matter, it amounts to this, that that law might be of good use in that season, to lay the jealousies of the nation till there were a prince on the throne of that communion, and then, when the turn is served, it must be thrown away, to open the only door that is now shut upon the re-establishment of that religion. This is but one hint among a great many more of the state of affairs at the time that this act of the test was made, shew that the evidence given by the witnesses had no other share in that matter but that it gave rise to the other discoveries, and a fair opportunity to those who knew the secret of the late king's religion, and the negociation at Dover, to provide such an effectual security as might both save the crown and secure the religion; and this I am sure some of the bishops knew, who (to their honour) were faithful to both.

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[1] The universal horror of the popish plot was certainly the leading cause which introduced the test act of 1678, disqualifying all from sitting in either house who would not renounce popery, and image worship of all kinds. In refuting the inferences derived by Parker against the test from its having so odious an origin, Burnet is obliged to be cautious and ambiguous. To have acknowledged a belief in the plot would have disgusted the English high-church, by whom it had always been denied; and to have expressly discredited it, would have been equally offensive to the whigs and dissenters.

The third reason he gives for repealing the act is, the incompetent authority of those who enacted it, for it was of an ecclesiastical nature; and here he stretches out his wings to a top-flight, and charges it with nothing less than the deposing of Christ from his throne, the disowning, neglecting, and affronting his commission to his catholick church, and entrenching upon this sacred prerogative of his holy catholick church; and then, that he might have occasion to feed his spleen with railing at the whole order, he makes a ridiculous objection of the bishops being present in the House of Lords, that he might shew his respect to them, by telling in a parenthesis "that (to their shame) they had consented to it." But has this Scaramuchio no shame left him? Did the parliament pretend by this act to make any decision in those two points of transubstantiation and idolatry? Had not the convocation defined them both for above an age before? In the 28th article of our church these words are to be found: "Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of bread and wine) in the supper of the Lord cannot be proved by holy writ; but it is repugnant to the plain words of scripture, overthrows the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions;" and for the idolatry of the church of Rome, that was also declared very expressly in the same body of articles. Since in the article the 35 homilies are declared "to contain a godly and wholesome doctrine necessary for those times; and upon this it is judged that they should be read in the churches by the minister, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people." And the second of these, which is against the peril of idolatry, aggravates the idolatry of that church in so many particulars, and with such severe expressions, that those who at first made those articles, and all those who do now sign them, or oblige others to sign them, must either believe the church of Rome to be guilty of idolatry, or that the church of England is the impudentest society that ever assumed the name of a church, if she proposes such homilies to the people, in which this charge is given so home, and yet does not believe it herself. A man must be of Bays's pitch to rise up to this degree of impudence. Upon the whole matter then, those points had been already determined, and were a part of our doctrine enacted by law; all that the parliament did, was only to take these out of a great many more, that by this test it might appear whether they who came into either house were of that religion or not; and now let our reasoner try what he can make out of this, or how he can justify the scandal that he so boldly throws upon his order, "as if they had as much as in them lay destroyed the very being of a Christian church, and had profanely pawned the bishop to the Lord, and betrayed the rights of the church of England, as by law established, in particular, as well as of the church catholick in general," p. 8, 9. All this shews to whom he has pawned both the bishop and the Lord, and something else too, which is both conscience and honour, if he has any left. When one reflects on two of the bishops that were of that venerable body, while this act passed, whose memory will be blessed in the present and following ages, those two great and good men that filled the sees of Chester and Oxford, he must conclude, that as the world was not worthy of them, so certainly their sees were not worthy of them, since they have been plagued with such successors; that because Bays delights in figures taken from the Roman empire, I must tell him, that since Commodus succeeded to Marcus Aurelius, I do not find a more incongruous succession in history. With what sensible regret must those who were so often edified with the gravity, the piety, the generosity, and charity of the late Bishop of Oxford, look on, when they see such a harlequin in his room?

His fourth reason is taken from the "uncertainty and falsehood of the matters contained in the declaration itself," p. 9, for our comedian maintains his character still, and scorns to speak of established laws with any decency; here he puts in a paragragh, as was formerly marked, which belonged to his second reason, but it seems some of those to whom he has pawned himself thought he had not said enough on that head, and therefore, to save blottings, he put it in here. After that, he tells the gentry that "transubstantiation was a notion belonging the school-men and metaphysicians;" and, that he may bespeak their favour, he tells them in very soft words, "That their learning was more polite and practicable in the civil affairs of human life, to understand the rules of honour and the laws of their country, the practice of martial discipline, and the examples of great men in former ages, and by them to square their actions in their respective stations, and the like." But sure the bishop is here without his *fiocco;* yet at least, for decency's sake, he should have named religion and virtue among the proper studies of the gentry; and if he dares not trust them with the reading the *scriptures,* yet at least they might read the articles of our church, and hearken to the *homilies;* for though it has been long one of the first maxims that he has infused into all the clergy that come near him, that the people ought to be brought into an ignorance in matters of religion, that preaching ought to be laid aside, for a preaching church could not stand, that in sermons no points of doctrine ought to be explained, and that only the rules of human life ought to be told the people; yet, after all, they may read the short articles; and though they were as blindly implicit as he would wish them to be, yet they would, without enquiry, find transubstantiation to be condemned in them. Next he triumphs over the renouncing of it, p. 11, "as too bold and too prophane an affront to the Almighty God, when men abjure a thing which it is morally impossible for them to understand." And he appeals to the members of both houses (whom in a fit of respect he calls *honourable,* after he had reproached them all he could) "if they have any distinct idea or notion in their minds of the thing they here so solemnly renounce." I do verily believe none of them have any distinct notion of transubstantiation, and that it is not only morally but physically impossible for them to understand it: but one would think that this is enough for declaring that they do not believe it, since the test contains no declaration concerning transubstantiation itself, whether it is a true or false doctrine, but only concerning the belief of him that takes it. And if one can have "no distinct notion of it, so that it is morally impossible for him to understand it," he may very well declare, that he does not believe it. After a farce of a slight story, he concludes, that "there seems to be nothing but a prophane levity in the whole matter, and a shameless abuse put upon God and religion, to carry on the wicked designs of a rebel faction." For he cannot for his heart abate an ace of his insolence, even when he makes the king, lords, and commons, the subject of his scorn. Certainly, whatever his character is, it ought not to be expected that a man who attacks all that is sacred under God and Christ, should not be treated as he deserves; it were a feeble weakness to have so great a regard to a character that is so prostituted by him. He tells us, p. 47, "That all parties agree in the thing, and that they differ only in the word and manner:" and here he makes a long excursion to shew his learning, in tacking great many things together, which passes with ignorant readers as a mark of his great reading; whereas in this, as well as in all his other books, in which any shews of learning appear, those who have searched into the fountains, see that he does nothing but gather from the collection of others, only he spoils them with the levities of his buffoon stile, and, which is worse, with his disingenuity. I leave all these matters to be examined by those who have leisure for it, and that think them worth their pains; but as for transubstantiation, the words that I have cited from out of our articles shew plainly that it is rejected in our church, so that he is bound either to renounce it or to renounce our church; therefore all that shew he makes with our history comes to nothing, since whatever he may say with relation to Edward the Sixth's reign, it cannot be denied but they were enacted by the convocation in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and they have been ever since the doctrine of our church; so that, without going further, this is now our doctrine; and since Sa. Oxon carries the authority of the convocation so high, he will find the original record of these articles in Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, subscribed by the members of both houses, in which there is a much more positive decision than is in the prints, not only against transubstantiation, but against any corporal or real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament; and if he will give himself scope to rail at those who suppressed this, I leave him to his liberty. But here is the formal decision of this church, and the pretending that there was no evidence of Cranmer's opinion, but in an unknown manuscript, or a famous invisible manuscript, p. 47, 49, when there are two books writ on this matter by Cranmer himself, and when all the disputes in Queen Mary's time, besides those that were both in Oxford and Cambridge in King Edward's time, shew so clearly that this was his doctrine, is a strain becoming his sincerity, that gives this, among many other essays, of the trust that is due to him.

But it seems he thought that Dr Tillotson, Dr Stillingfleet, and Dr Burnet, besides some others whom he does not name, had not reputation enough in the world, and therefore he intended to raise it, by using them ill; which is all the effect that his malice can have. He had set on one of his poor under workmen, some years ago, to decry the manuscript which Dr Stillingfleet had in his keeping for above twenty years, and which Dr Burnet had in his hands for many months, and which they shewed to as many as desired to see it, but that had turned so much to his shame that first vented the calumny, that it seems he summoned Sa. Oxon to appear his second in the slander; and he whose brow is of so peculiar a composition, will needs bring it here, though ever so impertinently. But I forgive the hatred that he bears both to that manuscript and to those doctors, since nothing could be less to the satisfaction of those for whom he published his book, than to see the mature and regular methods in which the reformation was advanced: For the bishops and divines were appointed to examine all points with much care, and to bring every man his opinion in writing, all which were compared very faithfully, and upon these the decisions were made.

There are many other papers yet extant, which, by comparing the hands, shew these to be originals; and they were in the Salisbury family probably ever since they were at first brought together. Their ancestor the Lord Burghly, who was secretary of state in Edward the Sixth's time, gathered them up; and as appears in a letter under his own hand yet extant, he had six or seven volumes of them, of which Dr Stillingfleet had only two, but Dr Burnet saw two more of these volumes.

The History of the Reformation sells still so well, that I do not believe Mr Chiswell, the printer of it, has made any present to this reasoner to raise its price; for to attack it with so much malice, and yet not to offer one reason to lessen its credit, is as effectual a recommendation as this author can give it.

He pretends, that Dr Burnet's design was, to make Cranmer appear a mere sacramentarian as to doctrine, as if he had made him appear an Erastian as to discipline; and he thinks the vain man was flattered into all the pains he took, that he might give reputation to the errors of his patrons, and that those two grand forgeries are the grand singularities of his history, and the main things that gave it popular vogue and reputation with his party. So that were these two blind stories, and the reasons depending upon them retrenched, it would be like the shaving of Sampson's hair, and destroy all the strength peculiar to the history. But to all this stuff I shall only say, 1. That the charge of forgery falls back on the reasoner, since as to Cranmer's opinion of the sacrament, his own books, and his dispute at Oxford, are such plain evidences, that none but Bays could have questioned it: and for his being an Erastian, Dr Burnet had clearly proved that he had changed his opinion in that point, so that though he shewed that he had been indeed once engaged in those opinions, yet he proved that he had forsaken them: Let the reader judge to whom the charge of forgery belongs. 2. Dr Burnet has indeed some temptations to vanity now, since he is ill used by Bays, and put in such company: But I dare say, if he goes to give him his character, he will never mention so slight a one as vanity, in which how excessive so ever he may be, yet it is the smallest of all his faults. 3. These two particulars here mentioned bear so inconsiderable a share in that history, and have been so little minded, that I dare say of an hundred that are pleased with that work, there is not one that will assign these as their motives.

He censures Dr Burnet for saying, he had often heard it said that the articles of our church were framed by Cranmer and Ridley, as if it were the meanest trade of an historian to stoop to hearsays, p. 55. But the best of all the Roman historians (*Sallust. in bello Catil.*) does it, and in this Dr Burnet maintains the character of a sincere historian, to say nothing that was not well grounded: And since it has been often said by many writers that these two bishops prepared our articles, he finding no particular evidence of that, delivers it with its own doubtfulness. It is very like Sa. Oxon would have been more positive upon half the grounds that Dr Burnet had, but the other chose to write exactly; yet he adds, that it is probable that they penned them: And if either the dignity of their sees, or of their persons, be considered, the thing will appear reasonable enough. But I do not wonder to see any thing that looks like a modesty of stile offend our author. He is next so kind to Dr Burnet as to offer him some counsel, (p. 50,) that he would be well advised to employ his pen in writing lampoons upon the present princes of Christendom; especially his own, which he delights in most, because it is the worst thing that himself can do, than collecting the records of former times; for the first will require time and postage to pursue his malice; but the second is easily traced in the chimney-corner.

One would think that this period was writ by Mr Louth, it is so obscure and ill expressed, that nothing is plain, but the malice of it: But he, of all men, should be the furthest from reproaching any for writing lampoons, who has now given so rude a one on the late king and lords and commons, if bold railing, without either wit or decency, deserves that name. I will only say this further, that if one had the ill nature to write a lampoon on the government, one of the severest articles in it would be, That it seems writers are hard to be found, when such a baboon is made use of. It is lampoon enough upon the age that he is a bishop; but it is downright reproach that he is made the champion of a cause, which, if it is bad of itself, must suffer extremely by being in such hands.[1]

And thus I think enough is said in answer to his impertinent digression upon transubstantiation; let him renounce the article of our church, and all that he possesses in consequence of his having signed it, and then we will agree all the rest with him upon the square; but as long as he owns that, he is bound likewise to own the first branch of the test, which is the renouncing transubstantiation. In this discourse he makes his old hatred to Calvin and the Calvinists return so often, that it appears very conspicuously. I believe it is stronger now than ever, and that for a particular reason: When the Prince and Princess of Orange were married, he was perhaps the only man in England that expressed his uneasiness at that happy conjunction, in so clownish a manner, that when their highnesses passed through Canterbury, he would not go with the rest of that body, to which he was so long a blemish, to pay his duty to them, and when he was asked the reason, he said, he could have no regard to a Calvinist prince. Now this Calvinist prince has declared his mind so openly and fully against the repeal of the test, that no doubt this has encreased Bays's distemper, and heightened his choler against the whole party.

The second branch of the test is the declaration made of the idolatry committed in the Roman church: Upon which he tells us, pag. 71, 72, "That idolatry is a stabbing and cut-throat word, and that it is an inviting and warranting the rabble, whenever opportunity favours, to destroy the Roman catholicks;" and here Bays will outdo himself, since this was a master-piece of service, therefore he makes the taxing the church of Rome with idolatry, a piece of humanity that outdoes the savages of the canibals themselves, and damns at once both body and soul. He charges Dr Stillingfleet as the great founder of this, and all other anti-catholick and antichristian and uncharitable principles amongst us, and that the test is the swearing to the truth of his unlearned and fanatic notion of idolatry, pag. 130, 135. And the result of all is, "That idolatry made the plot, and then the plot made idolatry, and that the same persons made both." He has also troubled the reader with a second impertinence to shew his second-hand reading again upon the notion of idolatry. But all this falls off with a very short answer, if he is of the church of England, and believes that the homilies contain a godly and wholesome doctrine; all this clamour against idolatry turns against himself, for he will find the church of Rome charged with this almost an age before Dr Stillingfleet was born; and though perhaps none has ever defended the charge with so much learning as he ha done, yet no malice less impudent than his is, could make him the author of the accusation. It will be another strain of our author's modesty, if he will pretend that ou church is not bound to own the doctrine that is contained in her homilies, he must by this make our church as treacherous to her members as Sa. Oxon is to her, or to deliver this doctrine to the people, if we believe it not ourselves, is to be as impudent as he himself can pretend to be. A church may believe a doctrine which she does not think necessary to propose to all her members; but she were indeed a society fit for such pastors as he is, if she could propose to the people a doctrine, chiefly one of so great consequence as this is, without she believed it herself. So then he must either renounce our church and her articles, or he must answer all his own plea for clearing that church of this imputation; which is so slight, that it will be no hard matter even for such a trifling writer as himself is to do it. As for what he says of stabbing and cut-throat words, he may charge us with such words, if he will, but we know who we may charge with the deeds. I would gladly see the list of all that have been murdered by these words, to try if they can be put in the balance, either with the massacre of Ireland, or that of Paris; upon which I must take notice of his slight way of mentioning Coligny, and faction, and telling us in plain words, pag. 45, "That they were rebels:" this is perhaps another instance of his kindness to the Calvinist prince, that is descended from that great man.

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[1] Burnet, in his History, thus characterizes Bishop Parker:—"The see of Oxford was given to Dr Parker, who was a violent independent at the time of the Restoration, with a high profession of piety in that way. But he soon changed, and struck into the highest form of the church of England; and wrote many books in a strain of contempt and fury against all the dissenters, that provoked them out of measure; of which an account was given in the history of the former reign. He had exalted the king's authority in matters of religion in so indecent a manner, that he condemned the ordinary form of saying the king was under God and Christ as a crude and profane expression; saying, that though the king was indeed under God, yet he was not under Christ, but above him. Yet not being preferred as he expected, he wrote after that many books on design to raise the authority of the church to an independence on the civil power. There was an entertaining liveliness in all his books; but it was neither grave nor correct. He was a covetous and ambitious man, and seemed to have no other sense of religion but as a political interest and a subject of party and faction. He seldom came to prayers, or to any exercise of devotion; and was so lifted up with pride, that he was become insufferable to all that came near him. These two men were pitched on as the fittest instruments that could be found among all the clergy to betray and ruin the church."—BURNET, III. 1186.

If idolatry made our plot, it was not the first that it made; but his malignity is still like himself, his charging Dr Stillingfleet, who, he says, is the author of the imputation of idolatry, as if he had suborned the evidence in our plot. I should congratulate to the doctor the honour that is done him by the malice of one who must needs be the object of the hatred of all good men, if I did not look upon him as so contemptible a person, that his love and his hatred are equally insignificant. If he thinks our church worse than canibals, I wish he would be at the pains to go and make a trial, and see whether these savages will use him as we have done. I dare say they would not eat him, for they would find so much gall and choler in him, that the first bit would quite disgust them.

Samuel Lord Bishop of Oxon, his celebrated Reasons for abrogating the Test and Notion of Idolatry, answered by Samuel Archdeacon of Canterbury.

"It's better to indulge men's vices and debaucheries, than their consciences." *Sam. Park. Eccles. Pol. pag.* 54.

To understand this title-page, it is necessary that the reader be informed, that, in reward of Bishop Parker's obsequiousness to King James, he had, upon being preferred to the see of Oxford, obtained permission to hold the archdeaconry of Canterbury in *commendam* with that preferment. The archdeaconry he had obtained by distinguishing himself in the controversy between the church of England and the dissenters; and, as, in the present struggle, he assumed the appearance of compassion and affection for the latter class of protestants, his antagonists fail not to reproach him with the very different sentiments he formerly entertained respecting non-conformists. These are chiefly drawn from Parker's work, entitled "A Discourse of Ecclesiastical

Polity, wherein the Authority of the civil Magistrate over the Consciences of Subjects in Matters of external Religion is asserted." This treatise appeared about 1673-4, and greatly offended the dissenters, as appears from the intemperate titles of several answers to which it gave occasion, as, for example, "Insolence and Impudence triumphant, Envy and Fury enthroned." The vindication of the test and penal laws, which the Ecclesiastical Polity contains, is in the following tract placed by Burnet in contrast with Parker's Defence of the Indulgence.

There is nothing hereby intended to impugn the abrogation of the test: May his majesty's sacred will and pleasure be fulfilled, and may the rights of the English peerage remain inviolable. But there seems to have been an absolute necessity for the author of the Reasons for abrogating the Test to have repealed his most bitter invectives against the non-conformists, and his tempestuous indignation against dissenters in general, so diametrically opposite to the serene and pious desires and resolutions of his majesty to make his subjects happy, and unite them to him as well by inclination as duty; and to have shewed his compliance to his majesty in all his most laudable and generous designs, before he had singled out that particular point of the test, merely to hook in a plea for transubstantiation, and his own new-modelled notions of idolatry. But let others, whom it may concern, dispute those controversies; the present question is, Whether his Lordship of Oxon have retracted his discourses of ecclesiastical polity, or at least those passages in them which run so apparently counter to his majesty's gracious declaration for liberty of conscience? otherwise he may seem to have calculated his writings for the various meridians of state, and his arguments will not bear that weight, which (though the same, yet) coming from another person, they would have done.

Now there cannot be a more certain touch stone of truth of the bishop's or arch-deacon's (which you please, for they are both the same person's) ecclesiastical policy, than the declaration itself; only, out of his Christian charity, the arch deacon has peopled the kingdom with such a dreadful canaille, (all but those of the church of England,) that astonishment itself might wonder well, were his unconscionable epithets to be allowed, that so gracious, so indulgent, so soft and calm a declaration, should come forth in kindness to such a rabble; for those whom his majesty calls his good subjects, the arch-deacon continually stigmatizes with the foul epithets of jugglers, dissemblers, wicked, rebellious hypocrites, sons of strife and singularity, and most notorious hereticks.[1] And, upon this supposition, as the foundation of his pile, that the generality of the people of England are such, (for he excepts none but those of the church of England,) he rears the fabrick of his ecclesiastical polity; wherein he had only this misfortune to be of a quite contrary opinion to his prince, and that his Draconicks were not repealed before the declaration came forth.

The declaration expresses his majesty's "earnest desire to establish his government on such a foundation as to make his subjects happy, and unite them to him as well by inclination as duty; which he thinks can be done by no means so effectually as by granting them the free exercise of their religion."

But the arch-deacon's politicks are of another strain; for, in his preface to his Ecclesiastical Polity, p. 12, he says, "That the aim of his discourse is, by representing the palpable inconsistency of phanatick tempers and principles, with the welfare and security of government, to awaken authority to beware of its worst and most dangerous enemies, and force them to modesty and obedience by severity of laws."

Page 52 of the same preface: "If princes (says he) would but consider how liable mankind are to abuse themselves with serious and conscientious villainies, they would quickly see it to be absolutely necessary to the peace and happiness of their kingdoms, that there be set up a more severe government over men's consciences than over their vices and immoralities."

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[1] Ecclesiast. Polit. p. 241, 242, 273, 319, 187.—*Orig. Note.*

Pag. 54 of the same, he boasts his having proved, "That indulgence and toleration is the most absolute sort of anarchy, and that princes may with less hazard give liberty to men's vices and debaucheries, than to their consciences."

But the declaration is quite of another temper: "We humbly thank Almighty God it is, and hath of a long time been, our constant sense and opinion, which, upon divers occasions, we have declared, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion."

But this will not be admitted by the arch-deacon: "For (says he, Ecclesiast. Pol. pag. 321) when men's consciences are so squeamish that they will rise against the customs and injunctions of the church, she must scourge them into order, and chastize them for their troublesome peevishness."

Pag. 324, (Ecclesiast. Polit.) he pretends to have proved the "unavoidable danger of toleration, and keeping religious differences, that religion must be governed by the same rules, as all other transactions of human life; and that nothing can do it but severe laws, nor they neither unless severely executed."

Ecclesiast. Polit. pag. 311, "If princes (says he) will suffer themselves to be checked in their laws spiritual by every systematical theologue, they may as well bear to see themselves affronted in their laws civil by every village attorney."

Pag. 284. "But to indulge ideots in their folly because they threaten authority to be peevish and scrupulous, and to infest the government with a sullen and cross-grained godliness, (an artifice not much unlike the tricks of froward children,) is to suffer ignorance to ride in triumph; and therefore such humoursome saints must be lashed out of their sullenness into compliance and better manners. This (as the arch-deacon calls it, preface to Bramhal's Vindication) was one of his rhapsodies of hasty and huddled thoughts." Most divine words, and most seraphick charity! but the arch-deacon will have tenderness of conscience to be pride, vanity, and insolence, though all the seven champions should contradict him.

Pag. 273. "He that pretends conscience to vouch his humour and his insolence, is a villain and an hypocrite, and so far from deserving pity, especially from authority, that no offenders can more need or provoke their severity." This may be true;[1] but where the supreme government, which must of necessity be absolute, uncontroulable and unlimited, as well in matters of religion, &c. more sagaciously discerns beyond the arch deacon's, that same conscience to be neither humour nor insolence, nor will comprehend it under that notion, there it is to be hoped the man is not a villain, nor an hypocrite, and so not liable to the fury of correction.

Pag. 271. "And therefore, if princes will be resolute, they may easily make the most stubborn consciences bend to their commands; but, if they will not, they must submit themselves and their power to all the follies and passions of their subjects." *Probatum est, S. P.*

Pag. 270. "Governors must look to be publick, and let tender consciences look to themselves. Laws must be of unyielding and inflexible temper, and not soft and easy things. Princes must not be diffident in their maxims of policy; but as they must set up some to themselves, so they must act roundly up to them." *Dii te donent tonsore. Quære,* Why this counsel was not taken, since the counsel was given so long before the declaration came forth? *Answ.* Because it was ever contrary to his majesty's inclination.

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[1] Ecclesiast. Pol. p. 27, 28, 36, &c.—*Orig. Note.*

Pag. 269, "'Tis all one to the concernments of government, whether tenderness of conscience be serious or counterfeit; for whether so or so, 'tis directly contrary to the ends and interest of government." Better unsaid than not believed.

Pag. 263. "And what can be more destructive to all manner of government, than to make all the rules of order and discipline less sacred than the whimsies of every phanatick zealot?" Pray be patient, sir, there is no such thing done.

Ibid. "When to pick quarrels with the laws, and make scruple of obeying them, shall be made the specifick character of the godly; when giddy and humorous zeal shall not only excuse, but hallow disobedience; when every one that has fancy enough to fancy himself a child of God shall have license to despise authority." Who would have been at the trouble of all this rhetorick, had he known what would have followed?

Pag. 252. "In brief, the only cause of all our troubles and disturbances is the inflexible perverseness of about an hundred proud, ignorant, and seditious preachers; against whom, if the severity of the laws were particularly levelled, how easily would it be to reduce the people to a peaceable temper? There were just three more than his number, and that spoiled the project.

Pag. 187. "What can be more apparently vain, than to talk of accommodation, or to hope for any possibility of quiet or settlement, till authority shall see it necessary to scourge them into better manners and wiser opinions?"

Pag. 219. "'Tis easy and possible for well-meaning people, through ignorance or inadvertency, to be betrayed into such unhappy errors as may tend to the publick disturbance; which, though it be not so much their crime as infelicity, yet is there no remedy, but it must expose them to, the correction of the publick rods and axes?" Surely, Rhadamanthus's own chaplain could not have preached more severe divinity.

Pag. 271. "In brief, there is nothing so ungovernable as a tender conscience, or so restiff and inflexible as folly or wickedness, when hardened with religion; and, therefore, instead of being complied with, they must be restrained with a more peremptory and unyielding rigour than naked and unsanctified villainy."

Pag. 223. "Nay, so easy it is for men to deserve to be punished for their consciences, that there is no nation in the world (were government rightly understood and duly managed) wherein mistakes and abuses in religion would not supply the gallies with vastly greater numbers than villainy." 'Tis a comfort curst cows have now short horns.

However, to this the tender declaration makes a reply, declaring one of the reasons of his majesty's indulgence to be, because he finds that force in matter of meer religion tends to the depopulating of countries.

On the other side, the arch-deacon, in opposition to the king's reason, is for depopulating the land, and peopling the gallies; and arraigns that government, for want of understanding and due management, that does not observe his method of cruelty. He is for pillories, whipping-posts, rods, axes, scourges, &c. as if no government pleased him but that described by Virgil in hell:

Hinc exaudiri gemitus, et sæva sonare
Verbera; tum stridor ferri, tractæque catenæ,
——————— *Accincta flagella*
Tisiphone quatit insultus, torvosque sinistra
Intentans angues vocat agmina sæva sororum.

This, in the arch-deacon's Ecclesiastical Polity; and to shew that no other government will content him but this, pag. 18, "I leave it (says he) to governors themselves to judge, whether it does not concern them with as much vigilance and severity, either to prevent the rise, or suppress the growth, (of phanaticks he means, that find themselves grieved by the penal laws,) as to punish any the foulest crimes of immorality?

And if they would seriously consider into what exorbitancies peevish and untoward principles about religion improve themselves, they could not but perceive it to be as much their concernment to punish them with the severest inflictions, as any whatsoever principles and rebellions in the state."—Well, the business is considered, and his Ecclesiastical Polity is found to be deficient!

Nay, he goes farther, and arraigns all kings and princes for their folly, under the title of governors: "For," say he, in the following pag. 19, "this certainly has ever been one of the fatal miscarriages of all governors, in that they have not been aware of this fierce and implacable enemy, (meaning the phanaticks, who care no more for whips and scourges than the devil does for holy-water,) but have gone about to govern unruly consciences, but more easy and remiss laws than those that are only able to suppress scandalous and confessed villanies, and have thought them sufficiently restrained by threatning punishments without inflicting them; and, indeed, in most kingdoms so little have princes understood their own interests in matters of religion," &c. Hearken, O ye princes of Europe! and go to school again to the author of the Discourses of Ecclesiastical Polity.

But here in another bold touch: "Prohibition disobliges dissenters, and that is no evil; impunity allows them toleration, but that is a greater; and where governors permit what their laws permit, (this is not the present case,) there the commonwealth must at once feel all the evils both of restraint and liberty. So that, as they would expect peace and settlement, they must be sure at first to bind on their ecclesiastical laws with the streightest knot, and afterwards keep them in force and countenance by the severity of the law. Their restraint must be proportioned to their unruliness of the conscience, and they must be managed with so much the greater strictness than all the other principles of disturbance, by how much they are the more dangerous." *Gratias Domine*, now princes understand what they have to do

Yet a little more of the arch-deacon's Ecclesiastical Polity. Beloved, in his preface to Bishop Bramhal's Vindication, (for it is not paged,) you shall find it thus written: "They (meaning the phanaticks, or complainants against the penal statutes) have been so long accustomed to undutiful demeanor, that it is feared they are grown too headstrong and incorrigible to be awed into a more modest behaviour by threatnings of severity; therefore it will be thought necessary to bridle their ungoverned tongues and spirits with pillories and whipping-posts."

And at the bottom of the same page: "To this peevishness of their humours, I might add the restlessness of their minds that is always displeased with the settled frame of things, (*innuendo*, the settled penal laws,) and that no alterations can satisfy. If you condescend to their demands, you only encourage them to make new remonstrances; appease all their old complaints, and they are immediately picking new faults to be redressed. They that at first only request indulgence, will, when strong enough, demand it." In short, give the non-conformists an inch, and they'll take an ell.

"But (in the same preface) should it ever so happen hereafter, that any King of England should be prevailed with to deliver up the church," (that is to say, to dispense with the penal laws and test; for the test, notwithstanding the reasons against it, must be included in this long parenthesis, because the church framed it,) "he had as good at the same time resign up his crown." And thus you see the danger of the present government, through the non-conformity to the arch-deacon's Ecclesiastical Polity.

There is another reason why his majesty was graciously pleased to think force in matter of meer religion directly contrary to the interest of government, and this is, spoiling of trade.

Trade, cries the arch-deacon, trade! No. Let grass grow about the custom-house, rather than abate one tittle of my Ecclesiastical Polity: "For (in his preface to his Ecclesiast. Pol. pag. 49) 'tis notorious, (says he) that there is not any sort of people so inclinable to seditious practices as the trading part of a nation; and their pride and arrogance naturally increase with the improvement of their stock. And if we reflect upon our late miserable distractions, 'tis easy to observe how the quarrel was hatched in tradesmen's shops, and cherished by the zeal of 'prentices." By the way, this is plausible nonsense all over; but he goes on, pag 50, "'Tis a very odd and preposterous piece of policy to design the enriching this sort of people, while their heads are distempered with religious lunacies." "And (pag. 51) he is a very silly man, and understands nothing of the follies, passions, and inclinations of human nature, who sees not there is no creature so ungovernable as a wealthy phanatick." "And therefore, (pag 48,) I confess, I cannot but smile when I observe how some that would be thought wonderful grave and solemn statesmen, labour with mighty projects of setting up this and that manufacture in their several respective towns and corporations, and how eagerly they pursue these petty attempts beyond the great affair of a more publick concernment, (meaning the dreadful and terrible execution of the penal laws,) and how wisely they neglect the settlement of a whole nation, for the benefit of a village or burrough." Very pleasant ecclesiastical polity! No man must eat or drink, or maintain his family; the grand relation of human necessities depending one upon another must stand still, to oblige the arch-deacon's Ecclesiastical Polity. Here's a *quietus est* for above the third part of the nation. None but those who can swallow a surplice, and adore the parochial Levite, must weave camblets at Norwich, make bays at Colchester, spurs at Rippon, nails at Birmingham, or saddles at Burford. For why? "There is not any sort of people so seditious as the trading part of the nation." So that, supposing the greater part of the trading part of the nation be, as the arch-deacon calls them, phanaticks and non-conformists, (that is, men conscientiously scrupling the ceremonies of the church of England,) they must either be[1] scourged into better manners with briars and thorns, or else the nation must be laid waste and desolate. For to tell you true, as good have no people, as those that will not pay tithes, 'tis no matter for the king's duties, nor how the nation may be otherwise weakened and exposed.

There is yet behind one more reason urged in the declaration, and that is this, "That force in matter of meer religion never obtained the end for which it was employed; wherein his majesty declares himself the more confirmed, by the reflections he made upon the four last reigns"

Now, here's the utter subversion of the arch-deacon's Ecclesiastical Polity; all meer labour in vain; abundance of ranting, raving, reviling expressions, insomuch, that the arch angel was more civil to the devil than the arch-deacon to the dissenters, and yet all to no purpose. He has been at a great deal of pains in setting up pillories and whipping-posts in all parts and corners of the kingdom, and now he may even go and pull them down again. What are now become of all his politick let-but's? In his preface to Bishop Bramhal's Vindication, "Let but the government think it seasonable at any time to reprieve them (meaning the dissenters) from the severity of the laws, and they immediately start up into that confidence, as to imagine themselves the only darlings of state. Let but the publick rods be removed from their backs, and they are presently full of expectations to have them put into their own hands. If they are not always scourged and chastised they will grow sawcy, and must by all means become cronies to kings and princes."

Many other passages might have been collected out of his several bitter (if they may not be said to be scurrilous) invectives against the dissenters; but here are sufficient to make it apparently manifest, that the author of the Ecclesiastical Polity was as great a dissenter from the mild and tender maxims of his majesty's government, and his constant sense and opinion, of a long time professed and declared upon several occasions in matters of religion, as the dissenters were dissatisfied with the rigid severity of the church of England; or, at least, with the principles of his Ecclesiastical Polity.

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[1] Preface to Bramhal's Vindication.—*Orig. Note.*

Which makes it seem questionable, whether a person, who has brandished his pen with that virulency against the dissenters in general, and his majesty's royal opinion, and the mature results of his most serious deliberations, may be a proper champion against the test? For, most certainly, there has been much more said already, and much more to the purpose, than he has produced.

[1] On the other side, he has most dogmatically avouched, "That if ever the boisterous and unreasonable opposition (as he calls it) of the nonconformists to the church of England be re-erected it must be upon its ruins: And that if ever the Roman catholicks get any ground, or advantage of the church of England, they will be bound to make their acknowledgments to the puritans, and the strength of their assistance." Whence he draws his conclusion, "That it would be a pleasant spectacle, (that is to say, a ridiculous over-sight in government) to see either the classical or congregational discipline established by authority."

Moreover, in the 721st page of the Vindication of his Eccles. Pol. he appeals to all men, whether liberty of conscience be any better than a license for anarchy and confusion? Pag. 238, he says, "That to grant subjects a lawless and uncontrouled liberty of conscience, in all matters and pretences of religion, is to dissolve one half of the government into perfect anarchy, and yield up the constitution of all publick affairs to the humour of every wild enthusiast." And pag. 553, you find it thus written, "So that, seeing an ecclesiastical jurisdiction (of pillories and whipping-posts, thorns and briars) is absolutely necessary to prevent all confusions, arising from unrestrained liberty, it is better that mankind should be sometimes exposed to the miseries of tyranny and persecution, than always groan under the intolerable disorders of anarchy, or reluctancy to penal statutes."

If then the church of England be established upon such a firm foundation, that nothing can endanger it, but indulgence to the dissenters, it is to be admired, that a man, so knowing in ecclesiastical policy, and so great a friend to the church of England, would open such a gap as to plead for the abrogation of the test, which the churchmen of England framed and set up as the only bulwark to prevent her dissolution. So that, to use his own words, "'Tis very hardly credible, that a person, who has lately appeared so vigorously in her cause, should, notwithstanding all his seeming zeal and earnestness, be really in good earnest, in his pretences, against the test." For what signifies the abrogating the test, if there be no way to shake the otherwise immoveable church of England, but by making two bridges of dissenters, one between Calais and Dover, the other between Dieppe and Rye, for popery to return into England: For, when he comes to that part of his preface to Bishop Bramhal's Vindication, where he considers what likelihood, or how much danger there is of the return of popery into this nation, "For my own part," says he, "I know none, but the nonconformist's boisterous and unreasonable opposition to the church of England." If he thinks that the abrogation of the test may be a means to unite the papists and the dissenters, which he seems to intimate, by saying, "That the faction of dissenters may be made use of as instruments (journey-men tools) to dissolve and unravel the established frame of things, and destroy the church of England, and so make an unobstructed passage for the return of popery in glory and triumph," then he has left his cause in the lurch, and relinquished all his ecclesiastical polity at once.

As for the papists he deals with them after such a rate, that no man living knows where to have him. In his preface to Bishop Bramhal's Vindication, he seems neither to love nor fear them: For that as long as the church of England stands in power and reputation, it will easily beat back and baffle all the attempts of Rome and its adherents; their plausible reasons being evidently no more than little tricks and sophisms, and seem intended by themselves rather to abuse the simple than satisfy the wise. Their innovations are so undeniable, and the design of the church of England's reformation so apparently apostolical, that those people must needs argue at a strange wild rate, that will be demonstrating against experience and ocular inspection. So then, the reformation made by the church of England, in the points of transubstantiation, worship of images, adoration of the host, and invocation of saints, being apostolical, what must be thought of his reasons against the test? Nay, there is nothing could preserve the papists from being hissed out of the pit, but that they are extremely confident, and most readers sufficiently ignorant: So that the church of England may safely desire all their opposition. She does not stand upon such trembling foundations as to be thrust down with bull-rush spears and oral traditions, with labyrinths and castles in the air.

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[1] Preface to Bishop Bramhal's Vindication.—*Orig. Note.*

But then his heart misgives him again, and he begins to fear the return of popery into the nation, should the nonconformists join with the papists: And therefore, at the end of his preface, he begs the hearty prayers of his friend for the peace and prosperity of the church of England; for when that is gone, (farewell frost!) it will be hard to find out another, with which any, that are either honest or wise, will be over forward to join in communion.

Notwithstanding all this, upon better considerations, as it were in compassion of the despised weakness of the church of Rome and her adherents, he undertakes to furnish them with better arguments of his own, than any they have themselves, to vindicate transubstantiation, and clear them from idolatry: For which he strains an argument deduced from the Cherubims that covered the ark. And yet, in his defence of his Ecclesiastical Policy, pag. 285, 286, he condemns both Turk and pope together in a breath; the one for giving divine worship to a lewd impostor; the other, to a senseless piece of matter. And thus, what, by virtue of apparent apostolical reformation, he called (before) a senseless piece of matter, he has (now) covered with the Cherubim's golden wings, and rendered adorable by scripture warrant: But, *Bene scribit, qui bene intelligitur;* What he has written, he has written.

A Plain Account of the Persecution, now laid to the Charge of the Church of England.

The stand which the bishops and clergy of the church of England made against the indulgence, was ascribed by their antagonists, whether catholics or dissenters of the more violent sort, to a spirit of intolerance and persecution. Dryden, whose Hind and Panther appeared about this time, charges this arbitrary and tyrannical temper upon the church in the following lines:—

> "If you condemn that prince of tyranny
> Whose mandate forced your Gallic friends to fly,
> Make not a worse example of your own,
> Or cease to rail at causeless rigour shown,
> And let the guiltless person throw the stone.

His blunted sword your suffering brotherhood
Have seldom felt; he stops it short of blood:
But you have ground the persecuting knife,
And set it to a razor-edge on life.
Cursed be the wit which cruelty refines,
Or to his father's rod the scorpion joins!
Your finger is more gross than the great monarch's loins
But you perhaps remove that bloody note,
And stick it on the first reformer's coat.
Oh, let their crime in long oblivion sleep;
'Twas theirs indeed to make, 'tis yours to keep!
Unjust or just is all the question now;
'Tis plain that not repealing you allow.
"To name the test would put you in a rage;
You charge not that on any former age,
But smile to think how innocent you stand,
Armed by a weapon put into your hand.
Yet still remember that you wield a sword,
[illegible] your foes against your sovereign lord;
[illegible] imperial cedar down,
Forged by your [illegible]
Designed to hew the [illegible] crown.
Defraud succession and disheir the [illegible]ove,
To abhor the makers and the laws app[illegible]
Is to hate traitors and the treason love.
The Hind and Panther.

This was not a charge under which the church of England could remain with safety, at a period when the king was seeking to unite against the establishment dissenters of every persuasion. Various papers were therefore published to take off the edge of this imputation, and to propitiate the minds of protestant non-conformists.

I. The desire of liberty to serve God in that way and manner which men judge to be most acceptable to him, is so natural and reasonable, that they cannot but be extremely provoked against those who would force them to serve him in any other. But the conceit withal, which most men have, that their way of serving God is the only acceptable way, naturally inclines them, when they have power, to use all means to constrain all others to serve him in that way only. So that liberty is not more desired by all at one time, than it is denied by the very same persons at another. Put them into different conditions, and they are not of the same mind, but have different inclinations in one state from what they have in another; as will be apparent by a short view of what hath passed in these churches and kingdoms within our memory.

II. Before the late civil wars, there were very grievous complaints made of the bishops, that they pressed the ceremonies so strictly, as to inflict heavy censures upon those called Puritans, who could not in conscience conform to them. Now no sooner had those very persons who thus complained got their liberty to do as they pleased, but they took it quite away from the other, and sequestered all those who would not enter into their holy league and covenant, for the reforming of all things according to the model which they propounded. Nay they were not willing to bear with five dissenting brethren amongst themselves, who could not conform to the presbyterial government. And when these dissenting brethren, commonly known by the name of Independents, had got a party strong enough, which carried all before them; they would not allow the use of the common prayer in any parish, no not the king himself in his own chappel; nor grant to one of the old clergy so much liberty as to teach a school, &c. Which things I do not mention (God knows) to reproach those who were guilty of them, but only to put them in mind of their own failings, that they may be humbled for them, and not insult over the church of England, nor severely upbraid them with that, which, when time was, they acted with a higher hand themselves. If I should report all that the presbyterians did here and in Scotland, and all that the independants did here and in New-England, it would not be thought that I exceed the truth, when I say they have been more guilty of this fault, than those whom they now charge with it. Which doth not excuse the church of England, it must be confessed, but doth, in some measure, mitigate her fault. For the conformable clergy having met with such very hard usage in that dismal time, wherein many of them were oppressed above measure, no wonder if the smart of it, then fresh in their minds, something imbittered their spirits, when God was pleased, by a wonderful revolution, to put them into power again.

III. Then a stricter act of uniformity was made, and several laws pursuant to it, for the enforcing that uniformity, by severe penalties. But let it be remembered, that none were by those laws constrained to come to church, but had liberty left them to serve God at home (and some company with them) in their own way. And let it be further remembered, that the reason why they were denied their liberty of meeting in greater assemblies was, because such assemblies were represented as greatly endangering the publick peace and safety: As the words are in the very first act of this nature against quakers, in the year 1662. Let any one read the Oxford Act, (as it is commonly called,) made in the year 1662, and that at Westminster in the year 1670, and he will find them intended against seditious conventicles; that is, they who made them were persuaded by the jesuit interest at first to look upon such meetings as nurseries of sedition, where bad principles were infused into men's minds, destructive to civil government. If it had not been for this, it doth not appear that the contrivers of these laws were inclined to such severities as were thereby enacted; but the nonconformists might have enjoyed a larger liberty in religion. It was not religion alone which was considered and pretended, but the publick peace and settlement; with respect to which they were tied up so straitly in the exercise of their religion. Which, to deal clearly, I do not believe would have taught rebellion; but this was constantly insinuated by the court agents, and it is no wonder that the parliament, who remembered how the ministers of that persuasion (though indeed from the then appearance of popery) had been the principal encouragers of that defensive war against the king, were easily made to believe that they still retained the same principles, and would propagate them, if they were suffered, among the people. Certain it is also, that the court made it their care to have those acts passed, though at the same time they hindered their execution, that they might keep up both parties in the height of their animosities, and especially that they might make the church of England be both hated and despised by the dissenters.

IV. Thus things continued for some time, till wise men began to see into the secret, and think of a reconciliation. But it was also hindred by the court, who never thought of giving liberty by a law, but only by the prerogative, which could as easily take it away. There was a time, for instance, when a comprehension, &c. was projected by several great men both in church and state, for the taking as many as was possible into union with us, and provided ease for the rest; which so nettled the late king, that, meeting with the then Archbishop of Canterbury, he said to him, (as I perfectly remember) What, my lord, you are for a comprehension? To which he made such a reply as signified, he heard some were about it: No, said the king, I will keep the church of England pure and unmixed; that is, never suffer a reconciliation with the dissenters. And when the lords and commons also had, not many years ago, passed a bill for the repealing of the most heavy of all the penal laws against dissenters, viz. the statute of 35 Eliz. 1. (which, by the parliament, is made against the wicked and dangerous practices of seditious sectaries and disloyal persons,) his late majesty so dealt with the clerk of the parliament, that it was shuffled away, and could not be found, when it was to have been presented to him, among other bills, for his royal consent to it. A notable token of the abhorrence the court then had of all penal laws, and of their great kindness to dissenters.

V. Who may remember, if they please, that as once there was a time, when the court turned out, or chid, those justices, who were forward in the execution of the laws against nonconformists, because they were in so low a condition, that the court was afraid the church of England might indeed be established in its uniformity, so when the nonconformists were, by some liberty, grown stronger, and set themselves against the court interest, in the election of sheriffs, and such like things, then all those justices were turned out who hung back, and would not execute the laws against them, and justices pickt out for the purpose, who would do it severely. Nay, the clergy were called upon, and had orders sent them, to return the names of all nonconformists in their several parishes, that they might be proceeded against in the courts ecclesiastical. And here I cannot forget the order made by the Middlesex justices at the sessions at Hickes-hall, Jan. 13, 1681, where they urge the execution of the act of 22. Car. 2. against conventicles, because in all probability they will destroy both church and state. This was the reason which moved them to call upon constables and all other officers to do their duty in this matter: Nay, to call upon the B. of London himself, that he would use his utmost endeavours, within his jurisdiction, that all such persons may be excommunicate. This was a bold stroke, proceeding from an unusual degree of zeal; which plainly enough signifies that the bishops were not so forward as the justices in the prosecuting of dissenters. Who may do well to remember, that the House of Commons, a little before this, had been so kind to them, that those justices would not have dared to have been so severe as they were at Hickes-Hall, if they had not been set on by directors from Whitehall. For in their order they press the execution of the statute, 1 Eliz. and 3 Jac. 1. for levying twelve-pence a Sunday upon all those that do not come to church: Whereas the House of Commons, Nov. 6, 1680, had resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that it is in the opinion of this house, that the acts of parliament made in the reign of Q. Elizabeth and King James, against popish rescusants, ought not to be extended against protestant dissenters.

VI. Who should not forget how backward the clergy of London especially were to comply with this design, of reviving the execution of the laws against them; what courses they took to save them from this danger! And what hatred they incurred for being so kind to them! Which in truth was kindness to themselves; for now they saw plainly enough that nothing was intended but the destruction of us both, by setting us, in our turns, one against the other. Many indeed were possessed with the old opinion, that the dissenters aimed at the overthrow of the government both in church and state; which made them the more readily join with those who were employed to suppress them, by turning the edge of the laws upon them. But both these were most industriously promoted by the court; who laboured might and main to have this believed, that they who were called Whigs intended the ruin of the church and the monarchy too: And therefore none had the court favour, but they alone who were for the ruining of them. All others were frowned upon, and branded with the name of Trimmers, who they adventured at last, to say they were worse than Whigs, merely because they, seeing the design, desired those ugly names of Whig and Tory might be laid aside; and persuaded all to moderation, love, unity, and peace. If any man had these dangerous words in his mouth, he had a mark set upon him, and was looked upon as an enemy as soon as he discovered any desires of reconciliation. No peace with dissenters was then as much in some men's mouths, as No peace with Rome had been in others. They were all voted to destruction, and it was an unpardonable crime so much as to mention an accommodation.

Such things as these ought not to be forgotten.

VII. But if they list not to call them to mind, (though they be of fresh memory,) yet let them at least consider what they have had at their tongues end, ever since they knew any thing, That the church of Rome is a persecuting church, and the mother of persecution. Will they then be deluded by the present sham of liberty of conscience, which they of that church pretend to give it? It is not in their power, no more than in their spirit; they never will nor can give liberty of conscience, but with a design to take all liberty from us. That church must be obeyed, and there is no middle choice among them, between turn or burn, conform or be undone. What liberty do they give in any country where their power is established? What liberty can they give, who have determined that all hereticks ought to be rooted out? Look into France, (with which we have had the strictest alliance and friendship a long time,) and behold, how at this moment they compel those to go to mass who they know abhor it as an abominable idolatry. Such a violent spirit now acts them, that they stick not to profane their own most holy mysteries, that they may have the face of an universal conformity without the least liberty. For the new converts, as they are called, poor wretches, are known to be mere outward compliers, in their hearts abominating that which they are forced externally to worship. They declare as much by escaping from this tyranny over their consciences, and bewailing their sinful compliance, whensoever they have an opportunity. And they that cannot escape, frequently protest they have been constrained to adore that which they believe ought not to be adored. And when they come to die, refuse to receive the Romish sacrament; and thereupon are dragged, when dead, along the streets, and thrown like dead dogs upon the dung-hills. Unto what a height of rage are the spirits of the Romish clergy inflamed, that it perfectly blinds their eyes, and will not let them see how they expose the most sacred things in all their religion (the holy sacrament, which they believe to be Jesus Christ himself) to be received by those who they know have no reverence at all for it, but utterly abhor it; for they force them, by all manner of violence, to adore the Host against their will, and to eat what they have adored, though they have the greatest reason to believe that those poor creatures do not adore it. That is, the church of Rome will have her mysteries adored by all, though it be by hypocrites. None shall be excused, but whether they believe or not believe, they shall be compelled to do as that church doth. Nothing shall hinder it, for the hatred and fury wherewith they are now transported is so exceeding great, that it makes them (as I have said) offer violence even to their own religion, rather than suffer any body not to conform to it.

VIII. And assure yourselves they are very desirous to extend this violence beyond the bounds of France. They would fain see England also in the same condition. The Bishop of Valence and Die hath told us as much, in the speech which he made to the French king, in the name of the clergy of France, to congratulate his glorious atchievements in rooting out the heresy of Calvin, in which he had a most memorable passage, for which we are beholden to him, because it informs us, that they are not satisfied with what their king hath done there, but would have him think there is a further glory reserved for him, of lending his help to make us such good catholicks as he hath made in France. This is the blessed work they would be at; and if any among us be still so blind as not to see it, we must look upon it as the just judgment of God upon them for some other sins which they have committed. They are delivered up to a reprobate mind, which cannot discern the most evident things. They declare to all the world that they have been above fifty years crying out against they know not what, for they know not what popery is (of which they have seemed to be horribly afraid) if they believe that they of that religion either can or will give any liberty, when they have power to establish their tyranny. It is no better; St John himself hath described that church under the name of Babylon, that cruel city, and of a beast, which, like a bear, tramples all under its feet; and of "another beast, which causes as many as will not worship the image of the beast to be killed; and that no man may buy or sell save such as have had his mark," *i. e.* are of his religion, Rev. xiii. 14, 15, 16. This character they will make good to be the very end of their reign, as they have fulfilled it from the beginning. They cannot alter their nature no more than the "Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots." It ever was, since the rise of the beast, and it ever will be till its fall, a bloody church, which can bear no contradiction to her doctrine and orders, but will endeavour to root out all those that oppose her from the face of the earth. Witness the barbarous crusados against the poor Albigenses in France; in one of which alone, Bellarmine himself saith, and not without triumph, there were killed no less than an hundred thousand. Witness the horrible butcheries committed in France, in England, and in the Low Countries, in the age before us, and in Poland, the vallies of Piedmont, and in Ireland, in this age, upon those who had no other fault but this, that they made the Holy Scriptures, and not the Roman church, the rule of their faith.

IX. But if you be ignorant of what hath been done and is doing abroad, yet I hope you observe what they do here at home. What do you think of the declaration which was very lately imposed to be read in all our churches? which, when several bishops and their clergy most humbly represented, they could not in conscience publish to the people in time of divine service; this would not excuse them, their petition was received with indignation, and looked upon as a libel; the bishops were prosecuted for it; and enquiry is now ordered to be made after these who did not read it, (as well as those that did,) that they may be punished by the high commissioners. Call you this liberty of conscience? or do you imagine you shall never have any thing imposed upon you, to be read in your congregations, which you cannot comply withall? Consider, I beseech you, what will become of you when that time shall come. What's the meaning of this, that ever they are looked upon as offenders for following their conscience, whose services have been acknowledged to be so great, that they should never be forgotten? It ought to teach dissenters what they are to expect hereafter, when they have served them so far (by taking off the tests and the penal laws) as to enable them with safety to remember all their former pretended transgressions. Let them assure themselves the services of the church of England are not now more certainly forgotten, than the sins of dissenters will hereafter, when they have got power to punish them, be most certainly remembered. Be not drawn in then by deceitful words, to help forward your own destruction. If you will not be assistant to it, they cannot do it alone; and it will be very strange if you be persuaded to lend them your help, when the deceit is so apparent. For what are all the present pleas for liberty, but so many infamous libels upon the Roman church, which denies all men this liberty? While they declaim so loudly against persecution, they most notoriously reproach popery, which subsists by nothing but deceit and cruelty. And who can think that they would suffer their church to be so exposed and reviled as it is by such discourses, but with a design to cheat heedless people into its obedience? For this end they can hear it proved, nay prove it themselves, to be an anti-christian church; when they prove it is against Christianity, nay, against the law of nature and common reason, to trouble any body for his opinion in religion.

X. Once more then I beseech you, be not deceived by good words, if you love your liberty and your life. Call to mind how our poor brethren in France were very lately deluded by the repeated protestations which their king made, he would observe the edict of Nantz (which was the foundation of their liberty) even then, when he was about to overthrow it; and by many assurances which were given them by those who came to torment them, that the king intended to reform the church of France as soon as he had united his subjects. What he had done already against the court of Rome, they told them was an instance of it, and they should shortly see other matters. Such ensnaring words they heard there daily from the mouths of their armed persecutors, who were ready to fall upon them, or had begun to oppress them; and, therefore, they would be arrant fools here, if they did not give good words when they have no power to hurt us. But we shall be far greater fools if we believe they will keep their word, when they have got that power. They have no other way but this, to wheedle us out of our laws and liberties. Do but surrender the one, I mean our laws, and they will soon take away the other, our beloved liberties. But be not tempted to make such a dangerous experiment; but let the laws stand as they are, because they are against them, (as appears by their earnest endeavours to repeal them,) and be not used as tools to take them away, because they have been grievous to you. They never can be so again. For can they who now court you have the face to turn them again upon you, after they have made all this noise for liberty? And the church of England, you may be assured, will not any more trouble you; but when a protestant prince shall come, will join in the healing of all our breaches, by removing all things out of the way which have long hindered that blessed work. They cannot meet together in a body to give you this assurance, (how should they without the king's authority so to do?) but every particular person that I have discoursed withal, which are not a few, (and you yourselves would do well to ask them when you meet them,) profess that they see an absolute necessity of making an end of these differences that have almost undone us, and will no longer contend to bring all men to one uniformity, but promote an uniform liberty. Do not imagine I intend to give mere words; I mean, honestly, such a regular liberty as will be the beauty and honour, not the blot and discredit of our religion. To such a temper the Archbishop of Canterbury, with several other bishops of his province, and their clergy, have openly declared they are willing to come: and the bishops and clergy of the church of England have never been known to act deceitfully. Our religion will not at any time allow them to equivocate, nor to give good words without a meaning. Much less at such a time as this, when our religion is in great danger; and we have nothing to trust unto but God's protection of sincere persons. Let integrity and uprightness preserve us is their constant prayer. They can hope for no help from Heaven, if they should prevaricate with men. God they know would desert them, if they should go about to delude their brethren. And they are not so void of sense, as to adventure to incur his most high displeasure, when they have nothing to rely upon but his favour.

In short, trust to those who own you for their brethren, as you do them; for though they have been angry brethren, yet there is hope of reconciliation between such near relations. But put no confidence in those, who not only utterly disown any such relation to you, but have ever treated you with an implacable hatred as their most mortal enemies, unto whom it is impossible they should be reconciled.

Prov. xii. 19, 20, "The lips of truth shall be established for ever: but a lying tongue is but for a moment.

"Lying lips are an abomination to the Lord: but they that deal truly are his delight."

An Apology for the Church of England, with Relation to the Spirit of Persecution, for which she is accused. By Bishop Burnet.

Gilbert Burnet, D. D., after an active share in many of the political proceedings of Charles II.'s reign, had retired to the continent, and was now settled at the court of the Prince of Orange. Here he did not fail, with that ready insinuation which seems to have distinguished him, to make himself of consequence to the prince, and especially to the princess, afterwards Queen Mary. From this place of refuge, he sent forth several papers, in single sheets, relating to the controversy in England: and the clergy, who had formerly looked upon him with some suspicion, began now to treat with great attention and respect a person so capable of serving their cause. He was consulted upon every emergency; which confidence was no doubt owing partly to his situation near the person of the Prince of Orange, the protestant heir to the crown. He stood forward as the champion of the church of England, in the controversy with Parker concerning the test. In the History of his own Times, the bishop talks with complacency of the sway which circumstances had given him among the clergy, and of the important matters which fell under his management; for, by express command of the Prince of Orange, he was admitted into all the secrets of the English intrigues. These insinuations of Burnet's importance, although they afterwards drew the ridicule of Pope and the tory wits of Queen Anne's reign, may, from the very satire of Dryden, be proved to have been well founded. This acquired consequence of Burnet with the church of England is the alliance between the Pigeon-house and Buzzard, which Dryden reprobates, believing, or wishing to make others believe, that Burnet held opinions unfavourable to episcopacy. James considered this divine as so formidable an enemy, that he wrote two very severe letters to his daughter against him, and proceeded so far as to insist that he should be forbidden the court; a request which could not be evaded, but did not prevent his privately receiving a double degree of countenance. A prosecution for high treason was next commenced against Burnet, and a demand was made that he should be delivered up, which the States eluded, declaring that he was naturalized by marrying a Dutch lady. The court of England were then supposed to have formed a plan, of kidnapping, or perhaps assassinating him, and a reward of £3000 was offered for this service. Burnet, however, confident in the protection of the Prince and States of Holland, answered, replied, and retorted, and carried on almost immediate controversy with his sovereign, dated from the court of that sovereign's son-in-law. This active politician had a very important share in the Revolution, and reaped his reward by being advanced to the see of Salisbury. He died on the 17th of March, 1714-15.

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1. One should think that the behaviour of the English clergy for some years past, and the present circumstances in which they are, should set them beyond slander, and by consequence above apologies; yet, since the malice of her enemies works against her with so much spite, and since there is no insinuation that carries so much malice in it, and that seems to have such colours of truth on it, as this of their having set on a severe persecution against the dissenters, of still being soured with that leven, and of carrying the same implacable hatred to them, which the present reputation that they have gained may put them in a further capacity of executing, if another revolution of affairs should give them authority to set about it; it seems necessary to examine it, and

that the rather, because some aggravate this so far, as if nothing were now to be so much dreaded as the church of England's getting out of her present distress.

2. If these imputations were charged on us only by the church of Rome, we should not much wonder at it; for though it argues a good degree of confidence, for any of that communion to declaim against the severities that have been put in practice among us, since their little finger must be heavier than ever our loins were, and to whose scorpions our rods ought not to be compared; yet, after all, we are so much accustomed to their methods, that nothing from them can surprise us. To hear papists declare against persecution, and jesuits cry up liberty of conscience, are, we confess, unusual things; yet there are some degrees of shame, over which, when people are once passed, all things become so familiar to them, that they can no more be put out of countenance. But it seems very strange to us, that some, who, if they are to be believed, are strict to the severest forms and subdivisions of the reformed religion, and that who some years ago were jealous of the smallest steps that the court made, when the danger was more remote; and who cried out popery and persecution, when the design was so masked that some well-meaning men could not miss being deceived by the promises that were made, and the disguises that were put on; that, I say, those very persons who were formerly so distrustful, should now, when the mask is laid off, and the design is avowed, of a sudden grow to be so believing as to throw off all distrust, and to be so gulled as to betray all, and expose us to the rage of those who must needs give some good words till they have gone the round, and tried how effectually they can divide and deceive us, that so they may destroy us the more easily; this is indeed somewhat extraordinary. They are not so ignorant as not to know that popery cannot change its nature, and that cruelty and breach of faith to hereticks are as necessary parts of that religion, as transubstantiation and the pope's supremacy are. If papists were not fools, they must give good words and fair promises, till by these they have so far deluded the poor credulous hereticks, that they may put themselves in a posture to execute the decrees of their church against them; and though we accuse that religion as guilty both of cruelty and treachery, yet we do not think them fools; so till their party is stronger than, God be thanked, it is at present, they can take no other method than that they take. The church of England was the word among them some years ago, liberty of conscience is the word at present; and we have all possible reason to assure us, that the promises for maintaining the one will be as religiously kept as we see those are which are lately made with so great profusion of protestations, and shews of friendship, for the supporting of the other.

3. It were great injustice to charge all the dissenters with the impertinences that have appeared in many addresses of late, or to take our measures of them, for the impudent strains of an Alsop[1] or a Care, or for the more important and now more visible steps that some among them, of a higher form, are every day making; and yet, after all this, it cannot be denied but the several bodies of the dissenters have behaved themselves of late like men that understood too well the true interest of the protestant religion, and of the English government, to sacrifice the whole, and themselves in conclusion, to their private resentments. I hope the same justice will be allowed me in stating the matter relating to the so much decried persecution set on by the church of England, and that I may be suffered to distinguish the heats of some angry and deluded men from the doctrine of the church, and the practices that have been authorized in it, that so I may shew that there is no reason to infer from past errors that we are incurable, or that new opportunities, inviting us again into the same severities, are like to prevail over us to commit the same follies over again. I will first state what is past, with the since-

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[1] Alsop, an alderman of London, presented the address of the dissenters to James, thanking him for the indulgence. His speech, with the address itself, may be seen a few pages higher.

rity that becomes one that would not lie for God, that is, not afraid nor ashamed to confess faults, that will neither aggravate nor extenuate them beyond what is just, and that yet will avoid the saying any thing that may give any cause of offence to any party in the nation.

4. I am sorry that I must confess, that all the parties among us have shewed, that as their turn came to be uppermost, they have forgot the same principles of moderation and liberty, which they all claimed when they were oppressed. If it should shew too much ill nature to examine what the presbytery did in Scotland when the covenant was in dominion, or what the independants have done in New England, why may not I claim the same privilege with relation to the church of England, if severities have been committed by her while she bore rule? Yet it were as easy as it would be invidious to shew, that both presbyterians and independants have carried the principle of rigour in the point of conscience much higher, and have acted more implacably upon it than ever the church of England had done, even in its angriest fits; so that none of them can much reproach another for their excesses in those matters. And as of all the religions in the world, the church of Rome is the most persecuting, and the most bound by her principles to be unalterably cruel, so the church of England is the least persecuting in her principles, and the least obliged to repeat any errors to which the intrigues of court, or the passions incident to all parties may have engaged her, of any national church in Europe. It cannot be said to be any part of our doctrine, when we came out of one of the blackest persecutions that is in history, I mean Q. Mary's, we shewed how little we retained of the cruelty of that church which had provoked us so severely, when not only no enquiries were made into the illegal acts of fury that were committed in that persecuting reign, but even the persecutors themselves lived among us at ease and in peace, and no penal law was made, except against the publick exercise of that religion, till a great many rebellions and treasons extorted them from us for our own preservation. This is an instance of the clemency of our church that perhaps cannot be matched in history; and why should it not be supposed, that if God should again put us in the state in which we were of late, that we should imitate so noble a pattern, rather than return to those mistakes of which we are now ashamed?

5. It is to be considered, that upon the late king's restoration, the remembrance of the former war, the ill usage that our clergy met with in their sequestrations, the angry resentments of the cavalier party, who were ruined by the war, the interest of the court to have all those principles condemned that had occasioned it, the heat that all parties that have been ill used are apt to fall into upon a revolution, but above all, the practices of those who have still blown the coals, and set us one against another, that so they might not only have a divided force to deal with, but might by turns make the divisions among us serve their ends; all these, I say, concurred to make us lose the happy opportunity that was offered, in the year 1660, to have healed all our divisions, and to have triumphed over all the dissenters, not by ruining them, but by overcoming them with a spirit of love and gentleness, which is the only victory that a generous Christian temper can desire. In short, unhappy councils were followed, and several laws were made. But after all, it was the court-party that carried it for rougher methods; some considerable accidents, not necessary to be here mentioned, as they stopped the mouths of some that had formed a wiser project, so they gave a fatal advantage to angry and crafty men, that to our misfortune had too great a stroke in the conduct of our affairs at that time. The spirit of severity was heightened by the practices of the papists, who engaged the late king, in December 1662, to give a declaration for liberty of conscience. Those who knew the secret of his religion, as they saw that it aimed at the introduction to popery, so they thought there was no way so effectual for the keeping out of popery as the maintaining the uniformity, and the suppressing all designs for a toleration. But while those who managed this used a due reserve in not

discovering the secret motive that led them to it, and others fled unto severity as the principle in vogue; and thus all the slacknings of the rigour of the laws during the first Dutch war, that were set on upon the pretence of quieting the nation, and of encouraging trade, were resisted by the instruments of an honest minister of state, who knew as well then, as we do now, what lay at bottom, when liberty of conscience was pretended.

6. Upon that minister's disgrace, some that saw but the half of the secret, perceiving in the court a great inclination to toleration, and being willing to take measures quite different from those of the former ministry, they entered into a treaty for a comprehension of some dissenters, and the tolerating of others, and some bishops and clergymen, that were inferior to none of the age in which they lived for true worth and a right judgment of things, engaged so far, and with so much success into this project, that the matter seemed done, all things being concerted among some of the most considerable men of the different parties. But the dislike of that ministry, and the jealousy of the ill designs of the court, gave so strong a prejudice against this, that the proposition could not be so much hearkened unto by the House of Commons; and then it appeared how much the whole popish party was alarmed at the project. It is well known with how much detestation they speak of it to this day; though we are now so fully satisfied of their intentions to destroy us, that the zeal which they pretend for us in opposing that design can no more pass upon us.

7. At last, in the year 1672, the design for popery discovering itself, the end that the court had in favouring a toleration became more visible; and when the parliament met, that condemned the declaration for liberty of conscience, the members of the House of Commons, that either were dissenters, or that favoured them, behaving themselves so worthily in concurring with the church of England for stifling that toleration, choosing rather to lose the benefit of it, than to open a breach at which popery came in; that many of the members that were for the church of England promised to procure them a bill of ease for protestant dissenters. But the session was not long enough for bringing that to perfection; and all the sessions of that parliament after that were spent in such a continual struggle between the court and country party, that there was never room given for calm and wise consultations. Yet, though the party of the church of England did not perform what had been promised by some leading men to the dissenters, there was little or nothing done against them after that till the year 1681. So that, for about nine years together, they had their meetings almost as publickly and as regularly as the church of England had their churches, and in all that time, whatsoever particular hardships any of them might have met with in some corners of England, it cannot be denied but they had the free exercise of their religion, at least in most parts.

8. In the year 1678, things began to change their face; it is known, that upon the breaking out of the popish plot, the clergy did universally express a great desire for coming to some temper in the points of conformity: all sorts and ranks of the clergy seemed to be so well disposed towards it, that if it had met with a suitable entertainment, matters might probably have been in a greater measure composed. But the jealousies that those who managed the civil concerns of the nation in the House of Commons took of all that was done at court, or proposed by it, occasioned a fatal breach in our publick councils; in which division the principles and interests, and their disposition to believe well of the court, were determined to be of the king's side. They thought it was a sin to mistrust the late king's word, who assured them of his steadiness to the protestant religion so often, that they firmly depended on it; and his present majesty gave them so many assurances of his maintaining still the church of England, that they believed him likewise; and so thought that the exclusion of him from the crown was a degree of rigour to which they in conscience could not consent.

Upon which they were generally cried out on, as the betrayers of the nation, and of the protestant religion; those who demanded the exclusion and some other securities, to which the bishops would not consent in parliament, looked on them as the chief hindrance that was in their way; and the license of the press at that time was such, that many libels, and some severe discourses, were published against them. Nor can it be denied, that many church-men, who understood not the principles of human society, and the rules of our government, so well as other points of divinity, writ several treatises concerning the measures of submission, that were then as much censured, as their performances since against popery have been deservedly admired. All this gave such a jealousy of them to the nation, that it must be confessed, that the spirit which was then in fermentation, went very high against the church of England, as a confederate at least to popery and tyranny. Nor were several of the nonconformists wanting to inflame this dislike; all secret propositions were so coldly entertained, that they were scarce hearkened unto. The propositions which an eminent divine made, even in his books writ against separation, shewed, that while we maintained the war in the way of dispute, yet we were still willing to treat; for that great man made not those advances towards them without consulting with his superiors. Yet we were then fatally given up to a spirit of dissension; and though the parliament, in 1680, entered upon a project for healing our differences, in which great steps were made to the removing all the occasions of our contests, the leaders of the dissenters, to the amazement of all persons, made no account of this, and even seemed uneasy at it, of which the Earl of Nottingham and Sir Thomas Clarges, that set on that bill with much zeal, can give a more particular account. All these things concurred to make those of the church of England conclude, a little too rashly, that their ruin was resolved on; and then it was no wonder if the spirit of a party, the remembrance of the last war, the present prospect of danger, and above all, the great favour that was shewn them at court, threw them fatally into some angry and violent counsels. Self-preservation is very natural; and it is plain, that many of them took that to be the case, so that, truly speaking, it was not so much at first a spirit of persecution, as a desire of disabling those who they believed intended to ruin them from effecting their designs, that set them on to all those unhappy things that followed. They were animated to all they did by the continued earnestness of the king and duke, and of their ministers. That reproach of justice, and of the profession of the law, who is now so high, was singled out for no other end but to be their common hangman over England; of whom the late king gave this true character: "That he hath neither wit, law, nor common sense, but that he had the impudence of ten carted whores in him."[*] Another buffoon was hired to plague the nation with three or four papers a week, which, to the reproach of the age in which we live, had but too great and too general an effect for poisoning the spirits of the clergy.[1] But those who knew how all this was managed, saw that it was not only set on, but still kept up by the court. If any of the clergy had but preached a word for moderation, he had a chiding sent him presently from the court, that he was from that day marked out as a disaffected person: and when the city of London did very worthily refuse to give informations against their parishioners that had not always conformed, the design having been formed upon that to bring them into the spiritual courts, and excommunicate them, and make them lose their right of voting, and so the charter of London might have been delivered up when so many citizens were by such means shut out of the common council, we remember well how severely they were censured for this, by some that are now dead, and others that are yet alive. I will not go farther into this matter; I will not deny but many of the dissenters were put to great hardships in many parts of England. I cannot deny it, and I am sure I will never justify it; but this I will positively say, having observed it all narrowly, that he must have the brow of a jesuit that can cast this wholly on the church of England, and free the court from it. The beginning and the progress of it came from the court, and from the popish party; and though perhaps every one does not know all the secrets of this matter that others

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[*] This was no less than the celebrated Jefferies, of whom Roger North has given the following extraordinary and pitturesque account:—"This, to conclude, is the summary character of the Lord Chief Justice Jefferies, and needs no interpreter. And since nothing historical is amiss in a design like this, I will subjoin what I have personally noted of that man, and some things of indubitable report concerning him. His friendship and conversation lay much among the good-fellows and humourists, and his delights were accordingly drinking, laughing, singing, kissing, and all the extravagancies of the bottle. He had a set of banterers for the most part near him, as in old time great men kept fools to make them merry; and these fellows, abusing one another and their betters, were a regale to him. And no friendship or dearness could be so great in private, which he would not use ill, and to an extravagant degree in public. No one, that had any expectations from him, was safe from his public contempt and derision, which some of his minions at the bar bitterly felt. Those above, or that could hurt or benefit him, and none else, might depend on fair quarter at his hands. When he was in temper, and matters indifferent came before him, he became his seat of justice better than any other I ever saw in his place. He took a pleasure in mortifying fraudulent attornies, and would deal forth his severities with a sort of majesty. He had extraordinary natural abilities, but little acquired, beyond what practice in affairs had supplied. He talked fluently and with spirit, and his weakness was that he could not reprehend without scolding, and in such Billinsgate language as should not come out of the mouth of any man: He called it giving a *lick* with the rough side of his tongue. It was ordinary to hear him say, 'Go, you are a filthy, lousy, nitty rascal,' with much more of like elegance. Scarce a day passed that he did not chide some one or other at the bar, when he sate in the chancery; and it was commonly a lecture of a quarter of an hour long. And they

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used to say, 'This is yours, my turn will be to-morrow.' He seemed to lay nothing of his business to heart, nor care what he did or left undone, and spent in the chancery court what time he thought fit to spare. Many times, on days of causes, at his house the company have waited five hours in a morning, and after eleven he hath come out inflamed, and staring like one distracted. And that visage he put on when he animadverted on such as he took offence at, which made him a terror to real offenders, whom also he terrified with his face and voice, *as if the thunder of the day of judgment broke over their heads*; and nothing ever made men tremble like his vocal *inflictions*. He loved to insult, and was bold without check; but that only when his place was uppermost. To give an instance,—A city attorney was petitioned against for some abuse, and affidavit was made, that when he was told of my lord chancellor, 'My lord chancellor,' said he, 'I made him;' meaning his being the means to bring him early into city business. When this affidavit was read, 'Well,' said the lord chancellor, 'then I will lay my maker by the heels;' and with that conceit, one of his old friends went to jail. One of these intemperances was fatal to him: There was a scrivener at Wapping brought to hearing for relief against a bummery bond; the contingency of losing all being shewed, the bill was going to be dismissed; but one of the plaintiff's counsel said that he was a strange fellow, and sometimes went to church, sometimes to conventicles, and none could tell what to make of him, and it was thought he was a trimmer. At that the chancellor fired; and 'A trimmer,' said he, 'I have heard much of that monster, but never saw one: come forth, Mr Trimmer, turn you round, and let us see your shape;' and at that rate talked so long, that the poor fellow was ready to drop under him. But at last the bill was dismissed with costs, and he went his way. In the hall one of his friends asked him how he came off? 'Come off,' said he, 'I am escaped from the terrors of that man's face, which I would scarce undergo again to save my life; and I shall certainly have the frightful impression of it as long as I live.' Afterwards, when the Prince of Orange came, and all was in confusion, this lord chancellor being very obnoxious, disguised himself, in order to go beyond the sea. He was disguised in a seaman's garb, and drinking a pot in a cellar This scrivener came into the cellar after some of his clients, and his eye caught that face, which made him start; and the chancellor, seeing himself eyed, feigned a cough, and turned to the wall, with his pot in his hand. But Mr Trimmer went out, and gave notice that he was there: whereupon the mob flowed in, and he was in extreme hazard of his life, but the lord mayor saved him and lost himself. For the chancellor being hurried with such croud and noise before him, and appearing so dismally, not only disguised but disordered, and there having been an amity betwixt them, as also a veneration on the lord mayor's part, he had not spirits to sustain the shock, but fell down in a swoon, and in not many hours after died. But this Lord Jefferies came to the seal without any concern at the weight of duty incumbent upon him; for at the first, being merry over a bottle with some of his old friends, one of them told him that he would find the business heavy; 'No,' said he, 'I'll make it light.' But to conclude, with a strange inconsistency, he would drink and be merry, kiss and slaver with these bon companions over night, as the way of such is, and the next day fall upon them ranting and scolding with a virulence insufferable."—*Life of Lord Guildford, by the Hon.* R. NORTH, *Esq. Lond.* 1742, *4to. p.* 219.

[1] Sir Roger L'Estrange is here intimated, whose weekly papers, entitled Observators, had no slight share in keeping up the enmity between the churchmen and the dissenters, for which good services he was pensioned by Charles II. and knighted by his successor. Queen Mary made the following anagram on his name: "Roger L'Estrange—Lye, strange Roger."

may have found out, yet no man was so ignorant as not to see what was the chief spring of all those irregular motions that some of us made at that time; so, upon the whole matter, all that can be made out of this is, that the passions and infirmities of some of the church of England, being unhappily stirred up by the dissenters, they were fatally conducted by the popish party to be the instruments of doing a great deal of mischief.

9. It is not to be doubted, but though some weaker men of the clergy may perhaps still retain their little peevish animosities against the dissenters, yet the wiser and more serious heads of that great and worthy body see now their error; they see who drove them on in it: and as they have appeared against popery, with as great a strength of learning and of firm steadiness as perhaps can be met with in all church history, so it cannot be doubted but their reflections on the dangers into which our divisions have thrown us, have given them truer notions with relation to a rigorous conformity; and that the just detestation which they have expressed of the corruptions of the church of Rome had led them to consider and abhor one of the worst things in it; I mean their severity towards hereticks, and the ill use that they see the court has made of their zeal for supporting the crown, to justify the subversion of our government, that is now set on from some of their large and unwary expressions, will certainly make them hereafter more cautious in meddling with politicks. The bishops have under their hands both disowned that wide extent of the prerogative to the over-turning of the law, and declare their disposition to come to a temper in matters of conformity; and there seems to be no doubt left of the sincerity of their intentions in that matter. Their piety and virtue, and the prospect that they now have of suffering themselves, put us beyond all doubt as to their sincerity; and if ever God in his providence brings us again into a settled state, out of the storm into which our passions and folly, as well as the treachery of others, has brought us, it cannot be imagined that the bishops will go off from those moderate resolutions which they have now declared, and they continuing firm to them, the weak and indiscreet passions of any of the inferior clergy must needs vanish, when they are under the conduct of wise and worthy leaders. And I will boldly say this, that if the church of England, after she has got out of this storm, will return to hearken to the peevishness of some sore men, she will be abandoned both of God and man, and will set both Heaven and earth against her. The nation sees too visibly how dear the dispute about conformity has cost us, to stand any more upon such punctilios: and those in whom our deliverance is wrapt up understand this matter too well, and judge too right of it, to imagine that ever they will be priest-ridden in this point. So that all considerations concur to make us conclude, that there is no danger of our splitting a second time upon the same rock: and indeed, if any argument were wanting to complete the certainty of this point, the wise and generous behaviour of the main body of the dissenters, in this present juncture, has given them so just a title to our friendship, that we must resolve to set all the world against us, if we can ever forget it, and if we do not make them all the returns of ease and favour when it is in our power to do it.

10. It is to be hoped, that when this is laid together, it will have that effect on all sober and true protestants, as to make them forget the little angry heats that have been among us, and even to forget the injuries that have been done us: All that we do now one against another is to shorten the work of our enemies, by destroying one another, which must in conclusion turn to all our ruin. It is a madman's revenge to destroy our friends that we may do a pleasure to our enemies, upon their giving us some good words; and if the dissenters can trust to papists, after the usage that the church of England has met with at their hands, all the comfort that they promise themselves, when popery begins to act its natural part amongst us, and to set Smith-

field again in a fire, is that which befel some quakers at Rome, who were first put into the Inquisition, but were afterwards removed to Bedlam; so that those false brethren among the dissenters, who deceive them at present, are certainly no changelings, but know well what they are doing; yet those who can be cheated by them may well claim the priviledge of a Bedlam, when their folly has left them no other retreat.

11. I will not digress too far from my present purpose, nor enter into a discussion of the dispensing power, which was so effectually overthrown the other day at the King's-Bench bar,[1] that I am sure all the authority of the bench itself is no more able to support it: Yet some late papers in favour of it give me occasion to add a little relating to that point. It is true, the assertor of dispensing power, who has lately appeared with allowance, pretends that it can only be applied to the test for public employments; for he owns, that the test for both houses of parliament is left entire, as not within the compass of this extent of the prerogative: but another writer, whom by his sense we must conclude an Irishman, by his brow a jesuit, and by the bare designation in the title-page of James Stewart's Letter, a quaker, goes a strain higher, and thinks the king is so absolutely the sovereign as to the legislative part of our government, that he may dissolve even the parliament test: so humbly has he leapt from being a secretary to a rebellion to be an advocate for tyranny. He fancies, that because no parliament can bind another, therefore they cannot limit the preliminaries to a subsequent parliament. But upon what is it then that counties have but two knights, and burroughs as many?—that men below such a value have no vote?—that sheriffs only receive writs and return elections?—besides many more necessary requisites to the making a legal parliament. In short, if laws do not regulate the election and constitution of a parliament, all these things may be overthrown, and the king may cast the whole government in a new mould, as well as dissolve the obligation that is on the members of parliament for taking the test.

It is true, that as soon as the parliament is legally met and constituted, it is tied by no laws, so far as not to repeal them; but the preliminaries to a parliament are still sacred, as long as the law stands that settled them; for the members are still in the quality of ordinary subjects, and not entered upon their share in the legislative power till they are constituted in parliament legally chosen and lawfully assembled, that is, having observed all the requisites of the law. But I leave that impudent letter to return to the most rational apology that has been yet writ for the dispensing power. It yields, that the king cannot abrogate laws, and pretends only that he can dispense with them; and the distinction it puts between abrogation and dispensation is, that the one is a total repeal of the law, and that the other is only a slackning of its obligatory force with relation to a particular man, or to any body of men; so that according to him a simple abrogation, or a total repeal, is beyond the compass of the prerogative. I desire then that this doctrine may be applied to the following words of the declaration, from which the reader may infer whether these do import a simple abrogation or not, and by consequence, if the declaration is not illegal, "We do hereby further declare, that it is our royal will and pleasure that the oaths commonly called the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and also the several tests and declarations——shall not at any time hereafter be required to be taken, declared, or subscribed by any person or persons whatsoever who is or shall be employed in any office or place of trust, either civil or military, under us or in our government." This is plain English, and needs no commentary. This paper offers likewise an expedient for securing liberty of conscience, by which it will be set beyond even the dispensing power; and that is, that by act of parliament all persecution may be declared to be a thing evil in itself, and then the prerogative cannot reach it. But unless this author fancies that a parliament is that which those of the church of Rome believe a general council to be, I mean infallible, I do not see that such an act would signify any thing at all. An act of parliament cannot change the nature of things, which are sullen, and will not alter because a hard word is clapt on them in an act of parliament; nor can that make that which is not evil of itself become evil of itself. For can any act of parliament make the clipping of money, or the not burying in woollen, evil of itself? Such an act were indeed null of itself, and would sink with its own weight, even without the burdens of the prerogative to press it down: and yet upon such a sandy foundation would these men have us build all our hopes and our securities. Another topick like this is, that we ought to trust to the truth of our religion, and the providence and protection of God, and not to lean so much to laws and tests. All this were very pertinent, if God had not already given us humane assurances against the rage of our enemies, which we are now desired to abandon, that so we may fall an easy and cheap sacrifice to those who wait for the favourable moment to destroy us: by the same reason they may persuade us to take off all our doors, or at least all our locks and bolts, and to sleep in this exposed condition, trusting to God's protection. The simile may appear a little too high, though it is really short of the matter; for we had better trust ourselves to all the thieves and robbers of the town, who would be perhaps contented with a part of our goods, than to those designs which are equally against both soul and body, and all that is dear to us.

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[1] In the celebrated trial of the bishops.

12. I will only add another reflection upon the renewing of the declaration this year, which has occasioned the present storm upon the clergy. It is repeated to us, that so we may see that the king continues firm to the promises he made last year. Yet when men of honour have once given their word, they take it ill if any do not trust to that, but must needs have it repeated to them. In the ordinary commerce of the world, the repeating of promises over and over again is rather a ground of suspicion than of confidence; and if we judge of the accomplishment of all the other parts of the declaration from that one which relates to the maintaining of the church of England, as by law established, the proceedings against the fellows of Magdalen College gives us no reason to conclude that this will be like the laws of the Medes and Persians, which alter not; all the talk of the new Magna Charta cannot lay us asleep, when we see so little regard had to the old one. As for the security which is offered us in this repeating of the king's promises, we must crave leave to remember, that the King of France, even after he had resolved to break the edict of Nantz, yet repeated, in above an hundred edicts, that were real and visible violations of that edict, a clause confirmatory of the edict of Nantz, declaring that he would never violate it: and in that we may see what an account is to be had of all promises made to hereticks, in matters of religion, by any prince of the Roman communion, but more particularly by a prince who has put the conduct of his conscience in the hands of a jesuit.

A Letter wrote by Mijn Heer Fagel, Pensioner of Holland, to Mr James Stewart, Advocate, giving an Account of the Prince and Princess of Orange's Thoughts concerning the Repeal of the Test and the Penal Laws.

The eyes of all men were at this time turned on the Prince of Orange, whose opinions respecting James's proceedings were very likely either to crush the opposition made to them, or to blow it into an irresistible flame.—"Complaints," says Burnet, then resident at the Hague, "came daily over from England of all the high things that the priests were every where throwing out. Pen the quaker came over to Holland. He was a talking, vain man, who had been long in the king's favour, he being the vice-admiral's son. He had such an opinion of his own faculty of persuading, that he thought none could stand before it; though he was singular in that opinion, for he had a tedious luscious way that was not apt to overcome a man's reason, though it might tire his patience. He undertook to persuade the prince to come into the king's measures, and had two or three long audiences of him upon the subject; and he and I spent some hours together on it. The prince readily consented to a toleration of popery as well as of the dissenters, provided it were proposed and passed in parliament; and he promised his assistance, if there was need of it, to get it to pass: but for the tests, he would enter into no treaty about them. He said it was a plain betraying the security of the protestant religion to give them up. Nothing was left unsaid that might move him to agree to this in the way of interest: the king would enter into an entire confidence with him, and would put his best friends in the chief trust. Pen undertook for this so positively, that he seemed to believe it himself, for he was a great proficient in the art of dissimulation. Many suspected that he was a concealed papist: it is certain he was much with father Petre, and was particularly trusted by the Earl of Sunderland. So, though he did not pretend any commission for what he promised, yet we looked on him as a man employed. To all this the prince replied, that no man was more for toleration in principle than he was: he thought the conscience was only subject to God; and as far as a general toleration, even of papists, would content the king, he would concur in it heartily. But he looked on the test as such a real security, and indeed the only one, that he would join in no counsels with those that intended to repeal those laws that enacted them. Pen said the king would have all or nothing; but that if this was once done, the king would secure the toleration by a solemn and unalterable law. To this the late repeal of the edict of Nantes, that was declared perpetual and irrevocable, furnished an answer that admitted of no reply. So Pen's negociation with the prince had no effect."—BURNET, III. 1182.

It became necessary to apprize those who opposed James's measures, *i. e.* almost all his protestant subjects, of the sentiments of the Prince of Orange concerning the penal laws and dispensing power. This was through the medium of the following letter from the grand pensioner of Holland, which was industriously dispersed through England.

SIR,

I AM extreme sorry that my ill health hath so long hindered me from answering those letters, in which you so earnestly desired to know of me what their highnesses thoughts are concerning the repeal of the penal laws, and more particularly of that concerning the test. I beg you to assure yourself, that I will deal very plainly with you in this matter, and without reserve, since you say that your letters were writ by the king's knowledge and allowance. I must then, first of all, assure you very positively, that their highnesses have often declared, as they did it more particularly to the Marquiss of Albeville, his majesty's envoy extraordinary to the states, that it is their opinion, that no Christian ought to be persecuted for his conscience, or be ill used because he differs from the publick and established religion: And therefore they can consent, that the papists in England, Scotland, and Ireland be suffered to continue in their religion, with as much liberty as is allowed them by the states in these provinces; in which it cannot be denied that they enjoy a full liberty of conscience. And as for the dissenters, their highnesses do not only consent, but do heartily approve of their having an entire liberty for the full exercise of their religion, without any trouble or hindrance, so that none may be able to give them the least disturbance upon that account.

And their highnesses are very ready, in case his majesty shall think fit to desire it, to declare their willingness to concur in the settling and confirming this liberty; and, as far as it lies in them, they will protect and defend it, and, according to the language of treaties, they will confirm it with their guaranty, of which you made mention in yours.

And if his majesty shall think fit farther to desire their concurrence in the repealing of the penal laws, they are ready to give it, provided always that those laws remain still in their full vigour, by which the Roman catholicks are shut out of both houses of parliament, and out of all publick employments, ecclesiastical, civil, and military; as likewise all those other laws which confirm the protestant religion, and which secure it against all the attempts of the Roman catholicks.

But their highnesses cannot agree to the repeal of the test, or of those other penal laws last mentioned, that tend to the security of the protestant religion, since the Roman catholicks receive no other prejudice from these than the being excluded from parliaments, or from publick employments: And that by them the protestant religion is covered from all the designs of the Roman catholicks against it, or against the publick safety; and neither the test nor these other laws can be said to carry in them any severity against the Roman catholicks upon account of their consciences: they are only provisions qualifying men to be members of parliament, or to be capable of bearing office, by which they must declare before God and man that they are for the protestant religion. So that indeed all this amounts to no more than a securing the protestant religion from any prejudices that it may receive from the Roman catholicks.

Their highnesses have thought, and do still think, that more than this ought not to be asked or expected from them; since by this means the Roman catholicks and their posterity will be for ever secured from all trouble in their persons or estates, or in the exercise of their religion: and that the Roman catholicks ought to be satisfied with this, and not to disquiet the kingdom because they cannot be admitted to sit in parliament, or to be in employments; or because those laws, in which the security of the protestant religion does chiefly consist, are not repealed, by which they may be put in a condition to overturn it.

Their highnesses do also believe, that the dissenters will be fully satisfied when they shall be for ever covered from all danger of being disturbed, or punished for the free exercise of their religion, upon any sort of pretence whatsoever.

Their highnesses having declared themselves so positively in these matters, it seems very plain to me, that they are far from being any hindrance to the freeing the dissenters from the severity of the penal laws, since they are ready to use their utmost endeavours for the establishing of it; nor do they at all press the denying to the Roman catholicks the exercise of their religion, provided it be managed modestly, and without pomp or ostentation. As for my own part, I ever was, and still am, very much against all those who would persecute any Christian because he differs from the publick and established religion: And I hope, by the grace of God, to continue still in the same mind; for since that light with which religion illuminates our mind is, according to my sense of things, purely an effect of the mercy of God to us, we ought then, as I think, to render to God all possible thanks for his goodness to us; and to have pity for those who are still shut up in error, even as God has pitied us, and to put up most earnest prayers to God for bringing those into the way of truth who stray from it, and to use all gentle and friendly methods for reducing them to it.

But I confess I could never comprehend how any that profess themselves Christians, and that may enjoy their religion freely and without any disturbance, can judge it lawful for them to go about to disturb the quiet of any kingdom or state, or to overturn constitutions, that so they themselves may be admitted to employments; and that those laws, in which the security and quiet of the established religion consists, should be shaken.

It is plain that the reformed religion is, by the grace of God and by the laws of the land, enacted by both king and parliament, the publick and established religion both in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that it is provided by those laws, that none can be admitted either to a place in parliament, or to any publick employment, except those that do openly declare that they are of the protestant religion, and not the Roman catholicks; and it is also provided by their laws, that the protestant religion shall be in all time coming secured from the designs of the Roman catholicks against it; in all which I do not see that these laws contain any severity, either against the persons or estates of those who cannot take those tests, that are contrary to the Roman catholick religion: all the inconveniences that can rebound to them from thence is, that their persons, their estates, and even the exercise of their religion being assured to them, only they can have no share in the government, nor in offices of trust, as long as their consciences do not allow them to take these tests: and they are not suffered to do any thing that is to the prejudice of the reformed religion.

Since, as I have already told you, their highnesses are ready to concur with his majesty for the repeal of those penal laws, by which men are made liable to fines or other punishments:

So I see there remains no difficulty concerning the repealing the penal laws, but only this, that some would have the Roman catholicks rendered capable of all publick trusts and employments, and that by consequence all those should be repealed that have secured the protestant religion against the designs of the Roman catholicks; where others at the same time are not less earnest to have those laws maintained in their full and due vigour, and think that the chief security of the established religion consists in the preserving of them sacred and unshaken.

It is certain that there is no kingdom, common-wealth, or any constituted body or assembly whatsoever, in which there are not laws made for the safety thereof, and that provide against all attempts whatsoever that disturb their peace, and that prescribe the conditions and qualities that they judge necessary for all that shall bear employments in that kingdom, state, or corporation: And no man can pretend that there is any injury done him, that he is not admitted to employments when he doth not satisfy the conditions and qualities required.

Nor can it be denied, that there is a great difference to be observed in the conduct of those of the reformed religion and of the Roman catholicks towards one another: The Roman catholicks not being satisfied to exclude the reformed from all places of profit or of trust, they do absolutely suppress the whole exercise of that religion, and severely persecute all that profess it; and this they do in all those places where it is safe and without danger to carry on that rigour: And I am sorry that we have at this present so many deplorable instances of this severity before our eyes, that is at the same time put in practice in so many different places.

I would therefore gladly see one single good reason to move a protestant that fears God, and that is concerned for his religion, to consent to the repealing of those laws that have been enacted by the authority of king and parliament, which have no other tendency but to the security of the reformed religion, and to the restraining of the Roman catholicks from a capacity of overturning it. These laws inflict neither fines nor punishments, and do only exclude the Roman catholicks from a share in the government, who by being in employments must needs study to increase their party, and to gain to it more credit and power, which, by what we see every day, we must conclude will be extremely dangerous to the reformed religion, and must turn to its great prejudice; since in all places those that are in publick employments do naturally favour that religion of which they are, either more or less. And who would go about to persuade me, or any man else, to endeavour to move their highnesses, whom God hath honoured so far as to make them the protectors of his church, to approve of, or to consent to things so hurtful, both to the reformed religion and to the publick safety? Nor can I, sir, with your good leave, in any way grant what you apprehend, that no prejudice will thereby redound to the reformed religion.

I know it is commonly said, that the number of the Roman catholicks in England and Scotland is very inconsiderable; and that they are possessed only of a very small number of the places of trust: though even as to this the case is quite different in Ireland; yet this you must of necessity grant me, that if their numbers are small, then it is not reasonable that the publick peace should be disturbed on the account of so few persons, especially when so great a favour may be offered to them, such as the free exercise of their religion would be: and if their numbers are greater, then there is so much the more reason to be afraid of them. I do indeed believe that the Roman catholicks, as things at present stand, will not be very desirous to be in publick offices and employments, nor that they will make any attempts upon the reformed religion, both because this is contrary to law, and because of the great inconveniences that this may bring at some other time both on their persons and their estates; yet if the restraints of the law were once taken off, you would see them brought into the government, and the chief offices and places of trust would be put in their hands. Nor will it be easy to his majesty to resist them in this, how steadfast soever he may be; for they will certainly press him hard in it, and they will represent this to the king, as a matter in which his conscience will be concerned. And when they are possessed of the publick offices, what will be left for the protestants to do, who will find no more the support of the law, and can expect little encouragement from such magistrates? And, on the other hand, the advantages that the Roman catholicks would find in being thus let loose from all restraints are so plain, that it were a loss of time to go about the proving it. I neither can nor will doubt of the sincerity of his majesty's intentions, and that he has no other design before him in this matter, but that all his subjects may enjoy in all things the same rights and freedoms.

But plain reason, as well as the experience of all ages, the present as well as the past, shews that it will be impossible for Roman catholicks and protestants, when they are mixed together in places of trust and publick employments, to live together peaceably, or to maintain a good correspondence together. They will be certainly always jealous of one another; for the principles and maxims of both religions are so opposite to one another, that, in my opinion, I do not see how it will be in the power of any prince or king whatsoever to keep down those suspicions and animosities which will be apt to arise upon all occasions.

As for that which you apprehend, that the dissenters shall not be delivered from the penal laws that are made against them, unless at the same time the test be likewise repealed, this will be indeed a great unhappiness to them; but the Roman catholicks are only to blame for it, who will rather be content that they and their posterity should lie still under the weight of the penal laws, and exposed to the hatred of the whole nation, than be still restrained from a capacity of attempting any thing against the peace and the security of the protestant religion, and be deprived of that small advantage (if it is at all to be reckoned one) of having a share in the government and publick employments, since in all places of the world this has been always the priviledge of the religion that is established by law: and indeed these attempts of the Roman catholicks ought to be so much the more suspected and guarded against by protestants, in that they see that Roman catholicks, even when liable to the severity of penal laws, do yet endeavour to persuade his majesty to make the protestants, whether they will or not, dissolve that security which they have for their religion; and to clear a way for bringing in the Roman catholicks to the government, and to publick employments, in which case there would remain no relief for them but what were to be expected from a Roman catholick government.

Such then will be very unjust to their highnesses, who shall blame them for any inconveniency that may arise from thence, since they have declared themselves so freely on this subject, and that so much to the advantage even of the Roman catholicks. And since the settlement of matters sticks at this single point, that their highnesses cannot be brought to consent to things that are so contrary to laws already in being, and that are so dangerous and hurtful to the protestant religion, as the admitting of Roman catholicks to a share in the government and to places of trust, and the repealing of those laws, that can have no other effect but the securing of the protestant religion from all the attempts of the Roman catholicks against it would be.

You write, that the Roman catholicks in these provinces are not shut out from employments and places of trust; but in this you are much mistaken, for our laws are express, excluding them by name from all share in the government, and from all employments either of the policy or justice of our country. It is true, I do not know of any express law that shuts them out of military employments; that had indeed been hard, since in the first formation of our state they joined with us in defending our publick liberty, and did us eminent service during the wars; therefore they were not shut out from those military employments, for the publick safety was no way endangered by this, both because their numbers which served in our troops were not great, and because the states could easily prevent any inconveniences that might arise out of that, which could not have been done so easily if the Roman catholicks had been admitted to a share in the government, and in the policy or justice of our state.

I am very certain of this, of which I could give very good proofs, that there is nothing which their highnesses desire so much as that his majesty may reign happily, and in an entire confidence with his subjects; and that his subjects, being persuaded of his majesty's fatherly affection to them, may be ready to make him all the returns of duty that are in their power: But their highnesses are convinced in their consciences, that both the protestant religion and the safety of the nation would be exposed to the most certain dangers if either the test, or those other penal laws of which I have made frequent mention, should be repealed: "Therefore they cannot consent to this, nor concur with his majesty's will; for they believe they should have much to answer for to God, if the consideration of any present advantages should carry them to consent and concur in things which they believe would be not only dangerous but mischievous to the protestant religion."

Their highnesses have ever paid a most profound duty to his majesty, which they will always continue to do, for they consider themselves bound to it both by the laws of God and of nature; but since the matter that is now in hand relates not to the making of new laws, but to the total repealing of those already made both by king and parliament, they do not see how it can be expected of them that they should consent to such a repeal, to which they have so just an aversion, as being a thing that is contrary to the laws and customs of all Christian states, whether protestants or papists, who receive none to a share in the government, or to publick employments, but those who profess the publick and established religion, and that take care to secure it against all attempts whatsoever.

I do not think it necessary to demonstrate to you how much their highnesses are devoted to his majesty, of which they gave such real evidences as are beyond all verbal ones; and they are resolved still to continue in the same duty and affection, or rather to encrease it, if that is possible.

I am, sir, yours, &c.

Nov. 4, 1687.

Amsterdam: Printed in the year 1688.

The Church of England's Complaint in Vindication of her Loyalty.

Nothing more surprised and mortified James than perceiving, when it was too late, that the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, so often expressed as the proper and genuine principles of the church of England, admitted refinements and distinctions which rendered it totally unsafe to exact compliance with them to the uttermost. Yet he had been warned of what he had to expect, since Lord Dartmouth's Manuscript Notes on Burnet contain the following passage, p. 595:—" Not long before his (Bishop Morley's) death, (for he then kept his chamber,) my father carried me with him to Farnham castle. I was not above twelve years old, but remember the bishop talked much of the duke, and concluded with desiring my father to tell him from him, that if ever he depended upon the doctrine of non-resistance, he would find himself deceived, for there were very few of that opinion, though there were not many of the church of England that thought proper to contradict it in terms, but was very sure they would in practice. My father told me he had frequently put King James in mind of Morley's last message to him, though to very little purpose; for all the answer was, that the bishop was a very good man, but grown old and timorous."—Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, *Lond.* 1790, 8. *II.* 159.

Yet though the violent and even strained professions of loyalty during the reign of Charles II. did not prevent the clergy from resisting the tyranny of his successor, they afforded vantage-ground for those who upbraided, like the author of the following tract, the clergy of England with departure from that implicit obedience to royalty, in which they once seemed to place the sum of public virtue.

If ever mother had just reason to complain of her children, and expostulate the case with them, certainly it is I. If ever children did dishonour their parent, or at any time blast her reputation, they are now mine.

I, who formerly gloried in my stedfast and unshaken loyalty; I, who, by my many canons and ecclesiastical constitutions, established the regal authority against all papal and popular, foreign and domestick power; I, who so often declared it unlawful for any subject, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up offensive or defensive arms against their sovereign; I, who contemned my sister churches, as teaching doctrines and positions lessening that towering loyalty which I professed, and particularly her of Rome, for maintaining a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction, though only in *meer spiri-*

tual matters,—now find my reputation tainted, my loyalty brought in question, and my constant adherence to my own canons and constitutions not only doubted of, but denied; whilst the malice of some of my children bring in a foreign power to invade my sovereign's rights, under a meer pretence of supporting my grandeur, and raise popular tumults for the establishing my peace; whilst the irregular zeal of others makes them draw their swords against their and my head and sovereign in the most unnatural quarrel; and others, who should have stood up to support my honour, not only look on with an affected silence, but by covert ways abet rebellion.

"He who spares the rod," says Solomon, "spoils the child;" and this, I fear, has been my case. The evil seems, by my neglect, to have taken root, and spread its branches to a large extent; and should I, in this juncture of affairs, make use of my maternal power, or ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and publickly disinherit, or denounce them to be no members of my body who have broken my canons and constitutions, to which an excommunication, *ipso facto*, is annexed, I might fear to exasperate, rather than recal my children to a due obedience: nay, I might justly apprehend a vast diminution in my numbers; and they who have given this wound to their mother's honour, by calling in or abetting a foreign power against her head, would also contemn my censures, and never sue for absolution.

But losers, they say, have leave to speak; I hope then it may be allowed me, even at this time, to speak my mind freely, and read a lecture of duty and obedience to my children.

And to whom shall I address myself, but to them whose ecclesiastical dignity has given them not only authority to teach my children their duty, but to compel them also by censures to it? And particularly to you, my seven sons, who of late gained so vast a reputation by opposing majesty, that no emblem but the seven golden candlesticks was thought sufficient to express your glory: And this so much the rather, because it is surmised that occasion has been taken, from your examples, to advance too far, and pass over the bulwarks of passive obedience and non-resistance into the open campaigns of rebellion.

You know what articles, canons, and constitutions have been established by me in your predecessor's times; and what obligations all my children have lain under by them: but you know also how little they have been put in execution.

You know, that from my first establishment I declared in my 37th article, that "the king's majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England and other his dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought not, to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction;" and this without any limitation.

You know also, that in the [1] canons and constitutions set forth in the first year of King James the First, "Not only the inferior clergy, but the Archbishop of Canterbury himself, is obliged to keep and observe faithfully, and (as much as in them lies) see that others keep and observe all and every the statutes and laws confirming the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the kings of England. And that all who have the cure of souls, preachers &c. shall teach, that all foreign and usurped power has, for just causes, been taken away and abolished; and therefore no obedience or subjection is in any manner due, in these his majesty's kingdoms and dominions, to any foreign power whatsoever.——But that the regal authority is the first and supreme, next under God, to which all persons are obliged by the law of God to pay all fidelity and obedience above any other power upon earth."

That in the 2d of those canons, "They are to be excommunicated [2] *ipso facto*, who shall presume, in any manner, to hurt or lessen the said regal primacy, established by the laws of the kingdom: And that this excommunication shall not be taken off but by the archbishop, and that not till they repent, and publickly recal those impious errors."

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[1] Sparow's Canons, p. 271.

[2] *Lædere aut extenuare.*—Orig. Notes.

From whence it naturally follows, that to bring in or abet any foreign jurisdiction (without exception) against our lawful sovereign, upon any pretence whatsoever, whether ecclesiastical or civil, is to go directly against my doctrine delivered in my thirty-nine articles, against the established laws of this nation, against my canons and constitutions, and such a crime as is justly called impious, and incurs an excommunication, *ipso facto.*

You know, moreover, that in my latter[1] canons and constitutions, published in the year 40, (to prevent those intestine broils which threatened the nation, and brought it presently after to ruin,) several explanations of the regal power were commanded to be read by every parson, vicar, curate, or preacher, upon some one Sunday in every quarter of the year at morning-prayer; which explanations declared at large,

1. "That the most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right, and that God has given them a supreme power to rule and command in their several dominions, all persons of what rank or estate soever, whether ecclesiastical or civil, and to restrain and punish with the temporal sword, all stubborn and wicked doers.

2. "That the care of God's church is committed to kings; who are commended by God when the church keeps the right way, and taxed by him in holy Scriptures when it runs amiss." But it is no where said, that either a foreign or domestick power may compel him to do, or punish him for not performing his duty.

3. "That the power to call and dissolve councils, both national and provincial, is the true right of all Christian kings within their own realms and territories: And when, in the first times of Christ's church, prelates used this power, it was therefore only because in those days they had no Christian kings: And it was then so only used as in times of persecution, that is, with supposition (in case it were required) of submitting their lives unto the very laws and commands, even of those pagan princes, that they might not so much as seem to disturb their civil government, which Christ came to confirm, but by no means to undermine."

From whence it follows, that the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience is what is taught in the primitive church, as necessary to be practised even towards heathens, and their laws, much more ought it to be now towards Christian princes.

4. "That for any person, or persons, to set up, maintain, or avow, in any their realms or teritories respectively, any independent, co-active power, either papal or popular, (whether directly or indirectly) is to undermine their great royal office, and cunningly to overthrow that most sacred ordinance which God himself hath established; and so is treasonable against God, as well as against the king."

And certainly, if it was then my duty to cry out against any independent, co-active power, either papal or popular, it is no less my duty now to disavow any foreign or domestick power, though protestant.

5. "That for subjects to bear arms against their kings, offensive or defensive, upon any pretence whatsoever, (whether for religion or property, it matters not) is at least to resist the powers which are ordained of God: And though they do not invade, but only resist, St Paul tells them plainly, "They shall receive to themselves damnation."

6. "They declare, that though tribute and custom, and aid and subsidy, and all manner of necessary support and supply, be respectively due to kings from their subjects, by the law of God, nature, and nations, for the publick defence, care, and protection of them, yet nevertheless subjects have not only possession of, but a true and

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[1] Sparow's Canons, p. 345.—*Orig. Note.*

just title to, and in, all their goods and estates, and ought to have: And these two are so far from crossing one another, that they mutually go together, for the honourable and comfortable support of both: For as it is the duty of the subjects to supply their king, so is it part of the kingly office to support his subjects in the property and freedom of their estates.

7. "They decreed, that if any parson, vicar, curate, or preacher, shall voluntarily, or carelessly neglect his duty in publishing the said explications and conclusions, according to the order above described, he shall be suspended by his ordinary, till such time as upon his penitence he shall give sufficient assurance, or evidence, of his amendment, &c.

8. "They do thereby also require archbishops, bishops, and all other inferior priests and ministers, that they preach, teach, and exhort their people to obey, honour, and serve their king: And that they presume not to speak of his majesty's power in any other way than in this canon is expressed.

9. "And lastly, if any parson, vicar, curate, preacher, or any other ecclesiastical person whatsoever, shall in any sermon, lecture, common-place, determination, or disputation, either by word or writing, publickly maintain, or abet, any position or conclusion, in opposition or impeachment of the aforesaid explications, or any part or article of them, he shall forthwith, by the power of his majesty's commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, be excommunicated (till he repent) and suspended two years from all the profits of his benefice, or other ecclesiastical, academical, or scholastical preferments," &c.

You know also, that these canons and constitutions do bind you no less now in 88, than they did your predecessors in 41, it having been decreed,[1] "That whosoever shall hereafter affirm, that a most holy synod of this nation is not representatively the true church of England, or that no persons, whether of the clergy or laity, are any ways obliged by the said decrees, touching ecclesiastical matters, who were not personally present in the same[2] holy synod, as not having given their votes or consent, shall be excommunicated, and by no means to be absolved, till he have repented and publickly recalled this wicked error."

I must desire you also to call to mind the oaths which you and all my other children of the clergy took, when you entered into that sacred function, as also the declarations you subscribed when you became incumbents.

The first, at your ordination, was in these words:

"I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare in my conscience,[3] that the king's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other his highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and, therefore, I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise, that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegiance to the king's highness, his heirs, and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, privileges, pre-eminences, and authorities, granted or belonging to the king's highness, his heirs, and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So help me God, and the contents of this book."

The second oath, or declaration, is before their admission to be incumbents, in these words:

"I, A. B., declare, that it is not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take arms against the king;[4] and that I abhor that traitorous position of taking arms, by his authority, against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him," &c.

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[1] Sparrow's Can. p. 333. Can. 139. [2] Can. 140. [3] *Ibid.* p. 145. [4] Act of Uniformity, 14 Car. II.
Orig. Notes.

These are my articles, canons, constitutions, and declarations, loyal indeed in their expressions, and such as religiously maintain my known doctrine of non-resistance, upon any account whatsoever, and passive obedience, where conscience will not permit an active. These are the oaths you yourselves have taken, and the declarations you have subscribed. The censures are high, even those of excommunication *ipso facto*; and the laws are made equally against any foreign or domestick power, papal or popular, prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate.

But what does it avail me to make laws and canons for my children, if they will not pay obedience? I can see my sister churches religiously obeyed, and all their children look upon themselves as bound, under a mortal sin, to obey their parent, though no excommunications were annexed; but, alas! all my commands are slighted, even from the observation of my feasts and fasts, to my allegiance to my sovereign; and you who should stand by me, and by your censures, as well as your examples, vindicate my power, and maintain my honour, take no care to put my canons in execution; nay, which is yet more, join with the multitude of my rebellious children, and by a criminal silence in this case, equally blast my reputation.

Consider, I pray (my lords) your station and your duty. You are my principal children, who ought to stand as bulwarks to defend my faith and doctrine, and not only by your discourses, sermons, and examples, teach my inferior children their duties, but, by ecclesiastical censures and excommunications, compel them to it. But, alas! how faintly do you comply with this obligation?

You see a foreign power is entered into this nation in an hostile manner, pretending to give laws to mine and your liege sovereign; you see persons of all conditions join themselves with this invader, and take up arms against my king, contrary to their sworn allegiance, and in opposition to my doctrine of non-resistance; and what canon, constitution, or ecclesiastical censure have you published against them? Have you pronounced this invasion unlawful, and all the subjects of the King of England, who join with the invader, traitors both to their king and their God, and such as resist the powers that are of God, and shall receive to themselves damnation? Have you issued out your commands to the inferior clergy, to read the several explanations of the regal power, and preach up that obedience which is due, and the necessary resistance which every subject ought to make against the invaders of their country? Have you excommunicated a Burnet, though liable to an ecclesiastical censure? Has any of you opened your mouths against the most perfidious treachery of a C——, who calls me still his mother? In a word, what is it you have done to maintain my doctrines, or secure me from the reproaches that are daily cast upon me?

Is not all the world ready to say at present, what a noble peer said some time ago to King Charles II. "The church of England is, we see, like other Christian churches, obedient, as long as it consists with her interest to obey, and for a king as long as a king is for her; but setting aside those cases, she can dispense with passive obedience and non-resistance, as well as any of her puritan neighbours?" And have you done any thing to remove the obloquy?

Nay, let me come a little closer to the point: Have not some of your order been accused of calling this invader into your country? Has not the prince himself declared as much? Does not this reflect upon my honour as well as yours? And have you vindicated either yourselves or me? What could there have been more easy, or more seasonable, for the vindication of both our reputations, than to have denied the fact, and published an abhorrence of such a treacherous and unparalleled invasion? And yet we see nothing but a profound silence, which some say is the certain sign of guilt.

A silence, I say, unless you will call your last petition your defence, whilst others look upon it as a publick acknowledgment of your being guilty;—a petition, which, besides the unpracticableness of what is desired in it, a free parliament, at a juncture, when neither the king, lords, nor commons, can be free; being published at this time, and without his majesty's most gracious answer, is looked upon, by most moderate men, as an open abetting of the Prince of Orange's design by this invasion, and a siding with him.

Let me a little expostulate the case with you. Pray tell me, is not the Prince of Orange a foreign enemy? Are not many of those who join with him subjects of the King of England? Has not he and they entered the kingdom in an hostile manner? Does he not now seize upon the king's revenues? Has he not stript his soldiers, who would not join in the most treacherous action that ever saw the light? Has he not erected a formal treasury? Does he not pretend to settle the nation, redress grievances, and force, or fright, the king to a compliance? Has he not forbid the publick prayers for our dread sovereign, and ordered them to be offered for himself? All this you cannot deny; pray then tell me further, What law, canon, or constitution, has given him this power, superiority, or dominion, over our king or kingdom? What case of conscience has absolved the king's subjects from their allegiance? Who is it that has dispensed with all the oaths you or they have taken, or can they be dispensed with? What is there can make the most unnatural invasion lawful, and rebellion, which is as the sin of witchcraft, become a virtue? If no man must resist, or take up arms in any case against the king, what colourable pretence can any one produce to vindicate the actions? Is the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience mine, or is it not? If you cannot answer categorically to these questions, but you must necessarily condemn this invasion and rebellion, and all the adherents or abettors of it, pray tell me, whether a silence in those that are obliged to speak, have their liberty, and may hope to prevail by speaking, be not in the highest nature criminal?

You know what esteem you have gained in the minds of the people by opposing the king, and not publishing his declaration for liberty of other persons consciences, which liberty you thought was inconsistent with your own; so that what you now say to them, will be looked upon almost as sacred; but if you be not now as stout in opposing a foreign power, and suppressing domestick broils, will it not be inferred, either that you approve of the invasion, or have lost your courage, or acted then more by passion than reason or religion? I must needs tell you, that some are not afraid to whisper, nay, to speak it out, "That you had not been then so courageous, if you had not foreseen this invasion, and that the seven trumpets now appears to have been a fitter emblem than the seven candlesticks." And thus that glory which you then gained begins to tarnish, and the garland withers upon your temple, by your being silent, and you still affect it.

But you will perhaps still say with the mobile, The prince comes not to hurt us, but to protect us and our religion. You will also, it may be, say that those laws, canons, and constitutions, which were made against a foreign power, were only meant against the pope and popery, but not against a protestant prince, who comes only to secure us against the designs of papists.

But if you say this, speak softly, lest you entirely ruin my reputation, and instead of repelling the calumny, clench it by such distinctions. Is not King James II. my lawful sovereign, against whom this foreign invader comes? Are not you, and all his liege subjects, bound by all the ties of God, of nature, and of nations, to defend him against any power whatever, papal or popular, foreign or domestick? Suppose he had gone about to persecute my children, or pull me down, (though I must needs say, the promises he made me, and the methods he was taking to secure my right, would have been the most solid establishment for me, even to envy in future ages,) is not passive obedience and non-resistance my known doctrine? What pretence then can you, or any of my children, have to join with such a foreign power, abet rebellion, or stand with folded arms, without pronouncing sentence against such rebels?

Have you such a charm as can turn what would be treason, treachery, and rebellion in a papist, into protestant virtues? I dare say, if the Bishop of Rome, or any Roman catholick king, prince, or potentate, had, in the beginning of the protestant reformation, entered into this kingdom in such an hostile manner, for the defence of the ancient liberties and religion of the nation, as then by law established, you would have proclaimed them unjust invaders, and all the subjects of these kingdoms, that would not join in the repelling of them, traitors. And is the case now changed, because the Prince of Orange is a protestant, and our gracious king a Roman catholick? Is that a virtue in a protestant prince, which would be the highest crime in a Roman catholick king? Was the intended invasion in *1588* looked upon by me as a most wicked undertaking, and justly punished by an avenging fire, and shall not that of 1688 be as much condemned, because this is a protestant invasion, and that a Roman catholick? Have you so frequently condemned the Roman catholick religion, and instilled an aversion into the people's minds, by laying bloody principles to their charge; and will you now assert, that it is lawful for protestants to defend their religion against their sovereign by invasions, rebellions, tumults, rapines, seditions, massacres, bloodshed, and all the dire effects of war?

"*Tell not these things* in Gath, publish them not in the streets of Askelon, lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph." Tell them not (I say) lest not only our brethren of other nations, but even heathens themselves, should scoff at our morality.

I have heard of several Roman catholicks, who, being interrogated by publick authority, whether, if the Bishop of Rome should come into England, they would stand for the pope or for the king, made answer, "*If the pope come in with his books* and beads, we will be for him; but if he come in with sword and pistol, *we will fight against* him." And shall they, whose principles we censure, exceed us in the degrees of loyalty? What shame, what confusion, will this be to us in after-ages! when God, who will vindicate the right of kings, shall again establish our sovereign's throne in peace? This will be a blot to be hit by every polemick writer; my reputation, thus lost, will never be regained, and I shall always be put in mind of the wise man's advice, "Fear God, honour the king, and meddle not with those that are given to change."

Let me beg of you then (my beloved children) to consider your mother's honour and reputation, if you will not reflect upon your own. Let not my doctrines and principles *be laid aside*, and those that are contrary to them embraced by you. Let it not be objected that I have changed my faith, and instead of even passive obedience and non-resistance, now go about to preserve my rights and privileges by an invader's sword and rebel's arms; but, on the contrary, labour to regain your own reputations, and repair my blasted honour, by an unshaken steadfastness to your sovereign.

Publish boldly the abhorrence of this treacherous invasion, which is the only way to clear your innocence, and confute the invader's accusation. Move your brethren to send forth your joint injunctions to all the inferior clergy, commanding them to preach obedience and non-resistance to the people, and by that means quell the fury of the rabble. *Declare all those to be* excommunicated persons, whom the king declares to be traitors. Pronounce rebellion to be as the sin of witchcraft; and that they who curse the king in their thoughts, shall have a bird of the air carry the voice, and an avenging God to punish the offence. Stand up now, before it be too late, for my doctrine of non-resistance, and then you need not fear the being exercised in that of passive obedience. For when our gracious sovereign shall by that means see your loyalty in practice, as well as doctrine, he will be as constant to his promises, as you can be to your principles; and if I maintain the right of kings, he will maintain me as *by law* established.

A new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty.

With Allowance.

> "Hitherto we have only seen the most decent part of the controversy, which, at this time, raged between the king and the church of England, when they stood forth on each side in their own characters, and for that reason were obliged to observe decorum; but in the two following pieces, or in the first of them at least, we shall find that the same temper and decency were not always observed. The church of England, it is plain, could not act up to her own professions, and the moment they hesitated, the king forgot their services. In the expostulations that followed, the gall of each party overflowed; and as, on the one hand, the courtiers would not allow the churchmen to be loyal, so, on the other, the churchmen were resolved not to lose the first opportunity that offered to make the courtiers eat their words, or, if not, to make them sensible that they had given them a sufficient provocation to be otherwise."

I HAVE often considered, but could never yet find a convincing reason, why that part of the nation (which is commonly called the church of England) should dare appropriate to themselves alone the principles of true loyalty, and that no other church or communion on earth can be consistent with monarchy, or indeed with any government.

This is a presumption of so high a nature, that it renders the church of England a despicable enemy to the rest of mankind. For what can be more ridiculous than to say, that a congregation of people calling themselves a *church*, which cannot pretend to an infallibility even in matters of faith, having since their first institution made several fundamental changes of religious worship, should, however, assume to themselves an inerrability in point of civil obedience to the temporal magistrate? Or what can be more injurious than to aver, that no other sect or community on earth, from the rising to the setting sun, can be capable of this singular gift of loyalty? So that the church of England alone (if you have faith enough to believe her own testimony) is that beautiful spouse of Christ, holy in her doctrine, and infallible in her duty to the supreme magistrate, whom (by a revelation peculiar to herself) she owns both for her temporal and spiritual head. But I doubt much whether her *ipsa dixit* alone will pass current with all the nations of the universe, without making further search into the veracity of this bold assertion.

We will allow them, however, (and that's the only thing, in my opinion, they can value themselves upon,) that most of the members of this communion have been faithful and serviceable to King Charles I., during the unhappy commotions in his reign: but they must allow us, on the other hand, that it was the ambition of that church to force an universal uniformity to her liturgy and discipline, occasioned that war; and the good king lost both his life and crown in the attempt. And, I pray, what work of supererrogation is it in them, not to have joined with the common enemy to cut their own throats? or to have done that which the law of nature dictates to every individual in his own defence? The case of the Romanists in those days was quite different from theirs, for they freely exposed their lives and fortunes in the king's service, without any regard or prospect of self-interest; for whether his majesty lost or won, they expected no benefit by the change. They were to hope for no quarter from the rebels, (for it was never known that any of their communion served that party;) and on the other side, the king himself seemed to disown them in all treaties with the parliament, and banished them at last both from his court and army, to comply with the importunities of his own protestant party, who would needs have it so. It is much doubted, whether those of the church of England, had they met with recompenses of this kind, would have been half so forward to serve a prince, who, instead of cherishing and rewarding, should reject and banish them, though they take never so much pains now to persuade the world that loyalty is of the essence of their religion. Let us but examine the carriage and behaviour of this church, both in her infancy and now in her old age, and we shall easily perceive the vast difference between the loyalty of her members to catholic princes; and the fidelity of catholics to protestant kings.

She began her infancy under Edward VI., an infant king, when that famous confession of faith was compiled in thirty-nine articles. No sooner was Edward called away, but she endeavoured, with all her might and power, to set up a brat of her own to possess the crown, and to exclude Queen Mary, the only legitimate child of Henry VIII., because she was a catholic. After Queen Mary's death, Elizabeth, a known bastard, raised this prelatic protestancy called the church of England, as a prop to support the weakness of her title; and they no sooner found themselves re-established, than they enacted these bloody canibal laws, (a sufficient testimony of their moderation and tenderness) **to hang, draw, and quarter the priests of the living God,** from whom they themselves pretend to derive their immediate succession; *laws that have been,* and are to this day, abhorred and exclaimed against by all the reformed churches of Christendom. Imprisonment, banishment, and confiscation of goods, were the moderate church of England's laws in favour of the laity, but severely executed in those days. And, to crown the extraordinary loyalty of the members of this church, they barbarously murdered the undoubted Queen of Scotland, the Queen Dowager of France, and the lawful heir of the crown of England, inhumanly denying her a priest of her own communion to assist her in the agony of death.

The greatest zealots of the church of England will not, I hope, have the confidence to alledge, that this execrable fact, and the first of the kind, was contrived and executed by presbyterians, independants, or anabaptists. Our records and histories clearly make out, that the members of that church were the only men who then voted in parliament, who sate in council, who were the commissioners delegated to try and condemn Mary Queen of Scots, and the lawful Queen of England, whom they beheaded on a public scaffold, to the scandal and reproach of Christianity; and this done without the least remorse or repentance, no prelate, peer, judge, or senator of that communion, having ever yet declared his resentment against this barbarous act. Behold here an incomparable sort of loyalty, to set up the title of a bastard, and to murder the legitimate heir. And some have affirmed in print that King Charles I. came to the same tragical end, for being too zealously devoted to a church, which proved so cruel and treacherous to his grandmother, and gave the first precedent of cutting off a crowned head by the hands of a hangman.

If, therefore, assisting usurpers to invade the crown; if condemning and executing the lawful prince; if persecuting their fellow subjects with death and confiscation of goods; and if standing out in opposition to their sovereign, when he is of another religion; if these, I say, be sufficient testimonies of loyalty, we must own the church of England to have been hitherto unparalleled in her duty. But if this be not the true test of loyal subjects, I doubt our rock of loyalty will soon degenerate into *a rock of* scandal, of disobedience and rebellion; whereof we need no further evidence than her present behaviour, now in her old age, towards our gracious sovereign King James II.

His sacred majesty no sooner took possession of the throne, than he was graciously pleased to make a most favourable declaration in behalf of the members of the church of England, promising to maintain that church as it was by law established: and this early promise from a prince, who was known to be always true to his word, seemed to elevate their drooping spirits, and dissipate those dismal clouds of fearful apprehensions, which their ill jealousy was apt enough to conceive of a prince of the Roman communion.[1] So that it might be rationally expected from a people so prudent and loyal as these of the church of England would pass for in the world, to do something on their part that might express a grateful acknowledgment; which could be no less than the repeal of the sanguinary penal laws, and the late impious tests: the first being purposely enacted to maintain the usurpation of Queen Elizabeth, and the last being contrived designedly to exclude the present king. But my loyal gentlemen have been hitherto so far out of the right bias, that, in lieu of taking off the tests and penal laws, (which all people expected from them in point of gratitude and good manners,) they made a solemn address to his majesty, that none should be employed who were not capacitated by the said laws and tests to bear offices civil and military. That is to say, in short, your majesty must have none, either in your army, or at court about your person, but such as really believe, and will swear to it, that you are an idolator; for that's the plain English of the test. Now let me ask any indifferent man, what security can a prince have, who must keep none about him but such Christians that are fully convinced in their own judgment that he is a pagan? If the same people made it penal heretofore in the reign of King Charles II. to call the king a papist, or a heretic, upon a supposition that that true protestant subject could not be faithful to the king, if he were suspected to be any way inclined to popery or heresy, what security can they now give that the same protestants will be true to a prince who is a declared papist, and an heathen to boot, by a new article of faith, which is of greater force and value than the thirty-nine that went before?

"But (says the zealous protestant of the mother church) if you repeal the test, you take away the bulwark that defends the church; for if that were once demolished, the enemy would rush in, and possess all. And it is a delicate innocent church that cannot be safe but in a fortified place." I must confess it is a great argument of her modesty, to own herself weak and unable to subsist without the support of parliamentary laws to hang, draw, and quarter her opposers; and without a coercive power too in herself to fine and excommunicate all recusants and nonconformists. Prayer, fasting, mortification of the flesh, and other austerities, are not, it seems, so proper means to remove the fears and jealousies of her tender conscience, she must make use of more powerful engines for her own security. The primitive Christians flourished under persecution for the space of three hundred years, and the catholics of these kingdoms have been almost continually suffering these hundred and fifty years past. If this new protestant church be from God, why should they despair of the same providence, without being guarded by so many acts of parliament? Where is the assurance that the apostolical church (as they call themselves) should have in the assistance of the Holy Ghost, who is to continue with the true church till the consummation of the world? And what is now become of this celebrated loyalty to the temporal prince, which no people could have in so eminent a degree as those of the church of England? It is very remarkable that the Roman catholics constantly adhered to King Charles I., when he disowned and rejected them, and that the church of England protestants do not now trust King James II. when he gives them so many fresh assurances of his royal protection; whereby the vast difference between the loyalty of the one, and that of the other, is clearly discerned.

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[1] James II. and the church of England set out on the highest terms of good humour. "I know," said the king, in his declaration in council, "the principles of the church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it have shown themselves good and loyal subjects, therefore I shall always take care to protect and defend it." This explicit promise was received with expressions of the deepest gratitude. But when it was perceived that the king meant to annex the recall of the test as an equivalent to his own persuasion for the protection and defence promised to the church of England, the scene shifted entirely.

As for the tests themselves, it is not my province to shew the absurdities of them in point of doctrine; for my business is, to set forth in its own colours the extraordinary loyalty of these men, who obstinately maintain a test contrived by the faction to usher in the **Bill of Exclusion**; though, by the by, I must hold it a great folly to say that transubstantiation is not a probable opinion at least, considering the number and learning of those who maintain it, which is the best part of Christendom; and if it be a probable opinion, it must be a great temerity in any man to swear there is no such thing. And, seeing the real presence of Christ's body in the Eucharist, is confessed by the most eminent divines of the Reformation, and by the greatest prelates and most famous doctors of the church of England, I should think that this new tenet, which makes it idolatry to adore the divine body of Christ, (whether there be a transubstantiation or not,) must certainly favour more of a Mahometan than of Christian doctrine. And it is much admired, (even by some of her own children,) that the grave and matron-like church of England, which values herself so much for her antiquity, should be over-fond of a new point of faith lately broached by a famous act of an infallible English parliament convened at Westminster, and guided by the holy spirit of Shaftsbury. But I doubt there are some parliaments in the world, which will not so easily admit this new article into their creed; though the church of England labours so much to maintain it, as a special evidence of her singular loyalty.

So that, upon the whole matter, the loyal church of England must either change her old principles of loyalty, and take example by her catholic neighbours how to behave herself towards a prince who is not of her persuasion, or she must give his majesty leave not to nourish a snake in his own bosom, but rather to withdraw his royal protection, which was promised upon the account of her constant fidelity; for it is an approved axiom in philosophy, *Cessante causa tollitur effectus*; and we have a common saying of our own, *No longer pipe, no longer dance.* And now let us leave the holy mother church at liberty to consult what new measures of loyalty she ought to take for her own dear interest, and, for ought I know, it may be worth her serious consideration.

Some Considerations about the new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty, in a Letter from a Country Gentleman; occasioned by the present Invasion.

In this age of controversy, it was not to be supposed that so bold a Tract as the preceding, stigmatizing the church of England with inconsistence and disloyalty, and concluding with an innuendo, which sounded very like a threat of her destruction, should have past without an answer. The following indignant vindication seems to have appeared almost immediately after the pamphlet to which it is a reply.

SIR,

I HAVE great obligations to you for the continual accounts you send me; I have not power, or, if I had, I am not at leisure to express my engagements. For to tell you truly, your late accounts of our strange revolutions do so fill my thoughts, that I am pausing upon them continually. Indeed you have all along represented things as became that important station and honourable character you bore when the crown was in danger the time before. But I must needs say, that in these latter relations you have so instructed me, that I am at a perfect loss with myself whether you have been more just or kind; for, as indeed the case required, you have given me such a particular view of things, that if I lived in London, and had those complete freedoms which you enjoy with so many men of sense and quality, yet I should never be able to form so exact an idea of our publick affairs as I take from your paper, as it lies before me. I have also had the pleasure of entertaining my friends at your expence, for so the honesty and ingenuity of your letters required I should. Besides, it was necessary to inform my neighbours, that we might find out by consultation which were the best methods to serve his majesty, now his necessity calls for our help again, and his wisdom does us the honour to command it.

You remember, sir, (since you made us happy in your conversation,) what a considerable neighbourhood we have, how persons of honour and quality, loyalty, and conformity, live thick about us, and what a powerful influence they have upon the common people, I leave this to your reflection. But it was necessary I should put you in mind of it, in order to what I am going to say; for now I am coming to set down those thoughts which caused you this trouble.

And yet, before I can speak directly, I must observe the seasonableness of these considerations.

"There is a time for every purpose," said the wise King Solomon, and 'tis made good in this particular; for if that be the time to consider and expose false reasonings, when our adversaries are bound to take notice of what we say, then this is the very time to vindicate ourselves from those odious slanders which have been outrageously thrown upon us. Particularly in May 1687, there came out a scandalous paper, called A new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty; the design of which paper is to prove, that our ecclesiastical constitution, as 'tis now reformed, was hatched, nourished, and supported to this day, by disloyal and treacherous practices. I need not prove that this is the pretence of the paper, for we ourselves remember it sufficiently, and the author of it will not, I am sure, pretend that I misrepresent him.

If all the instances he brought to prove his accusation had been true, it had yet been no blemish to our church at all.

'Tis an horrid practice of these adversaries, and they have been as loudly told of their reasonings against us, to the damage, and, if they could, to the ruin of our common Christianity. And such, amongst many others, is this method of reasoning against men's practices in spight of their principles. For what if some of our members prove disloyal, 'tis yet no more reproach upon our ecclesiastical constitution, than the wicked lives of Christians, if objected by a Turk, would be an argument against the divine institution of our blessed Lord himself.

Thus his paper would have been good for nothing if his instances had been true, but how utterly false they are his judicious answerers have plentifully shewn.

These worthy persons have done more than was necessary in exposing this paper, for every common reader discerned the deceit of it, and therefore it it not my intention to add any particular reflections; though, if I wrote to gratify any pique, I could not forbear, there are so many lewd things in the paper which have not been yet exposed; but my design is only to shew our unthinking adversaries the plain consequences of it, and how much mischief this paper, and that which followed to abet it, now does the royal cause, till a mark of infamy be fixed upon them.

For, in a word, the dispute is not between him and me, but between these rascally papers and his most sacred majesty.

For the plain relation of the case is this:

His majesty, upon his coming to the crown, did graciously (let me add) and gratefully acknowledge our loyalty. His sacred words are these: "I know the principles of the church of England are for monarchy, and the members of it have shewn themselves good and loyal subjects."

And again, at the opening of the parliament, May 23, 1685: "What I said to my privy council at my first coming there, I am desirous to renew to you, wherein I fully declared my opinion concerning the principles of the church of England, whose members have shewed themselves eminently loyal in the worst of times, in defence of my father, and support of my brother of blessed memory:" here are principles and practices too. But this little author, on the contrary, says, "We must change our old principles of loyalty." This, surely, is bad enough to be said directly in the face of our royal master, and if it were for this reason only, methinks the paper should not have an allowance to the printing.

Perhaps they will excuse themselves by saying, as they have done, that we have forfeited the king's protection, and so he may break his word with us.

They have said so indeed, to the king's damage, but be sure our present circumstances will convince them that 'tis false, and then there will be no remedy, but this desperate paper must be stigmatized, or else it will fly in the king's face, and deceive posterity into an opinion that he began his reign with (what I abhor to mention) a solemn and deliberate falsehood in his mouth. But there is yet another scene of mischiefs which will be sure to follow, if this paper be still protected.

We heard some reports, or amusements rather, about the Dutch preparations; but when you sent the king's proclamation, dated the 28th of September last, we then thought seriously of things, and stood on tiptoes, as it were, to see what was the matter, and what measures would be taken.

When behold we found the king so far from believing that we had forfeited our right to his promise and protection, or that we were disloyal and treacherous, as this pamphlet slanders us, that he did not think himself safe till we again were made his life-guard.

I might alledge many things to prove what I now assert, but I only alledge that famous proclamation, as posterity will call it, dated the 17th of October last, by which proclamation the king entrusts again all his corporations in the hands of the church of England.

We thank the king abundantly for his goodness towards us; but 'tis not my present business to invent handsome expressions, for we are now considering the mighty trust, and taking notice how it flatly contradicts this provoking pamphlet; so that a second time the matter comes to be debated, as it were, between this wicked author and our dread sovereign.

But the king, as he is gracious, so he has manifested himself to be superlatively tender to those of his own persuasion, and so I shall insist no longer upon this mischief, lest I wholly lose my labour; for I am dealing with adversaries who care not much for the king's honour, as they have shewn the world abundantly, and the king surely has too much goodness to insist upon it against them.

But now, if the members of this communion should fail him! A man that loves his king and country does even shrink at the supposition; but, because there is no harm in the bare supposal, we will imagine that they may. I need not be told that we ought to do our duty to the king, whatever disappointments or severities we meet with, and, by the grace of God, we resolve that we will.[1]

But yet these men should consider, that we are frail men, and our passions may be provoked till they master our reason, and then indeed, though we shall be guilty, yet neither will they be innocent, and be sure the misery will be chiefly theirs.

And now let's look upon those high provocations they give us. 'Tis plain, if the king may be judge from first to last, they are all unreasonable, and that is a most provoking circumstance.

But I shall be so exceeding fair with our adversaries as to overlook a whole multitude of exasperations, and confine myself to this bold paper; and this surely will oblige them, and so will have some good effect.

'Tis twice already within the compass of seven years that we have hazarded our lives and fortunes in the service and defence of this very prince, and by God's goodness have been successful too, and that is an endearing circumstance.

But now that we are called upon for farther assistances, we shall be apt to enquire what returns have been made to our past services?

I never mean from the king, but from the papists, for they are the greatest gainers, and, being our fellow subjects, are to be sure our debtors.

Why, if this question should be asked, and may be answered, it must be replied, That by way of recompence we are reproached as disloyal and treacherous, in a paper that comes out *with allowance*, and so is made into a record against us, and shall, so far as they can effect it, be an evidence to posterity, that ever since the Reformation we are one continued race of villains.

Now this is a carriage would amaze one beyond what any exclamation, or notes of admiration, can describe; but as I direct myself to the Romanists, so I shall not attempt to move them by any passion or affection, or any thing less than the king's and their own dear interest.

We ought indeed to do our duty, through evil report and good report, as the apostle expresses it, and by the grace of God we will.

But yet we are a mixture; for, like other societies of men, the tares and the wheat grow up together.

What a stupid folly, therefore, and desperate madness it is to jeer us out of our loyalty, as in another paper, printed *permissu superiorum*, or to tempt and provoke us to be disloyal, by slandering and reproaching of us upon record for a race of traitors, notwithstanding all our eminent services to the crown.

I say, what stupid folly and desperate madness is it to use us thus, when, if they could prevail upon us, they themselves must perish for their pains!

But if our reasoning upon all that's past proves ineffectual, yet now methinks, when his majesty wants and trusts to us so much, now surely they ought to lay all the engagements upon us, and give us all the encouragements that ever they can, to obey the king and defend them.

To say only that 'tis our duty, and we are bound to do it, is to say plainly that they know nothing of human nature; and to give yet a farther proof to the world, that they have no skill at all in politics.

The wisdom of our prince has judged far otherwise, for he has condescended to do several acts of grace, and to renew his promises, that so he might the more engage and encourage us to serve him.

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[1] "Rest well assured," the Pardelis replied,
"My sons would all support the regal side,
Though Heaven forbid the cause by battle should be tried."

Until the landing of the Prince of Orange, no one ventured distinctly to state what ought to be the conduct of church-of-England men in such an event. But assurances of loyalty, qualified like that in the text, afforded the king but little reason to rely on their assistance.

So that they must again go contrary to the king's prudence, as well as against his interest, if they do not make amends for the injuries they have done us. This is so plainly reasonable, that I suppose we agree thus far.

But here comes the pinch of the business: What injuries have they done us? And what amends would we have them make us?

I have limited myself before to consider only this new test, and I will keep my method; and now that this is an injury with a witness is undeniable.

For unless the king was ignorant after so many years experience of us, or unless he began his reign with a deliberate falsehood in his mouth; or yet again, unless he is now so imprudent, at least, to repose his greatest confidence in this imminent danger in the hands of those whom he knows are false: My reverence for the king strikes me with a sacred awe, whilst I do but set down these things; but yet they are all true, or else this paper is a gross, lying, infamous libel.

And for the mischiefs it does the royal cause, which is the next consideration. Now,

If dangerous temptations and outrageous provocations to be disloyal be an injury to the king's interest? Or again, if the king himself has done wisely in his late condescensions and acts of grace, that so, like God Almighty, he might allure us to do our duty, and encourage us in it?

Why then, like Satan, have they opposed the king's method, discouraging and hindering us all they can, and if still we will be loyal, it is because they are not able to help it.

But then, because we have so much infirmity and corruption about us, it is much to be feared, that, like those wicked instruments, they will slacken some and pervert others from their duty; and thus you see the mischiefs of this wretched paper are only as great as the whole cause itself is worth.

Perhaps you will say I aggravate the matter too far upon a single private paper; but then you do not consider the *allowance*, which makes it a public authentic act, so far as concerns that party; and so long as the paper stands with this mark of public esteem upon it, it is an open declaration that they account us disloyal, and must use us as such whenever they can.

So that, upon the whole, it is necessary to put a mark of disgrace upon this paper, and the very refusing of it is to stand by the allowance, and call us traitors still in opposition to the king, and to all the damage they can do him, by enfeebling those hands in which he puts his greatest hopes.

Perhaps I may be asked why I put men in mind of this again? But this supposes it had been forgotten; whereas I can assure them, their New Test, *printed with allowance*, is still fresh in memory, and I have not revived it, as every body will answer for me. But my honest reason for this paper at this time is, because that now is the season to make us amends, for if they will not do it now, upon so reasonable a demand, they would for certain never have done it, and if they will do it now, they could never have done it at a better time.

I do not at all consider whether this be a clergy or a lay allowance; let us but have a censure against it by any public authority amongst them, and that will be some satisfaction; for we shall thereby see their wisdom and true zeal for the king together.

I have a long time wished that we might try the ingenuity of the Roman catholics in a matter where their religion is nothing concerned, and now here is an opportunity put into their hands, and I hope they will use it well. They may account this for a private paper, but I can assure them the eyes of the nation are now fixed upon them, to see how they will behave themselves, as in other particulars, so in this.

If I did not esteem them as men of understanding, I would suggest how it could be no disgrace or shame, but an honour and reputation to retract or disown this paper publicly.

And now, dear friend, I have said what occurs to my thoughts upon this matter, and I did it because truly I had a mind that something to the purpose should be made public, and I thought it not reasonable to desire it of you without giving some hints of my design; I have now done when I have only added, that the whole is at your disposal absolutely, for I am, &c.

Just as this is coming away, we hear for certain that the Prince of Orange is landed with a great army, which confirms his design, and strengthens the reason of this paper. But now be sure his majesty's affairs do cry mightily for that public satisfaction, which every dutiful son is bound to demand in behalf of his holy mother, the church of England; and, if the Romanists will not give it us in such a necessity, they must be considered as the worst enemies the king has.

An Instance of the Church of England's Loyalty, 1687.

This is another arrow from the same quiver which afforded the New Test of the church of England's loyalty. It rips open the history of Mary Queen of Scots, and is obviously the work of some angry catholic.

THE loyalty of the church of England has been the subject of some late papers, and is now of this discourse. The gentlemen of that communion, especially those who call themselves their clergy, and some others affectionately addicted to their interests, are amazed to find themselves arraigned for want of loyalty, which they have vaunted of to that degree, as to glory in being the only pattern of a Christian church that has yielded an uninterrupted obedience to their princes, without the least blemish to their loyalty, ever since their first establishment. 'Tis confessed that they have acknowledged the divine right of monarchy, by their canons, their writings, and their sermons;[1] that they have consequentially invested their princes with a power, as precedent and superior to, so not capable of being limited and restrained by any human laws; and by the ecclesiastical supremacy, which they have lodged in the crown, they have made their monarchs as great in spirituals, as the laws of God or of the realm have made them in temporals. They have built this power upon the hypothesis of a paternal right, and have guarded it with the impregnable bulwarks of passive obedience and non-resistance.

This doctrine, as we allow it to be true, so we agree it to be the doctrine of the church of England, though we do not find it in any of their public sanctions, (save what is contained in the canons of 1640, which are not in force.) For since they themselves neither obey their canons, nor think themselves obliged to believe their articles, though they subscribe them, but alledge that they subscribe them only as articles of the peace, which they are not to preach against, nor separate communion for; we must allow that to be the doctrine of their church, which their several divines tell us is so.

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[1] Can. Ann. 1640.

And as we allow this to be their doctrine, so, if their practice has been accordingly, we will readily allow their claim of being the best subjects in the world. But as good works, whether meritorious of salvation or not, are yet necessary, at least as demonstrations of faith, from which they necessarily flow, so they must excuse us if we suspend our belief of their singular loyalty, notwithstanding their own specious pretences, till we have examined at least some of their practices, by the rules which themselves have furnished us with, according to the rule, "Shew me thy faith by thy works."

They have been happy in meeting with few occasions of having their loyalty tried; for ever since their establishment, till of late years, the Prince Regnant has been of their communion, and consequently favoured their interest. And, as they have been told already, their adhering to his majesty's father in the time of the late unhappy rebellion, was no such work of supererogation, the quarrel being theirs; and the restraint which they endeavoured to bring all others under, and which Archbishop Laud left no stone unturned to prosecute, having been the cause of that unfortunate war.

Nor was their carriage more meritorious upon the occasion of the late unrighteous Bill of Exclusion; themselves batched it, a great part of their body promoted it, and we may conclude, without any breach of charity, from the following instance, that the reason why the greater part of their clergy appeared with so much concern and indignation against it, was more out of self-interest, than either affection to the royal family or a sense of their duty. *For they could not but see, that the sticklers for that bill levelled at monarchy more than popery; and they knew that no other form of government would be consistent with their hierarchy.*

The instance which I shall insist on, shall be their carriage in the business of Mary Queen of Scots, his present majesty's great-grandmother, which has been objected to them already, but perhaps not urged with so much advantage as it is capable of.

But before I give an account of her history, I think it necessary to take notice, that the church of England asserts the divine right of succession in hereditary monarchies. Indeed it is a natural consequent upon the divine right of monarchy, and upon the hypothesis of the paternal right; but yet, because I am about to give a notorious instance of their receding from this principle, when the practice of it thwarted their interest, it will not be amiss to observe, that they have acknowledged in their several addresses to his present majesty, upon his accession to the crown, "The unalterable and inherent right of succession, which cannot be taken away by the specious formality of a law; that the law of Heaven is not to be violated by an excluding bill upon earth: In others they own an undoubted right of succession by the laws of nature, the unalterable right of proximity of blood: These they call the right notions of loyalty, and the opposite opinion antimonarchical and republican."

Pursuant to these principles, they acknowledge whatever act of parliament hath been, or may be made, to alter the stream of the succession in the right line, to be null and void. The worthy persons that spoke in the House of Commons against the Bill of Exclusion insisted, as one main argument against it, that it was against the principles of their religion, and would be void if it were enacted. And in the Oxford Decrees, July 21, 1683, it is declared to be a false, seditious, and impious position, to assert it lawful to preclude the next heir from his right and succession to the crown.

The next thing is to relate the story of Mary Queen of Scots and Queen Elizabeth. The former was daughter and heir of James V. King of Scotland, who was son and heir of Queen Margaret, wife to King James IV. and the eldest daughter of King Henry VII. so that upon the death of King Henry VIII. without issue of his body, the right of the crown devolved upon the posterity of that queen, whose undoubted heir was the aforesaid Mary Queen of Scots. Now, after the death of Mary Queen of England, Queen Elizabeth was set up here, the only surviving child of King Henry VIII. and the only person in the world that had any pretence to interpose between the Queen of Scots and the crown of England. What her pretence was, and whether it was such as will excuse the church of England, according to this principle of the succession being *jure divino*, in adhering to her in opposition to the title of the Queen of Scots, &c. is now to be enquired.

Queen Elizabeth was the daughter of Anne Bolen, King Henry the VIII.'s second wife; the king indeed was married to her, and their daughter Elizabeth was born before the death of Queen Catharine, his first wife. But since the church of England maintain the lawfulness of Queen Catharine's divorce, and my design in this paper is only to argue from their own principles, I shall wave whatever relates to Queen Catharine, and will suppose the marriage of Anne Bolen to have been as valid as it would have been if Queen Catharine had been actually dead. The illegitimacy then of Queen Elizabeth is apparent upon another account; for King Henry was solemnly divorced from her mother at Lambeth by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, for a precontract which herself confessed, as may be read in Dr Burnet's History of the Reformation.

Now it is well known that a precontract is a good cause of divorce *à Vinculo*, by the law of God and of this realm. That sentence was confirmed by act of parliament *anno* 28 Henry VIII.; which act, so far forth as it concerns Queen Elizabeth, was never expressly repealed; so that nothing can be more evident than her illegitimacy, and consequently that she had no right to the crown by inherent birth-right.

But what pretence of title had she? Why, in the 35th year of King Henry VIII. the king, being then about to go beyond sea, caused an act to be passed for establishing the succession; by which it was enacted, that in case it should happen the king's majesty and Prince Edward his son to decease without issue of either of their bodies lawfully begotten, male or female, that then the crown should be to the Lady Mary, the king's eldest daughter, and to the heirs of her body, and for default of such issue, to the Lady Elizabeth, and the heirs of her body.

This act of parliament was her title, all the title she had, and all that she pretended to: Nay, and by the statute of 1 Eliz. cap. 3, it is enacted, That the limitations of the crown contained in that statute of 35 Henry VIII. shall stand, remain, and be the law of the realm for ever; which statute did not limit the crown to her, but after the death of King Henry without issue of his body, male or female: so that her illegitimacy is tacitly confessed by an act in her own reign. And so conscious was she that her title to the crown depended upon an act of parliament only, that in the 13th year of her reign, it was made high treason to say, that the succession to the crown could not be altered by act of parliament.

Now, under this act of parliament queen, what treasons did not the church of England practise against their natural sovereign? They granted subsidies to assist her Scottish subjects against her; they entered into associations here at home against her; they erected a high court of justice, by act of parliament, on purpose to take her off. That court sentenced her to death. After her condemnation, the parliament petitioned for her execution, each house apart; and the bishops gave their reasons why it ought to be; and then the fatal blow was given.

I shall observe by the way, that before this queen was taken off, and so the succession pretty well secured against popery, the church of England never persecuted any of her protestant dissenters; but as soon as that work was done, and the court likely to continue on their side, then out flies the 35 Eliz. cap. 2, against sectaries; but this *obiter*.

To conclude; If a precontract be a good cause of divorce *à Vinculo*, by the law of

God, which they acknowledge that it is; and if the marriages of princes lie open to these nullities, as well as those of other persons, which will not be denied: If no person can have a right by inherent birth-right, either to a crown or a private inheritance, that is not born or begotten in lawful wedlock, then was Queen Elizabeth illegitimate, and consequently had no right to the crown by inherent birth-right, nor could the act of 35 Henry VIII. give her any, in prejudice of the lawful heir in succession; because the law of God must be obeyed rather than the law of man, and, consequently, Mary Queen of Scots was their liege princess: but she was the heir, and they killed her, that the inheritance might be theirs.

It follows from the premises, that the reformation of the church of England was not so regular as is pretended, but is liable to the same imputation of treason and rebellion wherewith they brand the reformations abroad.

The Trial and Examination of a late Libel, intitled, A new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty; with some Reflections upon the additional Libel, intitled, An Instance of the Church of England's Loyalty.

The church of England has, of late years especially, been on the charitable side towards the papists, and has allowed them to be Christians, and not Anti-christians; nay, to be a true church, and not the synagogue of Satan, and seemed to have utterly forgotten the two fundamental points of popery, That hereticks are to be pursued with fire and sword, which was determined by the Lateran council, under Innocent the Third, and conscientiously practised ever since; and, That faith is not to be kept with hereticks, which the council of Constance determined in the case of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. And in this excess of charity, which hopeth all things and believeth all things, they have hoped against hope, and have exercised strong acts of faith where no faith is; neither have they had any apprehensions of being destroyed, but rather of being saved and protected with fire and sword. But finding in great measure their charity mistaken, to the end that all their disappointments may seem just upon them, they are presently taxed with disloyalty. So Æsop's lamb, when she was to be eaten, was charged by the wolf for muddying the upper part of the stream, which was far above her. In vindication therefore of the church of England, and to shew her innocency in this point, I shall examine this New Test of the church of England's loyalty, where she is tried and cast, weighed in the balance and found light; but, to our comfort, it is by deceitful weights and measures.

The first device is to pretend, "That the church of England appropriate to themselves alone the principles of true loyalty, and that no other church or communion on earth can be consistent with monarchy, or indeed with any government. This is a presumption of so high a nature, that it renders the church of England a despicable enemy to the rest of mankind."

To which I answer, That the church of England is here represented by that which is the true character of the church of Rome, which has all along been a known engrosser; which pretends to have all faith and all holiness, and will have all heaven to herself, and, pretending to have the keys of it, will suffer none others to come thither. Whereas the church of England allows, not only that all protestants have true faith and true loyalty, as well as she, and the same faith and loyalty, as appears by the harmony of their confessions, but also that pagans are capable of moral virtue, such as loyalty is, and have heretofore been great examples of it. Many of them have looked upon themselves as not born for themselves, but for their country, and were strict observers of the laws; and it is well known, that Socrates in particular had that reverence for the laws, that though he was put upon it by his friends, yet he would not break them to save his life. "His bones and sinews," as his words are in Plato's Phædo, could easily have carried him into a foreign country, but he would not suffer them to do it. And therefore this author, in saying that the church of England avers, "That no other sect or community on earth, from the rising to the setting sun, can be capable of this singular gift of loyalty," betrays his malice and ignorance together, and plainly shews, that though he makes new tests of loyalty, yet he does not know what loyalty is.

The word *loyal* is a term of law, and is indifferently applied to things as well as persons. So a loyal judgment is a judgment according to law, and is opposed to a false judgment. A loyal contract is a lawful bargain. A man buys a horse in a market, and then he has a loyal title, a legal title to him. So again, a person behaves himself according to law, and observes the laws of the land, and then he is a loyal man, he is *legalis homo*, as a juryman is required to be; that is, such a one as cannot be challenged for a criminal, or a breaker of the laws. And in case a man's behaviour be according to law, it is loyal, whether it respect a superior or an inferior. *Action n'est autre chose que loial demand de son droit.* "An action is nothing else but the loyal demand of a man's right." *Mirror*, pag 115 and 122. "A serjeant at law shall not use any deceits in his practice, nor consent to them; *Mes loyalment maintiendra le droit de so client*, &c. but shall loyally maintain the right of his client, so that it be not overthrown by any folly, negligence, or default of his."

From hence it follows, that loyalty can have no other rule or measure but the law; for though some men love to have confused notions of things, and speak of loyalty as if it were a thing in the clouds, and some abstruse matter over our heads, yet it appears to be a plain thing, and of easy comprehension; for it is nothing else but conformity to the laws. The plain English of loyalty is lawfulness; and it is utterly impossible that there should be any other test or touchstone, any other measure or standard of lawfulness but the law itself; for if there had been no law, as there had been no transgression nor violation of it, so there had been no loyalty nor conformity to it: And therefore loyalty against law is a contradiction; it is obedience made up of disobedience. The law is that which makes the king our liege lord, and us his liege people; and, accordingly, both prince and people are mutually sworn to the keeping of it; and our allegiance binds us to an obedience according to law, and not otherwise. To obey the king himself, contrary to law, is disloyalty; and to disobey the king, in obedience to the laws, is loyalty. If it be not thus, then all the judges of England, for these 340 years and upwards, have been all sworn to be disloyal; for they are sworn "to proceed according to law; though the king, by his letters or writs under the great seal, or under the little seal, or by his own mouth, shall command them the contrary." 2, 18, 20, Ed. III. *Fortesc.* c. 51. *Etiamsi rex per literas suas, aut ore tenus contrarium jusserit.* And so in the court-leet, when we swear, "that we will be true liegemen, and true faith and truth bear to our sovereign lord the king; and that we shall no felony nor treason commit, nor thereunto assent; and shall be obedient to all the king's majesty's laws, precepts, and process proceeding from the same;" it is plain that we do not promise any obedience to precepts or process which are contrary to law, or besides the law, and not grounded upon it; no, that is no part of our allegiance, which you plainly see is limited to the laws.

Now this being the undoubted notion of loyalty, how should the church of England ever dream of appropriating it to herself, since obedience to the laws of their country has always been practised, in all nations, by all virtuous men whatsoever? It being a point of common honesty and justice that men should abide by those laws which either themselves or their proxies have made, and to which, in one way or another, they have given their own consent, which always concludes, and is binding to an honest man. Only there is one sort of men in the world who can never be loyal, because no man can serve two masters, the government of his own country and the Pope of Rome. They who have a legislator abroad, to give them new laws, and a dispenser to repeal the old ones, can never be true and firm to the laws of their natural country. Their loyalty is in abeyance to the pope's laws, (which agreed even with the old laws of England, before the Reformation, like fire and water, as Archbishop Cranmer proves in his large letter to Queen Mary,) and their allegiance is pinned upon the pope's sleeve. In the mean time the church of England has very great reason to insist upon her loyalty, because if a man be not a lawful man, he is defeated of the benefit of the law in many cases; whereas the members of the church of England are able to use the old legal exceptions against their present accusers. *Siri, jeo suy loial home, et a la foy le roy; et cest provor est felon, et hors la foy le roy.* "Sirs, I am a lawful man, and in allegiance to the king; and this accuser of mine is a felon, or a traitor, and never took the oath of allegiance." And we are ready to join issue with them upon this point, whether they or we be the lawful men, and which of us are guilty of high-treason against the king and the realm, felony, misprision of treason, præmunire, and are utterly disabled by the law to hold any office, either civil or military, not only by the statutes made in Queen Elizabeth's time, but also in the reigns of King James, and of King Charles the Second. And therefore, as often as we are taxed in our loyalty, we shall only ask them, What laws we have broken? Or whether it be we or they who hate the laws of the land, and are continually exclaiming against them, and would blow them up with as good a will as once they attempted to blow up all the states of the kingdom in the parliament-house, where those laws were made, and for that very reason, because those laws were made there? See 3 Jac. c. 1. the statute which is yearly read in our churches on the fifth of November.

Having thus explained the true sense and meaning of loyalty, it is easy for every body to apply it, and to justify the church of England's carriage and behaviour, both in her infancy and now in her old age, (by the way, old folks and threatened folks live long,) and to shew that it has been according to the laws of the land, which, if they had broken and opposed, as the papists have done, they might then be charged with disloyalty indeed. But while they continue to keep the laws, by the grace of God, the laws will keep them; for so long as the law enables them to hold their own, they can challenge the benefit of the law, they can claim a legal protection, which is far better than any which is illegal and arbitrary, uncertain and precarious; and they are on the better side of the hedge of all the violaters of the law whatsoever. I shall not need therefore to trouble myself with the remainder of this new test, any otherwise than by making some very short notes upon the most remarkable passages in it.

I. The first charge is, That the church of England assisted usurpers to invade the crown, meaning the Lady Jane and Queen Elizabeth.

As for the first of these, I cannot see how it can be charged upon the church of England, because the protestants were divided about Queen Jane's title; some were for it, and some were against it, as particularly Judge Hales and the Suffolk gospellers, who stuck to Queen Mary, and were but sorrily rewarded for it. But to wave Queen Jane's case, and what might be said concerning it from the statute 11 Hen. VII. c. 1. I think this is a very fair offer, that when the papists have answered for all the bad titles which were set up in the times of popery, which were at least in the proportion of two bad ones for one good, we will then answer, as well as we can, for that single one which has happened since the time of the Reformation.

The other usurper, which the church of England assisted to invade the crown, was Queen Elizabeth, a known bastard. It is well known that a popish parliament, then sitting, acknowledged her title, and assisted in setting her upon the throne, and not the church of England, which was then driven into corners and into foreign countries, and was not in a condition to assist any body. And whereas Queen Elizabeth is said to have been a known bastard; the church and court of Rome knew the contrary, for they knew that her mother's marriage was good, because the former marriage was naught. And the former marriage was confessedly naught, because it wanted the pope's dispensation and licence, which was bought with a mighty sum of money to make it good. If it had been lawful in itself, it had not needed the pope's dispensation to make it lawful. And we are willing to refer it to all the world, whether the pope's dispensation can make an unlawful marriage to be lawful.

II. We are told, That the prelatick protestancy, called the church of England, enacted those bloody canibal laws to hang, draw, and quarter the priests of the living God. I suppose he means the mass-priests; now these canibal laws were made to hang them, not as priests, but as traitors and traitor-makers. But I would fain ask, might not any sheep-stealer or cut-purse in Newgate exclaim against persecution, and the bloody canibal laws, with a much better grace? That a man, made in the image of God, should be hanged like a dog for such trifles as a sheep, or a little loose pocket-money! Whereas the law of God only required fourfold restitution in those cases; and in some countries stealing was not only lawful, but was encouraged as an accomplishment: but, on the other hand, in God's own government idolatrous priests were to be put to death; and by the law of nations, in all countries whatsoever, spies, deserters, adherents, and emissaries of a publick enemy (as by our law the pope is to us, and by his law all hereticks are declared to be to him) are all to be hanged up.

And then as for the mass-priests being called the priests of the living God, I appeal to the senses and understanding of all mankind, whether the Lord God, the maker, the former, and the creator of a mass-priest, whom he carries in his box and worships, be a living god or no? Nay, according to the School of the Eucharist, I will be judged by the very rats and mice, which often run away with him.

III. The next thing the church, or rather the state of England, is charged with, for it was a parliament business at least thirteen years, is the execution of Mary Queen of Scots for treason against Queen Elizabeth; wherein, if they did any thing contrary to law, and the allegiance due to their then present Queen Elizabeth, they are chargeable with disloyalty, otherwise not: and whereas this author calls it a barbarous murder, and an execrable fact, I would desire him to speak low, for if the laws should over-hear him, they would call this arraigning the justice of the nation; and in saying that this fact was the first of the kind, he betrays great ignorance: he might as well have said, that the Emperor Licinius, colleague with Constantine the Great, and Queen Joan of Naples, are still living; and as yet I have never read that what Constantine did in that case was to the scandal and reproach of Christianity, or even of those Christians who lived under Licinius, and joined with Constantine the Great in that affair.

But, fourthly, I find (which is the substance of the sixth and seventh pages) that the church of England might have all her old scores cleared, and all her former faults forgotten, and might pass for loyal still, if she would now consent to the repeal of the sanguinary penal laws (which were purposely enacted to maintain the usurpation of Queen Elizabeth) and the late impious tests; which puts me in mind of the conditions of peace which the wolves sent to the sheep: the main article was, that the sheep should deliver up their dogs, which they kept for a guard, and which were the great hindrance to a firm and lasting peace; but every body knows how long the peace lasted. But to proceed; if the sanguinary penal laws were purposely enacted to maintain the usurpation of Queen Elizabeth, how came they to be enacted afresh in the first year of King James, when that usurpation was over? How came they, two years after, 330 Jac. c. 1, to be called religious and necessary laws? And how came more of these religious and necessary laws to be made in the same parliament, and in succeeding parliaments? As for the late impious tests, (choice epithets for the laws of the land,) they were made, as appears by the title of the acts, to prevent dangers which may happen from popish recusants. Now the sheep might safely have parted with their dogs, if the peaceable wolves at the same time would have parted with their fangs.

IV. In the last page he says, "As for the tests themselves, it is not my province to shew the absurdities of them in point of doctrine." It is well it is not; for he must get abundance of help whenever he goes about that work. However, he offers at it in these words: "Though, by the by, I must hold it a great folly to say, that transubstantiation is not a probable opinion at the least, considering the number and learning of those who maintain it, which is the best part of Christendom; and if it be a probable opinion, it must be a great temerity in any man to swear there is no such thing." I had always thought, that a probable opinion must be made out by proofs and probable reasons, and not by numbers and telling of noses; but it seems the cause of transubstantiation runs very low, when it must be maintained by such arguments as hold much stronger for paganism and for Diana of the Ephesians, whom all the world worshipped. The religion of the heathens was of a larger extent, and of longer standing, than popery, and was maintained by all the learning of Athens and of ancient Rome; and yet we dare be sworn that it was a false religion. I think we do not renounce transubstantiation upon oath, but only by public declaration and subscription; but if we did, it would by no means be a rash oath. For may not I safely swear, *that there is no such figure as a square circle, when the thing involves manifold contradictions, and it is plainly demonstrable, that the properties of a square and of a circle are utterly inconsistent.* Now we have a thousandfold more evidence, and are able to make as clear proof and demonstration of it a thousand times over, that there never was, nor is, nor can be, any such thing as transubstantiation, which is nothing else but a heap of contradictions, absurdities, and impossible falsehoods: And therefore we have the same assurance that the doctrine of transubstantiation never came, nor could come from God, as we have of this clear and evident truth, that it is impossible for God to lie.

VI. And now we are come to the conclusion and upshot of the business, which is in these words: "So that, upon the whole matter, the loyal church of England must either change her old principles of loyalty, and take example by her catholick neighbours how to behave herself towards a prince who is not of her persuasion, or she must give his majesty leave not to nourish a snake in his own bosom, but rather to withdraw his royal protection, which was promised upon the account of her constant fidelity." I wish this author had been more express and particular in this dilemma and difficulty to which he thinks he has reduced the church of England, either to turn over a new leaf, and learn a new lesson of loyalty from her catholick neighbours, or else to do worse; for he does not tell us which of our catholick neighbours we must take example by, whether Mrs Celier and Mr Sclater, who have both published to the world that they turned papists, that is, have made themselves high-traitors, for the improvement of their loyalty; or whether we should take example by this author himself, to call Queen Elizabeth bastard, to ridicule an infallible English parliament, as he calls it in scorn, to deprave and vilify several statutes, which are, and will be, the standing laws of the land, till such time as they are repealed by act of parliament: And therefore he has not been so clear as he might have been in this point, which the church of England will hardly trouble herself about, because she likes her old principles of loyalty very well, and is not given to change, but knows when she is well. In the mean time this author tells us very plainly and expressly enough, "That till the church of England change their old principles of loyalty, and take example by their catholick neighbours, they are to be looked upon as a snake in his majesty's bosom, and cannot expect to be protected." *Alas!* this gentleman is utterly mistaken, for a legal establishment has a right to a legal protection; and the king is bound, both by his oath and by the duty of his kingly office, to protect the church of England as it is by law established: And therefore to talk of withdrawing protection from the church of England, is to talk of removing the Thames to York. But we are so much used to such empty threatenings and flashes in the pan, that we know they will not kill. So the Reply to the Oxford Reasons against addressing threatens the church of England, "That, by the prerogative, in matters ecclesiastical, it may be in a great measure legally subverted." P. 4. A legal establishment, even while it remains such, legally subverted! They would make us believe that the laws of England were made up of jesuitical equivocations, and did blow hot and cold with the same mouth; but besides, that replier should be told, that a thousand more of his pompous quotations, which were written in the time of the High Commission, will not revive that branch of the statute 1 Elizabeth, upon which the High Commission Court was erected. And likewise he should be told, that a power given by one statute, and taken away afterwards by two, is certainly reduced to its primitive nothingness.

But I return to our present author only to take my leave of him, which he has done of the church of England in these words: "And now let us leave the holy mother church at liberty, to consult what new measures of loyalty she ought to take for her own dear interest, and, for ought I know, it may be worth her serious consideration." I am in hopes, that this church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood, (though this author be pleased to trample upon her with so much scorn and insolence) will take occasion, even at an enemies bidding, to consult what new measures of loyalty she ought to take for her own dear interest, and for the interest of posterity, which is much dearer, and for the everlasting interest of both, which is dearest of all. And will humbly and heartily bewail her disloyalty to her great Lord and Master, and those many, and great, and open transgressions and violations of his most holy and righteous laws which are amongst us. And oh, that every member of that communion in particular would speedily repent, and return to his duty, and persevere in a course of holy obedience to his life's end! This is the loyalty that is too much wanting in the church of England, which is due to the laws of our blessed Saviour, who is King of kings, and Lord of lords. As for her earthly lords, they cannot charge her with any disobedient or lawless carriage towards them, or with any disregard to the laws, unless perhaps in some unwarrantable, officious instances, which it would hardly be proper for them to object against her: And to the end, that both we, and our children after us, may be better subjects to our blessed Lord than hitherto we have been, I am in hopes, that the church of England will lay a dead hold upon that great depositum which the laws have put into her hands, which is the only instrument of our reformation, I mean the English Bible. We are very bad now; but what would become of us, if we should likewise be deprived of the only means to make us better? If all the laws of the land were abolished, there could be no loyalty; and if the gospel were taken away, which is the laws and statutes of Heaven, how were it possible for us to be the subjects of Jesus Christ? We might indeed be the servants of men, and vassals to the pope, but we could not possibly obey the gospel of Christ, if it were taken and hid from us; we remember full well who they were that would not suffer an English Bible to be in this kingdom for very many ages together: And if any devout and religious soul, who desired to know his master's will, had gotten but the Lord's Prayer, or Ten Commandments in English, it cost him his life. We shall never forget the seven Coventry martyrs, who were burned all together in the little Park, the 4th of April, 1519, for teaching their children and family the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments in English, nor shall we ever forget how the poor children were sent for, and charged in no wise to meddle any more with those very small scriptures, upon pain of suffering the same death with their parents. What is once made heresy by an infallible church, must be always and every where heresy, though heresy indeed is not every where burning, for want of opportunity. Thanks be to God, and to our good laws, that it is not so here; and I hope the church of *England* will always be careful to assert the authority and majesty of the laws, which are so much to be preferred and valued above our lives, in as much as by them we enjoy both our lives and the protestant religion together. May God be entreated to continue this unvaluable and undeserved blessing to us and to our posterity! Amen.

Some Reflections upon the additional Libel, intituled, An Instance of the Church of England's Loyalty.

It is a just judgment upon those who have renounced their reason to embrace transubstantiation, and thereby have distorted their natural faculties, that their understandings stand awry for ever after, and we cannot expect so much as common sense from them any more. From thenceforward they write, as well as believe, contradictious mysteries; and he that means to comprehend their awkward and perverse reasonings, must stand upon his head. We need not go far to fetch examples of this, for the late instance of the church of England's loyalty is a remarkable instance of all that I have said: Wherein there are these following absurdities, delivered in a way of much smartness, and with the appearance of very close reasoning:

1. The articles and canons of the church of England are set aside, and some few addresses in this present reign are made the standard of the doctrine of the church of England.
2. The bishops and clergy of several convocations, who have been dead these hundred years, are rendered disloyal, for not governing themselves by these addresses two years ago, which they knew not of.
3. Mary Queen of Scots is made Queen of England by such an argument as makes her no Queen of Scots, and by giving her another's kingdom takes away her own.
4. Mary Queen of Scots is made Queen of England upon the hypothesis of the paternal right, when upon that hypothesis she was disinherited and foreclosed from the crown of England by two successive patriarchs, Henry VIII. and Edward VI. I should think for that very reason, that the hypothesis of the laws had been a much better hypothesis.

In the opening a little, and shewing these absurdities, I suppose I shall meet with all that is remarkable in that paper.

1. The articles and canons of the church of England are set aside, and some few addresses in this present reign are made the standard of the doctrine of the church of England, p. 3 and 5. Is this arguing from the church of England's own principles, which, he says, is the design of his paper, p. 6? Is it the principle of any one clergyman in England, That the doctrine of the church of England is to be sought for, and found out in addresses? Or in any thing but the liturgy and homilies, the articles and

canons of the church, which have the publick sanction, and the universal consent of the whole clergy? If he had found materials out of any of these to make good his charge of disloyalty, he had done like a man, and the church of England had been condemned out of her own mouth; but if he cannot do this at present, we will have patience to stay till he can, and in the mean time he had done wiselier to have said nothing.

2. The bishops and clergy of several convocations, who have been dead these hundred years, are rendered disloyal, for not governing themselves by these addresses two years ago; which they knew not of. This is a great hardship indeed, that men shall be tried and condemned by laws which were not promulged till an hundred years after their death. The present church of England has a very great reverence for those bishops and clergy, who were the restorers of the protestant religion to this kingdom, and who had formerly hazarded their lives for it, and will be very loth to see them pass under the character of traitors and rebels: And when we demand, What laws of the land, or what principles of the church of England they had transgressed, we are in effect told, that they were rebels against some chosen expressions in very modern addresses. The instance which he gives, is the church of England's behaviour towards Mary Queen of Scots above an hundred years ago: Now mark his words, p. 5. "But yet, because I am about to give a notorious instance of their receding from this principle, (namely, the divine right of succession) when the practice of it thwarted their interest, it will not be amiss to observe, that they have acknowledged, in their several addresses to his present majesty, upon his accession to the crown, the unalterable and inherent right of succession." Now this is the reasoning, which, as I said before, would make a man stand upon his head. Besides, how could they recede, or go back from a principle which they never came to, and were never nearer it than a hundred years distance? For their opinion, or principle, call it what you will, was this, as appears by the 27 Eliz.—That in case an heir in remainder killed the present lawful possessor of the crown, that person had not a divine right of succession; and that neither God nor the laws ever meant to reward the falsehood of treason, and the bloody usurpation of a crown, with so much the earlier possession of it. My business is not to concern myself about either of these principles or opinions, but only to shew the absurd reasoning of this writer.

3. Mary Queen of Scots is made Queen of England by such an argument as makes her no Queen of Scots, and by giving her another's kingdom takes away her own. The argument is this, That Queen Elizabeth being illegitimate, and only an act-of-parliament-queen, could not interpose betwixt the crown of England and Mary Queen of Scots, who was heir by inherent birth-right. Now does not all the world know, that all the title that Mary Queen of Scots had to the kingdom of Scotland, was an act of parliament made at Scone in the time of Robert the First; whereby his issue by Elizabeth Moore his concubine (whom he never married, but who was afterwards married to one Giffard, a gentleman of Louthien) were made inheritable to the crown, and at the same time all his legitimate children, by his lawful Queen Eupheme, were set aside. These men take just the same measures as their father Garnet did in the gun-powder treason, who resolved, That in order to blow up the hereticks, they might lawfully blow up their catholic friends too; nay, all that this instancer says against Queen Elizabeth (admitting it to be true, which we do not) bears much harder upon the title of Mary Queen of Scots. Was Queen Anne's marriage with Henry VIII. naught? But in Elizabeth Moore's case there was no marriage at all. Or was King Edward set aside to make way for illegitimate Elizabeth? But so it was done by the act at Scone. Every body understands the English of Queen Anne Bolen's pre-contract, when they remember, that King Henry VIII. was married again to Lady Jane Seymour within three days after the beheading of that queen.

4. Mary, Queen of Scots, is made Queen of England, upon the hypothesis of the paternal right, p. 3 and 5, when, upon that hypothesis, she was disinherited and foreclosed from the crown of England by two successive patriarchs, Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Henry VIII., by his last will and testament, excluded the house of Scotland, and Edward VI., by his will, excluded both that and his own sisters likewise. But, as the Bishop of Ross argued against the first will, that it was not subscribed by his grace's own hand-writing, as was directed by the act of parliament, but only signed with a stamp of his name, so King Edward was never enabled, by an act of parliament, to dispose of the crown at all; and so neither of these wills signified any thing, because the prince has no power but what the law gives him: whereas, if these foresaid princes had been patriarchs, and full of inherent paternal power, they could have disinherited without an act of parliament; for, if a father cannot disinherit, much less has he power of life and death.

It were endless to reckon up all the awkward and wilful mistakes which fill up that sheet of paper; as where he insinuates, p. 7, "That the 13th of Elizabeth was owing to the queen's consciousness of the insufficiency of her title:" It is nothing so, but it was made for the preservation of her person, and that nobody, presuming upon an unalterable and unforfeitable title in reversion, might immediately destroy her. An act it is which is law to this day, and was recited 13 Car. II., and there expressly made a pattern for the 13th of his reign. And whereas he says, p. 8. "That before the Queen of Scots was taken off, and so the succession pretty well secured against popery, the church of England never persecuted any of her protestant dissenters; but, as soon as that work was done, and the court likely to continue on their side, then out flies the 35th of Eliz. cap. 2, against sectaries." In those very few words there are a great many blots: for, 1. I hope the 23d of Elizabeth was several years before the death of the Queen of Scots; and if that act was not made against the protestant dissenters, they have had the more wrong done them in having been since prosecuted upon that act. 2. He words it as if the 35th of Elizabeth came out the next day, or at least very shortly after the death of the Queen of Scots, whereas it was not till many years after. 3. Whereas the present church of England is upbraided with the 35th of Elizabeth, it is not beyond the memory of man since, in this church, a bill passed both houses of parliament for the repeal of that act; but when it came to the royal assent, the bill was not to be found, and they say there was foul play in the losing of that bill; but I think the greatest blot and blunder of all is a little above, in the same page, in these words: "After the Queen of Scots' condemnation, the parliament petitioned for her execution, each house apart, and the bishops gave their reasons why it ought to be." If the bishops had reasons why it ought to be, then they were no traitors, nor rebels, as they are all along branded; then they did not kill the heir, that the inheritance might be theirs; for that we are very sure ought not to be. And if their reasons are weak and insufficient, and in effect no reasons, why then are they not answered? For the bare mentioning of them, without answering them, will leave a suspicion in all men's minds that there is somewhat in them which is unanswerable. And truly, this is just such another piece of work as a very young and unskilful conjuror uses to perform in raising what he cannot lay.

In a word, I do not see one true and close thing in this paper, unless it be this, p. 3, "That the church of England men themselves do not obey their own canons." Which, if they had obeyed, and particularly the 114th canon, whereby they are bound to present all popish recusants, and all that are popishly given, every year, they had not this day been troubled with new tests and instances of their loyalty; but, failing in that part of their loyalty and obedience, they are now questioned for all the rest. However, it is never too late for men to return to their duty.

To conclude, I would advise these popish scribblers to let the church of England alone, which has both the truth of God and the laws of the land on her side; and having heaven and earth on her side, all the powers of hell cannot prevail against her; much less is she to be run down by a few impotent libels, which can never attain their end, nor arrive at their conclusion, though we should grant them all their own premises. For supposing Queen Anne's confession of a pre-contract, yet that does not make Queen Elizabeth illegitimate; and supposing her illegitimate, and only an act-of-parliament-queen, yet that does not make her an unlawful queen; and supposing her an unlawful queen, and without a legal title, and only queen for the time being, yet the church of England were not rebels and traitors for assisting her, but did their duty of allegiance, as is expressly said in 11 Hen. VII., cap. 1, which act was made on purpose to save the people's allegiance in that case, who had like to have been ruined but a little before, by the cross pretensions and alternately prevailing titles of York and Lancaster. Nay, to go farther, supposing that Queen Elizabeth was an usurper, and the church of England, over and above, traitors and rebels, and thereupon all the laws made in her time of no authority, (for that I know is the point that they would be at, and the only meaning of all this scurrility poured forth upon that queen and her clergy,) yet still they would lose their aim; those laws having been confirmed in so many parliaments since, and by such princes, as now they list to bark at; though heretofore the jesuit parsons, in his book of the succession, under the name of Doleman, shewed himself and his fraternity as much devoted to King James's title as this author is now to Queen Elizabeth's. In short, there being nothing to be gotten by railing against Queen Elizabeth, and by making her illegitimate, they may as well let her rest in peace, or pass for legitimate; and they may save the foul spittle they are daily casting upon her, which will serve much better for the making of their holy water.

An Account of the late Proposals of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with some other Bishops, to his Majesty; in a Letter to M. B. Esq.

Upon the landing of the Prince of Orange, James found himself in an extreme dilemma. "As it is natural for men in fear to be afraid of those whom they have offended, James gave orders for taking off the Bishop of London's suspension. He invited such of the bishops as were in town to confer with him upon the state of his affairs. But here his spirits failed him; their appearance threw him into confusion, and he dismissed them with some general expressions of civility. The bishops, however, who were most of them sincerely attached to monarchy, and who were desirous to restore the king to the nation, if he could be restored to the church, presented a plan of advices for the settlement of the nation. In these they counselled him to put the government of the counties into the hands of protestants; to annul the ecclesiastical commission; to restore the presidents and fellows of Magdalen College; to grant no dispensations in church or state, or the universities, or the schools; to allow the dispute between the dissenting power to be settled in parliament; to inhibit the four vicars apostolical; to fill the ecclesiastical vacancies; and, as the Archbishop of Canterbury suggested, the chair of York with one of their own number; to stop the prosecutions of *quo warrantos;* and to restore to corporations their ancient rights; to call a parliament; and, finally, to permit the bishops to lay before him such arguments as might restore him to the communion of the church of England.

" These wise counsels, but to the king bitter, he received with thanks, and promises of compliance, The new friendship of the bishops with the king brought resentment upon them, without taking any off him. The dissenters complained that their interests had not been mentioned at all by the bishops in their petition. The Prince of Orange's partizans exclaimed that they were betrayed by such of the bishops as had been associated with them; the more violent whigs, that the church was always willing to give up the cause of the people, if her own interests were secured; and many of the church of England, that the bishops were the dupes of their own credulity. Men zealous for the constitution, asked, Upon what principle the prelates, in place of the lords and commons, were called to settle the nation?"—DALRYMPLE's *Memoirs,* II. 35.

As the popularity which the bishops had so lately acquired was likely to suffer under the suspicion of their having relapsed into passive obedience at the first glimpse of being restored to the king's favour, they hastened to secure themselves by publishing the following account of an interview which was so liable to misrepresentation.

SIR,

I AM much surprized at the ill constructions some people make of the actions of those bishops who have lately waited upon the king, especially considering that most of them are the very men, who, not many months ago, appeared so publickly and courageously, even to the hazard of all the interests they had in this world, in defence of our protestant religion, and the laws of the land.

In order to the removing all groundless jealousies, and unreasonable surmises, in an affair of so great consequence, which our popish enemies will, I am sure, be very ready to foment and keep up, I have here sent you the heads of those matters which were proposed by them to the king.

They waited upon him not as a party separate either from the nobility or gentry, whom they could (I believe) have wished his majesty would rather have called for at this juncture, or from the rest of the bishops or clergy of England, but as persons whom the king was pleased, upon reasons known only to his royal breast, to command to attend upon him.

The heads which I send you are not taken from any copy of the paper which my lords the bishops presented to the king. I understand that all their lordships have been extremely careful to prevent the publishing of any copies, and that they still refuse to communicate any, though they now lie under no obligations to the contrary. However, I do assure you, with all faithfulness, that these heads which I am now sending you are true contents, obtained by another method, which, in prudence, you will imagine not fit for me to disclose.

You have already been told from me that every one of these bishops were sent for up out of their dioceses by expresses from his majesty, whom they first waited on in a body, on Friday the 28th of September. I cannot, upon the strictest inquiry, find that any thing passed betwixt the king and them, at first attendance upon him, besides general expressions of favour and protection from his majesty, and general returns of duty and loyalty from the bishops. This was matter of admiration to us all here, who could not believe but that the king had other intentions of a nearer and more particular concern, when he first resolved to send so far for some of these bishops: but these alterations in councils are things not fit for you or I to meddle with.

However, my lords the bishops were not satisfied herewith, concluding (as I suppose) that his majesty would not have sent for them so far, if he had not intended to have advised with them in this juncture, and to give them the liberty of offering him such counsels as they thought necessary at this time: And, therefore, when his grace my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury waited on the king alone the first time, on Sunday morning, Sept. 30, being indisposed when the other bishops attended on Friday, their lordships did, by my Lord of Canterbury, intimate their thoughts about that affair, and their readiness to the king, who was pleased not only to permit them to give him the best and most particular advices, but to encourage them to do it with all the freedom that was necessary for the present occasion.

Upon this royal invitation, their lordships assembled together the next day, at my Lord of Canterbury's palace, and prepared, upon the most mature deliberation, such matters as they judged necessary for his majesty's knowledge and consideration; and on the Wednesday after waited on the king in a body, when his grace, in his own, and in the name of the other bishops then present, did, in a most excellent speech, represent to his majesty such things as were thought by them absolutely necessary to the settlement of the nation, amidst the present distractions, and to the public interest of church and state.

I am assured that his grace delivered himself upon this critical occasion as with all dutifulness to his majesty, so with all the readiness and courage that did become such an apostolical archbishop as God hath blest our church of England with at this time.

You must not expect here his excellent words, but an abridgment of them, according to my talent, in a meaner stile.

I. First, The bishops thought fit to represent in general to his majesty, that it was necessary for him to restore all things to the state in which he found them when he came to the crown, by committing all offices and places of trust in the government to such of the nobility and gentry as were qualified for them, according to the laws of this kingdom, and by redressing and removing such grievances as were generally complained of.

II. Particularly, That his majesty would dissolve the ecclesiastical commission, and promise to his people never to erect any such court for the future.

III. That he would not only put an effectual stop to the issuing forth of any dispensations, but would call in and cancel all those which had, since his coming to the crown, been obtained from him.

IV. That he would restore the universities to their legal state, and to their statutes and customs, and would particularly restore the master of Magdalen College, in Cambridge, to the profits of his mastership, which he had been so long deprived of by an illegal suspension; and the ejected president and fellows of Magdalen College, in Oxford, to their properties in that college; and that he would not permit any persons to enjoy any of the preferments in either university, but such as are qualified by the statutes of the universities, the particular statutes of their several foundations, and the laws of the land.

V. That he would suppress the jesuits schools opened in this city, or elsewhere, and grant no more licenses for such schools as are apparently against the laws of this nation, and his majesty's true interest.

VI. That he would send inhibitions after those four Romish bishops, who, under the title of apostolick vicars, did presume to exercise, within this kingdom, such jurisdictions as are, by the laws of the land, invested in the bishops of the church of England, and ought not to be violated or attempted by them.

VII. That he would suffer no more *quo warrantos* to be issued out against any corporations, but would restore to those corporations, which had been already disturbed, their ancient charters, privileges, grants, and immunities, and condemn all those late illegal regulations of corporations, by putting them into their late flourishing condition and legal establishment.

VIII. That he would fill up all the vacant bishopricks in England and Ireland, with persons duly qualified according to the laws: and would especially take into his consideration the see of York, whose want of an archbishop is very prejudicial to that whole province.

IX. That he would act no more upon a dispensing power, nor insist upon it; but permit that affair at the first session of a parliament to be fairly stated and debated, and settled by act of parliament.

X. That upon the restoration of corporations to their ancient charter, and boroughs to their prescriptive rights, he would order writs to be issued out for a fair and free parliament, and suffer it to sit to redress all grievances, to settle matters in church and state upon just and solid foundations, and to establish a due liberty of conscience.

XI. Lastly, and above all, That his majesty would permit some of his bishops to lay such motives and arguments before him, as might, by the blessing of God, bring back his majesty unto the communion of our holy church of England, into whose catholick faith he had been baptized, in which he had been educated, and to which it was their earnest and daily prayer to Almighty God that his majesty might be reunited.

All these counsels were concluded with a prayer to God, in whose hands the hearts of kings are, for a good effect upon them; especially the last, about bringing the king back to the protestant religion.

And now, sir, I cannot but ask you, What grounds there are for any men's jealousies of the bishops' proceedings? Pray shew this letter to all your friends, that some may lay down their fears, and others may have this antidote against taking any up. I do assure you, and I am certain I have the best grounds in the world for my assurance, That the bishops will never stir one jot from their petition; but that they will, whenever that happy opportunity shall offer itself, let the protestant dissenters find that they will be better than their word given in their famous petition.

In the mean time let you and I commend the prudence of these excellent bishops, admire their courage, and celebrate their just praises, and never forget to offer up most fervent thanks to God, for his adorning the church of England at this juncture with such eminent apostolical bishops. I am, with all respect,

Yours, N. N.

England's Wants: Or, several Proposals, probably beneficial for England, humbly offered to the Consideration of all good Patriots in both Houses of Parliament.

Printed in the Year 1685.

This curious Tract, embracing a number of œconomical points of importance, amid much political prejudice, contains some curious information as to the state of England before the Revolution, and a few hints which might even yet be usefully adopted by statesmen. Many of them have indeed been since carried into effect by the legislature.

Although the kingdom of England doth abound with many blessings which other nations want, yet doth it want many which others enjoy.

It is recorded, That an eminent foreign ambassador, after a long residence in England, sailing homeward, did cast his eye back upon this land, and said in his own language, *O isola felicissima, &c.* The happiest country upon the face of the earth, did it not want public spirits amongst them.

The want of public spirits hath occasioned the want of many public works of piety and charity, works necessary, or commodious and convenient for the people, or of ornament for the kingdom.

I. To supply this want, That (by such easy ways and means as are hereafter mentioned) there may be raised a publick stock to be put into the hands of commissioners nominated by both houses of parliament, approved by the king, and accountable to them for the same.

II. For raising such public stock, it is proposed, first, That, according to the practice of neighbour nations, upon all such commodities as occasion either excess or luxury, wantonness, idleness, pride, or corruption of manners, there may be laid a large and extraordinary impost; as upon all wines, all strong drinks, tobacco, coffee, chocolate, sugars, spices, plums, all sorts of sweetmeats, oranges, &c. Upon all silks, laces, ribbons, jewels, watches, plate, feathers, perukes, fringes, &c. Upon all fine linens, camblets, upon cards, dice, tables, bowls, &c. Upon all coaches, chariots, litters, sedans. Upon all pictures, perfumes, paints for the face, looking-glasses, &c. Moreover a third part of all the gettings of comedians, rope-dancers, mountebanks, lotteries, shews, &c.

III. That (according to the practice of the primitive Christians, whose devotion was such, that they thought no testament well made, unless some considerable portion was thereby added to Christ's patrimony) no testament henceforth should be valid, unless a 20th part of the legacies were given to these after-named public and private uses.

IV. That for these uses there may be reserved (as was anciently practised in the Roman state) a tenth part of the profit of all lands given by the husband to the wife, or coming from the wife to the husband, there being no issue between them alive.

V. That a 40th part of all things recovered by law may be (as once among the Romans) assigned for public uses.

VI. That there be paid out of all marriage portions six-pence in the pound, and something proportionably paid at the death and birth of every person not living on alms.

VII. That every one to be made free of a trade, or licensed to practice in law or physic, may pay proportionably to these public uses.

VIII. That all contracts in writing, all decrees, judgments, &c. may have a small seal on the top, as is practised in divers other countries, for which a small tax to be paid, &c.

IX. That in all churches (as in Holland) at every solemn assembly, the church-wardens, with a long staff, bag, and bell, during the sermon, receive the charitable benevolence of the whole congregation, where every person that desires to honour God, not only with his soul and body, but with his substance, as God commands, and the primitive Christians punctually observed at almost all their church-meetings, throwing in but his mite, it is incredible, by this constant course at every assembly, to what a sum it will amount in one year.

That in all great market-towns of England, as is of a long time used in Holland, and of late in divers towns within ten miles of London, there may be erected public brewhouses, ready to serve all within two miles of the place, paying the ordinary excise to this public stock, which usage is found by experience a great ease and benefit to all that have tried the same. Howbeit, if any private person within that compass, will continue to brew his own beer, that then he be constrained to pay excise of all the beer he shall brew for his own private use.

Now the money of this public stock may be employed in these public uses following:

X. For building work-houses in all convenient parts of this kingdom, for making rivers navigable, for building or repairing bridges, highways, sea-banks, havens, moles, land-marks, aquædicts; for setting up poor youths after an apprenticeship served; for marrying poor maids; for relief of aged, impotent, decayed people; for maintenance of sick and maimed soldiers; for redemption and relief of captives and slaves in Turkey; for building and repairing of churches, whereof there is great want in this kingdom, more especially in the suburbs of London, where not a fourth of the parishioners can at once enter into their parish church, at least not well hear divine service, to the great shame of the protestant professors, who, since the Reformation, till very lately, have, as our adversaries observe, erected scarce one considerable solid structure for the worship of God.

For repairing the mother-church of the mother-city of this kingdom, to the glory of God and honour of this city and nation: for the speedy promoting whereof, both king and parliament, city and country, clergy and laity, high and low, stand all engaged to lend their helping hands.

For erecting in London, and other great cities, banks or mounts of piety, (as have been long used in Italy, in Flanders, and other countries,) whereby the intolerable oppression of public and private brokers and pawn-takers, that grind the faces of the poor, screwing out of them yearly 40 or 50 per cent. may be utterly abolished.

For erecting hospitals in London and other cities (as there is at Paris and Rome) for to receive all little infants exposed or found; whereby many poor innocents, now destroyed in the womb, or at the birth, are wittingly suffered to die to avoid further trouble and charges, might then be preserved from perishing, as well as many unnatural mothers from hanging.

For building of hospitals to accommodate therein all poor women (as is done at Paris) near the time of their travail, to enter, and there to be carefully delivered, and remain afterwards till they are in a condition to return home and follow their work.

For providing stipends for physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries (as at Rome) to give gratis their advice, pains, medicines, and salves, to poor sick or wounded people, allowed in *forma pauperis* to require their assistance, who otherwise perish for want of timely and due helps.

For erecting colleges in London (as is done in Holland,) where old men, deprived of wife and children, may for a reasonable sum of money be neatly accommodated during life, with diet and lodging, and pass the rest of their days without care or trouble in a comfortable society with men of like condition and age. And the like for old women.

For erecting colleges, wherein virgins and widows of the protestant religion, resolving not to marry (as the begains in Holland, Brabant, Flanders, &c.) may, for a certain sum of money deposed, be maintained, and live in a retired, virtuous, and religious society, there teaching and educating in virtue and piety the female youth of this nation (whereof there is now more need than ever) and such young virgin-scholars may there remain constantly till their marriage day, before which time very many by too much liberty are now corrupted and debauched: and that the said virgins and widows of the society, may (with the forfeiture of the said money deposed, and leave of their visitor) be free to alter their resolutions, and quit the society.

For erecting in London a college *de propaganda fide* (as our adversaries have done at Rome) for propagating the Christian reformed religion amongst the Americans bordering on the English plantations, where it is a shame to this nation, that so few in the space of many years have been converted to Christianity, and where for these 40 years those Americans seem to call and cry (as the man of Macedonia did to St Paul, Act. 16. 9. Come over to us in America and help us;) and for that end to send from time to time persons fitly gifted for a work so transcendently pious: And because many excelling in the gift of preaching, being now for their nonconformity laid aside, do secretly occasion unlawful conventicles, foment schisms, and hold up the faction, and thereby hazard the disturbance of this church and state, that all such gifted men may be encouraged by competent allowances out of the said public stock, or commanded and compelled to transport themselves thither within the space of one or two years, there to promote such a christian and apostolical work.

XI. Moreover, whereas there are in the out-skirts of England many dry and barren places that want much watering, and many dark corners that want great lights; and whereas in London, and most great cities of this kingdom, the people generally being more knowing Christians than in any country of the world, the dimmer lights may serve there, that many of those late nonconforming divines, who have the best faculty in pulpit-preaching, and all lecturers especially, may for a time be enjoyned to leave London, and other great cities, and be allured by plentiful salaries, paid out of the said public stock, or else constrained to transplant themselves, as so many apostles amongst those poor blind souls, who are yet ignorant of the first principles of Christianity, and there preach in season and out of season, until they also shall be in some measure able to render a reason of the christian faith and profession.

For buying in of impropriations (a work not only worthy of a parliament, but to the doing whereof all the parliaments since 27 H. 8. stand obnoxious, saith the learned Bacon, and bound in conscience to God,) whereby the church might enjoy her own again, the king's revenue much encreased by tenths and first-fruits, and the cures of all those great and populous parishes, hitherto starved for want of spiritual food, be duly served, and the foul guilt of that abominable sin of sacrilege taken off this nation, and off the protestant religion,—provided that no impropriator shall take above 10 or 12 years purchase for any impropriated tythes, as the custom usual hath been.

There was a juncture of time when much of this might easily have been another way effected, viz. if, when the *capite* tenures were made free, every man that held any land *in capite* had been obliged to have given, according to all justice and equity, but four years purchase for that freedom which now hath made their lands four years purchase better than before; for no man could pretend any reason why he should have such a benefit gratis.

XII. That all advousons of England, not now in the crown, may be all bought in at reasonable values, and settled for ever upon the crown, that so all rectors of parishes, as well as bishops, deans, and prebends, may have their dependence on the king's bounty only, as all the clergy in some reformed churches now have, and not on any mean, covetous, illiterate, factious, heterodox, synomiacal, or sacrilegious patron; by which one means all the English clergy would soon become loyal and orthodox, and the whole English church would flourish in a perfect unity, and a beautiful uniformity.

XIII. For making some competent provision, according to the practice of other reformed churches, for the poor widows and orphans of clergymen, of whom God took special care in the Jewish commonwealth, the sons there being to inherit their father's places, and the daughters to be matched as well as their mothers; or else, as in some other christian churches, utterly to forbid marriage to all that shall be in orders.

XIV. That for rewarding and encouraging all diligence, faithfulness, and humble obedience in servants (now so rare in England) every man-servant and maid-servant that shall continue seven years in one and the same service, may, at the expiration thereof, have 10*l*. paid out of the said public stock, as already done for one parish in London, by the charitable benevolence of a citizen that died in that parish, and at the town of Reading by the late Archbishop Laud.

XV. Whereas it is a very great dishonour, blemish, and shame to the policy and government of the city of London, being the principal city of this nation, that not only the great roads leading to and from the said city should continue for the greatest part of the year miry, foul, and noysome, to the great inconvenience and danger to all waggons, carts, and coaches, and to all people riding or travelling to and from the said city, but also that most of the streets of London should still be the most dirty, nasty, stinking streets of any capital city now in Europe, notwithstanding the most advantageous situation thereof, and notwithstanding the late act of parliament for redressing the same. That therefore the late tax imposed yearly by the said act upon hackney coaches, and all moneys usually paid to scavengers, may be added to the said public stock, and a competent sum thereof yearly issued out (for remedying the said annoyances) to other commissioners, accountable to the lord mayor for the time being, &c.

XVI. Whereas good laws are to little purpose without due execution; and it is found by experience in this kingdom, especially of late years, that very little execution will be without rewards for those that are appointed to execute the same; that all justices of peace, and their clerks, all mayors, bailiffs, sheriffs, constables, churchwardens, and other officers, may have (according to the policy of some of our neighbour nations) certain fees, and competent rewards paid out of the said public stock, for all things they shall do in pursuance of their respective offices, and in executing the laws of the land.

An act for allowing 20 or 30*l.* to any one that shall bring in a highway-robber; and in case one robber will bring in another, that he shall not only be pardoned, but also have the reward of 20*l.*

For the farther increase of the price of wool, it may be enacted, that not only the dead should be cloathed in wool, but that all the living, from the 1st of November to the first of May, shall be obliged to wear their cloaths and hats made of wool.

That to avoid so many suits and actions of *scandalum magnatum*, and yet for the better preservation of the honour and privileges of all English nobility and true gentry, a court of honour may again be erected in London, with sufficient cautions and provisos that the same court may not abuse its just power, and the use thereof may continue for ever.

That none but married men, or who have been once married, shall be, after the age of 35 years, capable of any office of profit or honour, according to a law once among the Romans.

An act of parliament for naturalizing all those of the French nation who are, or shall come over for refuge, and that they may be suffered to enjoy their religion, especially all those who are artizans or handycraft-men, and are willing to conform to the church of England established by law; and to encourage all such who will take English apprentices, and teach them to make all sorts of paper, of rough hats, of course canvas, of point lace, of silks, of scissars, of needles, to make vinegar, &c.; all box-combs, gold and silver lace, some sorts of silks, some sort of goldsmiths' ware, as spoons, forks, &c., which are made better in France than in England, and for all which vast sums of money is returned into France.

An act of parliament for punishing some sort of perjury with death, other sort with transportation, and other with pillory, &c.

An act of parliament for the better avoiding of fires and burning of houses, especially in the city of London, and for avoiding the stealing and robbing of goods in time of the fire.

That if a son or daughter should marry without the consent of their parents or guardians, that the marriage should be null, as in France.

Some other chargeable proposals, probably beneficial to this nation, might be hereunto added, by such as have made it their business to observe this and other civil governments beyond the seas; also some other ways and means of raising money without grieving the people, which is the very quintescence of all state-policy; but let those be reserved for another occasion. Hereafter follow divers unchargeable proposals that will require no cost or charges, but only the humble petition of the two houses of parliament, and his majesty's royal assent.

XVII. It is an ancient maxim, *Interest reip. ut re suâ quisque bene utatur;* it is the interest of the commonwealth that every subject should make a right use of his own estate; wherefore, amongst the fundamental laws of the ancient Romans, those laws of the Twelve Tables, (observed by them almost as sacredly as the Two Tables, or Ten Commandments, by the Jews,) it is especially provided, That a guardian should be set over the person and estate, not only of idiots and madmen, but of all prodigal persons: This law hath been derived from them to all our neighbour nations, and enjoyed by them ever since they enjoyed civility, even to this very day. To England only this law is wanting; not that England is without such unreasonable creatures, for it hath been observed that the English nation is naturally as much or more addicted to prodigality than any nation in Europe, the sad effects whereof are every day before our eyes: wives that have brought great estates left poor needy widows; children, of noble illustrious families, brought to a morsel of bread, and to do base ignominious things, unworthy of their noble ancestors, and dishonourable to the very degrees of honour which their fathers purchased by their merit, and maintained by their laudable frugality. Where this forementioned law is in use, the prodigal person is thus defined: *Is qui neque modum neque finem habet in expensis,* one that spends without limits or bounds. Any man being proved to be such, is declared uncapable of managing his own estate, or of making a will, or of entering into bond, or of being a witness, &c.; and thereupon a guardian is put over him and his estate, to allow him necessaries out of his own estate, and to preserve the rest to his next kindred. Now the King of England hath his *breve de inquirendo de idiota,* and his *breve de inquirendo de furioso;* and can any solid reason be produced why his majesty should not have also his *breve de inquirendo de prodigo* directed in like manner to the escheater of the county, to be tried by a jury of twelve men? that so a general stop may be put to the wild expences and extravagant profuseness of all Englishmen, and more especially (as in Spain, because the nobility is esteemed the chief and main support of monarchy,) that no nobleman shall have power to waste or alienate so much of his ancestors lands as may render him incapable of serving his prince and country, or to bear the part of a nobleman.

XVIII. There is another maxim, *Interest reipub. ut suprema hominum testamenta rata habeantur secundum veram testatoris intentionem;* it concerns the commonwealth that mens last wills and testaments should be ratified and executed according to the true meaning of the testator; for this purpose was made the statute of Charitable Uses, 43 of Queen Elizabeth, to provide against the embezelling and misemployment of monies and lands given to charitable uses, by giving power to the bishop and his chancellor, and to some other considerable persons, to issue out commissions for enquiring and ordering the same. Nevertheless, by the neglect of some, and want of zeal in others, such commissions are seldom desired, though, perhaps, not hardly obtained. Wherefore, that by another statute it may be provided, that every bishop and his chancellor, (together with some other considerable persons, as is intimated in the fore-quoted statute) within one year after each bishop's instalment, shall, upon a high penalty, purchase and execute such commission throughout his diocese.

XIX. That, according to the institution of King Edward the First, our English Justinian, once every three years justices *de trail baston* may be commissionated to make inquisition through the realm, by the verdict of substantial juries, upon all officers, sheriffs, mayors, justices of peace, coroners, escheaters, bailiffs, constables, jailors, &c., touching of their male-government and neglect of executing the good laws respectively.

XX. That (as hath lately been effected in France) all our laws, civil or ecclesiastical, which most concern the subject, may be digested into one volume, and plainly set down in our vulgar tongue, and at due time, and by parcels, be read in churches, that every man may be knowing in the laws human as well as divine, and be as perfect therein as once the Jews were, who, (as Josephus observes) by hearing their laws read constantly in their synagogues, became as perfect therein as of their *own names*.

XXI. That the statutes of 12 Rich. II., and 5 Ed. VI., against the sale of offices, may be revived; also that no reversions may be granted, that so virtue and wisdom, long experience and honesty, faithfulness and loyalty, may no longer be baffled and discouraged by seeing itself vilified, and money preponderate all worth, and thereby justice very oft sold, with divers other inconveniences.

XXII. That provision, by a statute, be made against that unchristian and more than barbarous custom and privilege of *wreccum maris* in England, never so allowed by the imperial laws, or any neighbour nation, and once banished out of England by an act made 2. R. I. That, in case of shipwreck, though all persons perished, yet that all the goods which escaped should be carefully preserved for the owners, or next of kin, if they come within a year and a day; only allowing something to those that help to save the goods, and preserved them afterwards.

XXXIII. That, by a law, the fees of lawyers may be regulated according to the moderation of other well-policed countries, where usually is given but a third or fourth part of what is expected in England. And that if any lawyer presume to take more than the fees by law allowed, he may be rendered uncapable to practise any more, and forfeit four-fold of what he hath so taken, as is provided by the civil laws.

XXIV. That, as in the reign of Edward the Second, the number of attornies was regulated, and 140 declared to be sufficient to serve this whole kingdom in that peaceable age, so now that the excessive number of lawyers and attornies may be reduced to a competent number for this age, and some things in their pleadings reformed. What a shame to our nation is it that so many evil and rapacious lawyers should be permitted to plead in behalf of known vitious persons, and of manifest oppressors, and in causes notoriously unjust, should be permitted to make a trade not to minister justice, but to heap up riches, and devour all the fat of the land!

XXV. That provision may be made to mitigate all such laws, which, by the change of things and times, are now become over severe and rigorous, much beyond the intent of the law-makers. As that stealing to the value of 12*d.* should still be felony, whereas, when the law was first made, what was then sold for 12*d.* (which, when the ounce of silver was but 20*d.*, was as much as 3*s.* now) is now sold for above 40*s.*; for in 51 of King Henry III., eight bushels of wheat was then sold but for 12*d.*, so that the man that stole but seven bushels committed but *petty larceny*, whereas now he that steals but a peck may be found guilty of felony, (unless the jury will forswear themselves, as commonly they do, and bring in eleven-pence stolen; when sometimes it is eleven shillings,) as if the life of man in our days were of a smaller and viler price than in those days. So in the time of H. II., the stealing of oxen and horses was counted *inter minuta furta*, which lawyers call *parvum latrocinium*, or *petty larceny*. Now, why should the body of man, that *divinæ imaginis vehiculum*, be destroyed for trifles? Why should Christians now be more cruel than the Jews, or than Christians in former ages? For, in the middle ages of Christianity, *pænarum ratio in mulctis potius quam in sanguine et nece sita fuit.* They then allowed a compensation even for killing of a man, called *wergeld*, *quasi viri moneta sive prætium*, which was, with great justice, paid partly to the king for the loss of his subject, and partly to the lord whose vassal the slain party was, but especially to the next kindred of the person slain; and this custom seemed to derive itself from Moses law, Exod. xxi. 30. Our ancestors in this kingdom, before they were Christians, had this custom, then thinking it against reason, that when one man was killed, and the king thereby had lost a subject, that another should be put to death, and so the king lose another subject, and the kindred of the slain no way recompensed for the loss, as now is used. And after they were converted to Christianity, and did believe that penitent Christians went to heaven, they thought it more against reason, when a man was slain, to send the penitent man-slayer forthwith from this miserable world to a place of everlasting bliss, but rather that he should, by a corporal or pecuniary mulct, be made miserable in this life, it being much more suitable to the ends of government that a criminal should live in perpetual ignominy, slavery, or misery, rather than be taken quite away, because a living condemned wretched criminal will be a spectacle in others eyes, will, in time, be convinced of his crime, will justify his judge, and continually repent his own folly. And, therefore, even since the Norman conquest, for treason, or foul felonies, the guilty were oft condemned to have their eyes pulled forth, or their testicles cut out, that there might be no more of the breed, or else that their hands or feet should be chopt off, that so each foul felon might remain *truncus vivus*, as a living monument of his felonious fact, for deterring others, and have time to bewail his own sins and misery.

But because in England too much severity is used against theft, and yet not enough to restrain it sufficiently, and because the wisdom of prevention is better than the wisdom of remedy:

XXVI. That to prevent thievery, the like course may be taken in England which is used in Holland, especially in that most populous city of Amsterdam, where (as God commanded the Jews, Deut. xv. 4.) *non est indigens, nec mendicus inter illos, et benedicit illis dominus:* There is not a beggar amongst so many hundred thousand: To effect which they do three things; they take especial order that all youth be bred up not only in the knowledge of God, but of some trade or profession: They provide work for all sorts of people; and, thirdly, they compel all such as are not willing to work. By this policy, in Holland it is rare to see an execution for robbery; and yet if a man could but see at once all the criminals, young and old, male and female, that have been hanged in England, or transported in one year only for stealing, what horror and amazement it would strike, and how would a Hollander justly blame the policy of this state, for *non minus turpia sunt principi multa supplicia, quam medico multa funera.*

XXVII. That for redressing those high crimes (so accounted by all God's people heretofore, though now in England little conscience is made thereof) of wilfully robbing God or the king, the one in his tythes, and the other in his tributes, customs, or revenues, it may be made absolute felony for the future, and very severe punishment inflicted, as it is now in other countries, and was anciently in this kingdom.

To cozen the king but of treasure-trove was anciently (as affirmeth Glanville and Bracton) an offence punished with death. And 31st of Eliz. it was judged meet by a whole parliament to make it felony for any man to embezil but the worth of twenty shillings of the ammunition or victuals provided by the queen for her soldiers.

XXVIII. Forasmuch as the custom of premeditated duelling is not only unchristian, unjust, and unnecessary, but also most ridiculous and unreasonable, (for what reason is there that a gentleman, who hath received an affront, or perhaps a beating, should think himself obliged to meet his adversary in the field, and there expose himself to be beaten again, and, if he be so, yet to rest satisfied therewith,) that it may be utterly abolished out of this nation, as a custom introduced by the enemy of mankind about the end of the last century, this kind of duelling being never known before in the world. Now that this is very feasible we may learn from our next neighbour-nation, heretofore infested with this diabolical practice above and beyond any nation in the world, and yet of late it is wholly disused there. To effect which, first, that king declared the penalty of duelling to be death without mercy, and the duellers' estates to be confiscated to the use of the next hospital where any duel was fought. Secondly, in the presence of his nobles he took a most solemn oath to except no man whatsoever from the utmost rigour of this law. Thirdly, he commanded all his courts of justice, where any such cause should come, to spare no man, nor have regard to the king's own letters to the contrary, if any such should be obtained. Fourthly, forbad expressly all the princes and nobles to presume to intercede with his majesty in behalf of any dueller, or to move him for any pardon. Fifthly, because by experience it hath been found, that the severest punishments appointed have not been fully effectual nor sufficient to deter some men from this impious and pernicious usage, without first taking away the causes and occasions thereof, that king earnestly recommended this affair to all his grand marshals of France, enjoyning them to take special care not only to inflict due punishment on all provokers and aggressors, but also in their wisdom and discretion to appoint satisfactions and reparations of honour to the party attacked or provoked, and also to constitute judges *du point d'honneur* in several parts of the kingdom, who upon all quarrels and rencounters were to declare what kind of satisfaction should be sufficient, and what submissions to be made to the injured person, how his honour might be saved without sending a challenge, and what answers to make to one that challengeth, &c. as more at large may appear in the solemn declarations of that king, and in the orders and reglements set forth by his grand mareschals.

XXIX. That, according to the law of God, according to Christian clemency, gentleness, and mercy, according to the laws of other Christian states, and according to the antient laws and customs of this state, no person hereafter may for any new debt be cast into prison, but rather that his estate may be seized, and the person left at liberty to work himself out of debt by his industry, trade, or profession; to which end, if creditors did proceed only by summons, after which legally served at the debtor's house, and no appearance made, then presently proceed to have a judgment against the debtor, as if he had appeared, and then to execution, and thereupon to seize not his person but estate; and, in case he hath no estate, yet to forbear till by his industry he hath gotten somewhat; for imprisonment is not only too severe a punishment of the body, a torment of the mind, a dying daily, a loss of reputation, and alienation of friends, a separation from wife and children, and a great occasion of being ever after debauched and dishonest, but it is also clearly against the creditor's profit and advantage, for the debtor, being cast into prison, must there lie at much more charges than at home, and yet find less opportunity to work or earn any thing, which makes him commonly hold faster what is in his hands, which else he would have parted with towards satisfaction of his debts, and endeavoured by his work or trade to have maintained himself and family. Besides, by imprisoning the body of a debtor, the state loseth a member, which, at liberty, or compelled to work, might be of some considerable use.

XXX. That some provision be made against the vexatious and superstitious custom of stopping any dead body in its passage through any town or lordship, and demanding some fee or toll for the same, before the body pass further on.

XXXI. That the admiralty, and all ecclesiastical and civil law courts, may enjoy their due jurisdictions; that those jurisdictions may be declared and known, that so no man (when he hath brought his suit almost to a trial) may by a prohibition be constrained to begin all again in a new court, to his horrible vexation, expences, and charges.

XXXII. That, according to the antient custom of this and all other Christian states, all ecclesiastical judges may have a power to proceed *ex officio*, that way of enquiry being exceedingly necessary for correcting of vice and sin, which otherwise will daily go unpunished; insomuch that by the civil law it is called *nobile judicis officium*, and was never opposed but by the factious puritanical part of England, out of design to disturb the English church government, such enquiry and proceeding *ex officio* without an accuser, but only upon public fame, strong presumption, &c. being approved by sundry examples of Scripture, as well as by all canon, civil, and common laws.

It is true, that by the constitutions at common law in England, it hath not been held fit that any person should be examined upon oath against himself, touching a crime whereby his life, or any of his limbs, may be endangered; and the reason is, for fear of occasioning perjury, because most men probably would rather hazard an untrue oath (although no good Christian ought so to do) than either their lives or their limbs. But yet in criminal matters, not capital, handled in Chancery, the oath of the party is required against himself; only there is an accuser, and an accusation, or a bill of complaint, and not a meer insinuation of fame, as in the proceeding *ex officio* sometimes. But then it is to be considered that the complainant, to find out the truth, may stuff his bill full of lies, because he is not sworn to the truth of the bill, as the defendant is to the truth of his answer. And what is this less than the proceeding *ex officio*, when the defendant is forced in his answer (which is always upon oath) to accuse himself? Besides, in dangerous crimes against the person of the king, or peace of the kingdom, it hath always been held necessary and lawful policy to torture such persons against whom good probabilities and strong presumptions lie, to make them confess, although it be capital against themselves and others in the highest degree. And is it not of as great equity in high crimes against the King of Heaven and earth, and in crimes of no less secrecy, as atheism, apostacy, adultery, incest, &c. to use the means of the parties oath, especially where no capital, no corporal punishment is intended, but only a fatherly and spiritual correcting and reforming of the party for his soul's health? Moreover the proceeding *ex officio* is not (as many vainly imagine) only the ministring of an oath to the suspected party against himself in a cause criminal, for there may be proceeding *ex officio judicis*, though the oath be not at all urged; nay, sometimes it may not be urged, as in case of life or limb endangered thereby.

Now if there should be in England no means for an ecclesiastical judge to take cognizance, nor to proceed but upon the voluntary prosecution and accusation of some party, how many execrable offences most displeasing to God Almighty, scandalous to the Christian profession, dangerous to men's inheritances, and to the soul's health of the offenders, yea, some that are the very bane of all religion and Christianity, would, through want of discovery and by impunity, in a few years, spread themselves over the whole church and state before any accusers will be found! As atheism, apostacy from Christianity, heresy, schism, errors in matters of religion, sacrilege, perjury, blasphemy, subornation of perjury, swearing, polygamy, adultery, incest, and other uncleanness, drunkenness, excessive usury, symony, forgery, usurpation of the holy ministry, conventicles, ungodly libelling, and many other abuses; for who commonly are privy to such sins but men of like humour and affection, who can never be presumed to be likely to accuse, but rather to conceal such horrid offenders; and therefore, since that power of thus proceeding was by that most pernicious over-ruling faction in the Long Parliament extorted from the church, how have all those fore-mentioned impieties, like a general deluge, overwhelmed the manners of Englishmen!

XXXIII. That it may by a law be provided, (according to the practice of other well-policed states,) that an obstinate debauched son may be punished by the magistrate as the father shall require; and that in some certain cases, (as is ordained by the imperial laws,) *liberi a potestate patria liberati in potestatem redigantur, ut si fuerint ingrati vel insigniter injuriosi in parentes suos*, &c. Children freed from their parents' power may be reduced under their power, as in case they become notoriously ungrateful, or injurious, &c.

XXXIV. That no man, till he attain to the age of at least 25, *ad annum consistentiæ*, (according to the custom of our southern neighbours, where men are sooner ripe) may be enabled to sell or alienate his lands, considering that in England very many estates have been most foolishly spent and sold, after the age of 21, which by the same persons, arriving to their wits before 25, would have been preserved.

XXXV. That (according to the policy of William the Conqueror, for assuring of peace and concord) no man of any considerable estate, who was in actual rebellion against the former or present king, may be permitted to match their sons and daughters (as they now do) to those of their own tribe and faction, thereby entailing non-conformity and faction, and perpetuating an impious hatred against the present government of church and state.

XXXVI. That, to take off some of the present continual charge of foot and horse in constant pay, and yet assure peace amongst us, that most excellent and politic law may be revived, called *Vis us Franci Plegii*, whereby all men, under the degree of gentry and clergy, may stand obliged to find sureties for their loyalty toward the king; and those sureties to be bound to find each man of their pledge to be forthcoming within 31 days, or else to satisfy for his offence; and that all persons who cannot find such sureties, may be imprisoned or banished. This custom was by our ancestors so highly approved, that, by Bracton, it is called *res quasi sacra, quia solam personam regis respicit, et introducta fuit pro pace et communi utilitate regni.* And, in case this should not be assented unto, then considering that the king must necessarily be at the continual charge of armed men, to bridle the proud disloyal humour of all those sons of Belial who obstinately refuse conformity to the government established, that they all, in all taxes, may be obliged to pay double, if not to defray the whole charges which they themselves occasion.

XXXVII. That all non-conforming ministers yet living, may, by an act of parliament, be obliged publicly to declare, in the market-town next to their abode, by word of mouth, their hearty recantation of their principal factious, seditious, and rebellious assertions, now extant in print; whereby the eyes of the many seduced people may be opened, and may at length perceive how impiously they have been misled and abused. That the penalty for refusing to make such recantation may be banishment at the least: for if any refuse so to do, it must either be through scorn and contempt of authority, or else that they are still in heart as rebellious and seditious as ever; either of which, in other countries, would be punished more severely.

XXXVIII. That repeal may be made of that unnatural law of punishing the innocent in case he fly: For, if a man be accused of a capital crime, and perceiving the power and malice of his enemy, and the often corruption and partiality of some judge, should run away for fear of the event, and afterwards be taken and brought to a legal tryal, and there making it sufficiently appear that he was not guilty of the crime, is therefore acquitted, yet shall he be by our law condemned to lose his goods. It is true, that a written law may forbid innocents to fly, but that flying for fear of injury should (after a man is absolved of a crime judicially) be taken for presumption of guilt, is contrary to the nature of a presumption, which ought to have no place after judgment given.

XXXIX. That, for the poor, who are ashamed to discover their poverty, and to declare their wants, there may be yearly appointed commissioners or overseers (according to that excellent custom in Holland) to go to their houses, and there privately to inform themselves of their necessities and condition of life, and to take care for a private relief before they are constrained to beg or do worse.

XL. That, according to the wisdom of our ancestors, and the custom of the most civilized nations, some sumptuary laws may be made, whereby the great excess, especially in the inferior sort of English, may be restrained, and most degrees and orders may be discerned by their habit or port, as now in the universities and amongst the clergy is partly done.

XLI. That, as in the courts at Westminster, so much more in the highest court of England, all parliament men, whilst they attend on the parliament, may be obliged, upon high penalties, to wear a robe or vestment becoming their respective persons, and the gravity and authority of the English parliament or great counsel of England, (as all the nobility and gentry, both young and old, who have a right to sit in the great counsel at Venice, and all the Roman senators did anciently, and do at this day,) that so they may every where be discerned, and receive their due respect, and be ashamed (as we see many clergymen now are for their robes sake) to be seen frequently in play-houses, dicing-houses, cockpits, taverns, or houses of worse repute, or to be night-walkers, &c. And during their attendance on parliament, if they be found in such places and ways out of their robe or vestment, then to lose their wonted protection from arrests, according to that saying, "God giveth his angels charge over us to keep us, whilst we are in our ways, but out of our ways no protection of angels to be expected." Let no man here object that parliament-men ought rather to wear their swords, which suit not with robes or gowns, because the writ to the sheriff runs for to chuse *duos milites gladiis cinctos*; for the meaning thereof is two knights dubbed, which, in those days, was done by girding on a sword; but it was ever expected, and sometimes especially commanded, that they should attend on parliament, a council of peace, *gladiis discincti*, without their swords, and their robes then will be sufficient guard for their persons, as well in England as it is now in other countries.

XLII. That as the coins, so the weights and measures, both wet and dry, may be (according to Magna Charta, and 14 Edw. III.) exactly alike all over England, as it is carefully provided in other countries.

XLIII. That most, if not all, eatable things exposed to sale in the market, as well as in shops, may be sold by weight, (as is done in Spain,) and also may weekly or monthly be rated at a reasonable rate (as bread in cities) by the magistrates or officers sworn so to do.

XLIV. That (according to the good policy of Italy) all taverns, inns, ale-houses, victualling houses, may be obliged to have a printed table hang publickly of the prices of all such things as they are wont or allowed to sell to guests.

XLV. That no vintner, inn-keeper, ale-seller, victualler, or maltster, may in any corporation be intrusted with the execution of those laws which may in any ways prejudice their profit.

XLVI. That, to reduce servants to their pristine and due humility, diligence, frugality, faithfulness, and obedience, a law be made that no servant shall be henceforth received into any other service without a testimonial, under the hands and seals of their former master or mistress, that they are competently endowed with all those qualities forementioned.

XLVII. That (according to the excellent policy of the Romans) there may be appointed some persons of the best rank and quality, both in city and country, to be *censores morum*, for reforming of manners, (whereof an universal corruption seems now to be in England,) to be furnished with a power to enquire into men's lives, to take notice if any man neglects his farm, trade, or profession, and how he otherwise maintaineth himself.

XLVIII. That special provision be made for executing all our good laws already enacted for the encrease of tillage, where more people may be set on work, and they rendered more strong and stout for service of their country against an enemy. And likewise for executing the laws made for increase of fishing, whereby more people may be fitted for sea-service, whereof this kingdom, surrounded almost with the sea, will ever have special use.

And more particularly, that in the time of Lent, and all fasting days, none to eat flesh without license, as is done in a great part of Spain; and the money paid for such licenses to be wholly applied towards the promoting of the herring fishing upon the coast of England, which, to the shame of this nation, is now unjustly engrossed by the Hollanders.

XLIX. That, according to the good policy of our ancestors, all the married nobility and gentry of England (without special leave of his majesty to do otherwise) may be obliged to keep house in the country, every one at his own *manerium*, so named, a *manendo* of abiding there, *ut semper presto essent ad servitia regis et patriæ perimplenda*, to be ready there to serve his king and country, and, by a laudable hospitality, to gain the affections and dependences of the peasantry.

L. That, according to ancient canons of the church, and according to divers other reformed churches, and according to the custom of the primitive Christians, no dead body may be hereafter interred in any church, especially in London, or the suburbs thereof, but either in some vault, or else in the church-yard, or rather in some decent inclosed place without the city. To bury in churches is to the dead no benefit, and to the living it is not only chargeable, but most unwholesome, that so many putrified carcasses should be so near under their noses all the time of their devotion.

LI. That as all clergymen are, by common law, exempted from all inferior offices, as bailiff, beadle, constable, &c., to serve neither *per se nec per alium*, to the end that they may attend their function, so they may (according to a statute 8 Hen. IV., num. 12, in the unprinted parliament rolls) be exempted from arraying and mustering of men or horse for the war; for their glebe lands, and spiritual revenues, being held in *purâ et perpetuâ eleemosyna*, i. e. *frank almoyne*, ought, by Magna Charta, to be exempted from all such burdens. And as for their persons, they serve their country otherwise, and for that service ought to be counted worthy (as well, if not better, than the Levites of old) of their spiritual profits and revenues, and also worthy of the king's protection, not only for their service, but also in that they pay to the king the first year's profits, and every year the tenth of all spiritual benefices. Besides, the clergy being by their function prohibited to wear swords, may neither serve in person, nor can be capable of any honour, as knighthood, usually conferred on warriors.

LII. That as *nullum tempus occurrit regi*, no custom nor prescription may be pleaded to the prejudice of the King of kings: That all compositions or customs of paying a little money for a great tithe may be every where abrogated, and all tithes taken again in kind, or a new composition according to the present value, which is but justice, and more concerns this parliament to do for the church than it concerned the parliament 18 of Elizabeth to do for colleges, by obliging their tenants to pay one-third part of their old rent in corn.

LIII. That all lands anciently belonging to the knights-templars, hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, or the order of Cistercian monks, which, by popish dispensation, were anciently exempted from paying tithes, may, *de novo*, be obliged, as all other lands in England, to pay tithes, at least all those lands given to those orders since the time they were so exempted, as by all law and justice they ought to do.

LIV. That our ecclesiastical officers, chancellors, commissaries, officials, &c., may be in holy orders, as the canonists and modern legists in the Romish church are for the most part, that so neither the Romanists on one hand, nor presbyterians on the other, may have so much reason to except against them in the matter of excommunication, as executed by lay hands; *utcunque illi non assumunt clavium potestatem sed tantummodo pœnam canonis declarant, et infligunt ob contumaciam.*

LV. That (as hath been long practised in the United Netherlands) registers may be settled in every hundred, or in every county at least, and all lands and houses may be entered into that book, and therein all alienations to be set down in alphabetical order, and none to be authentic if not there entered, that so no man hereafter may be cheated by a pre-mortgage, or any other way, but that all men may be satisfied in what they possess, and what they may call their own.

LVI. That, as among the Jews, where, by immediate divine appointment, the chief clergyman, Aaron, was brother to the supreme magistrate, Moses, and the priests and the Levites were all of noble stock; and, as amongst Christians even here in England antiently, and at this day in foreign Christian states, the chief clergy have been oft of noble, and sometimes of royal blood, and the ordinary priests usually sons of the gentry, whereby they come to be more highly honoured, and their just authority better obeyed, so now in England, that the two archbishops may be (if possible) of the highest noble (if not royal) blood of England, and all the bishops of noble blood, and the inferior priests sons of the gentry, and not (after the example of that wicked rebel Jeroboam, and our late republicans) to make priests of the lowest of the people, whilst physic and law, professions ever acknowledged in all nations to be inferior to divinity, are generally embraced by gentlemen, and sometimes by persons nobly descended, and preferred much above the divines profession.

LVII. That as in the universities, all heads of colleges (if their founders intentions were rightly observed) and all fellows of colleges, are obliged *communi jure* so long as they hold those places to abstain from marriage and the carnal knowledge of women, so in the church, that not only archbishops and bishops, but all others that take any ecclesiastical benefice, may by a statute be obliged, so long as they hold those benefices, to abstain in like manner; and as without a dispensation no man can hold two benefices with cure of souls, so no beneficed man should take a wife without either dispensation (in some few cases to be allowed) or resigning his benefice. To say they cannot abstain, or shall be occasioned for want of wives to do worse, all fellows of colleges, who commonly there pass the very heat of their youth, might with much more reason plead the same, and yet would be derided for their pains. By which abstinence the clergy would be enabled to be much more hospitable and charitable, and so better beloved; they would live with more gravity and decency, and so more feared; they might then far better attend their studies and cure of souls, and so be able to give up a better account at last.

LVIII. That, according to the good policy of Queen Elizabeth, the chancellors or vice-chancellors of both our universities may be obliged to deliver the king every fourth or fifth year a just, true, and impartial list of all the eminent and hopeful students, especially those of the civil law, to set down punctually their names, colleges, standings, and faculty, wherein they did, or were likely to excel, that so, when any occasion should be to send an ambassador abroad, the king might nominate him an associate, a secretary, or chaplain, and when any preferment fit for persons of an academical education should fall, the king might make choice of the person.

LIX. That (since divers known Jews are by his majesty's princely clemency permitted again to inhabit in this kingdom) some good laws (according to the wisdom of his majesty's predecessors, and the present practice of other well-policed Christian dominions) may be enacted in order both to the Christians safety and the Jews salvation. It was the antient law of England, as appears in Fleta, that a Christian, whether man or woman, that married with a Jew, should be burnt alive.

In Italy, by express law, all Jews, even in those places where they are freely permitted to dwell, are made uncapable to bear any office or dignity in the state, or to take any degree in the university, or to be seen in public without a distinct mark to be discerned from all Christians, or erect any new synagogues, or circumcise any not born of a Jew, or take to wife a Christian, or impunge the Christian doctrine, or to take into their family a Christian to serve as a servant, or as a nurse, or to be admitted a witness against any Christian, or be seen abroad on the day of our Saviour's Passion, or to take any usury of Christians. Also, that every Saturday afternoon, they shall be obliged to send one out of each family of the Jews to a Christian sermon appointed for them only, to the end that they may be converted to the Christian faith, or at least be convinced of the truth, and informed of the reasonableness thereof, above and beyond all other religions in the world.

LX. That by an act of parliament, or by a canon of the convocation, the computation of the church of England, at present erroneous and defective, may for the future be rendered more regular and perfect. For in the Julian or English account, (by reason of the no allowance made for almost eleven minutes every year since the year of Christ 532,) the year with all its festivals hath been brought back about ten days, and thereby caused a notable absurdity, more especially in the observation of the feast of Easter, (which for antiquity and authority yields not, as learned Christians affirm, to our Sunday or Lord's-Day) for whereas by the primitive institution, after a long and hot contention between the eastern and western churches, about the time only of observing Easter, that feast was at length, by decree of a general council, ordered to be observed for ever on the Sunday following the first full-moon after the vernal equinox, (and not on the day of the said full moon, as the Jews ever have observed their passover:) Now according to the church of England, there falls sometimes two full-moons between the vernal equinox and Easter-Day: Nay, (which is too great an absurdity to be suffered in any Christian church) two Easters will sometimes be observed in one year, and none in the next. As in the year of 1667, one Easter was observed on the 7th of April, and before our church began to write 1668, that is to say, before the 25th of March next following, there happened another Easter, viz. upon the 22d of March following, and then from the 25th of March 1668, to the 25th of March 1669, there was not an Easter at all observed in England, according to the present defective rule, whereby is guided the English computation.

LXI. Whereas of late years many fruitless and undutiful contests, debates, fears, and jealousies, to the unspeakable prejudice of the king and kingdom, have risen about the king's prerogative, the privileges of the house of peers, and of the house of commons, and about the rights and liberties of the subject, that, by a general consent in parliament, the royal prerogative (which in the hands of the king is as a scepter of gold, but in the hands of subjects is as a rod of iron, as was sufficiently felt when but that one prerogative of continuing and dissolving the parliament was extorted from King Charles the First) may be in all points (as was lately done in that grand point of the militia) stated, asserted, declared, and established, and in like manner the ancient, due, and respective privileges of either house of parliament, and the true rights and liberties of the subject.

LXII. That, to prevent future mischief to this nation, some clauses in the late act of oblivion and indemnity may be amended, or at least explained, and more especially about the beginning of that act these words: "That all manner of treasons, &c. counselled, commanded, acted, or done since Jan. 1637, and before June 1660, by virtue of any command, power, authority, commission, warrant, or instructions from his late majesty King Charles, or his majesty that now is, or from any other person deriving authority from them, &c. be pardoned," &c. which words might possibly be foisted in designedly to insinuate as if (according to that most absurd and traitorous position of the rebellious members of the Long Parliament) the king's person, or any commissionated by him, could be guilty of treason against the king's authority, or against his two houses of parliament, by pursuing of rebels, of what condition or quality soever, to bring them to justice according to the laws of the land.

LXIII. That for the future, to avoid the great dishonour of making additional or explanatory acts of parliament, for frequently, as hath of late been done, all or most bills once read in either houses of parliament may be, before it be passed, published, as anciently amongst the Romans, to the view of all men that will come; to the end, that any other man, not only a member of either house, may, within the space of certain days, freely propose in writing his exceptions, additions, alterations, and amendments.

LXIV. That the stile and wording of our acts of parliament may be corrected and reduced to such as agrees with that of former times, and with the tenor of the writs whereby the lords and commons are summoned to parliament, and particularly that it may no longer be used [Be it enacted by the advice, but only by the assent of the commons] as was carefully observed in all former times, lest our posterity mistaking may bring great mischief on this nation, as was done in the reign of King Charles the First, by the usurpation of the commons in that very point, contrary to the tenor of the writ of summons, which ought to be their main rule.

LXV. That (as in the reformed churches beyond the seas, and as in the royal chapel of the King of England, which should be a pattern to all other English churches, every Sunday morning early and other festivals) there may be in all parish churches (but more especially in London) divine service, and plain sermons only for servants, apprentices, and the meaner sort of people, who have most need of all to be instructed, and yet now, for want of room or leave, seldom come to church at all, or to very little purpose, the ordinary eleven of clock sermons being usually made and intended for the best and most knowing persons of the parish, who have the least need of instruction.

LXVI. That as by the constitutions called the Apostles Canons, V. 14. 17. not only Friday was weekly to be observed with fasting, because on that day our Saviour was murdered, but also Wednesday, because on that day he was betrayed and sold; so by an act of parliament, not only in the month of January, a day of humiliation to be yearly observed for then murdering King Charles the First at London, as is already piously provided, but also another day of humiliation may be yearly observed in the month wherein the best of kings was betrayed and sold at Newcastle.

LXVII. Whereas it hath been commonly averred, that the monarchy of England is so easy a government, that no new laws or any new taxes are put upon the subject without their own consent given by themselves or their deputies in parliament, yet no copy-holder or lease-holder, although he holds a thousand pounds a year in lands or houses, is suffered to have any vote in the election of knights of the shire, when at the same time a poor inconsiderable freeholder of 40*s*. a year hath as good a vote as any: For regulation whereof there is by many thousands justly claimed an act of parliament.

LXVIII. The inequality of land-taxes upon several counties, hatched and contrived with much partiality in the late times of rebellion, is so great, that to regulate the same would be a work well worthy of a speedy act of parliament.

LXIX. Whereas the House of Commons consists of above 500 persons, and of them some counties, without any sufficient ground or reason, send 7 or 8 times as many as divers other counties that are as large or larger, it might be a work worthy of a parliament to regulate the same, and also to regulate all elections and all boroughs that send burgesses to parliament.

LXX. For the increase of the fore-mentioned public stock (if there should be need) perhaps there is no way so reasonable as by a lottery throughout the whole kingdom, for that would reach those persons who have money to spare and spend idly, yet cannot well be reached either by land-tax, or house-tax, or poll-bill; such as are all young men, who have neither house nor lands, nor office nor employment, and yet every day spend much money in gaming, drinking, &c.

LXXI. If the parliament should still think fit to lay a land-tax, then whether it will not be very reasonable that also all monies should pay as well as land: for how unjust is it that he that hath 1000*l*. a year in land or houses should pay a great sum of money taxed upon his land or houses, and he that hath 20,000*l*. in money, which at any time will purchase 1000*l*. a year in land, should pay not a penny. In Holland therefore every monied man is taxed by some of his neighbours according to what they judge him worth in money or goods, and if any man think himself aggrieved, or taxed too high, he hath the liberty to swear himself not worth so much, which happens very rarely, and then he is taxed less.

LXXII. For the increase of the fore-mentioned public stock, if there should yet be need, what tax could be more equal and universal than a small tax upon salt, or upon candles, as is in divers foreign countries.

LXXIII. There is wanting a law, (wherein although not all England is concerned, yet a great part thereof is,) that in the capital city of England, not only all the streets and lanes should be kept so clean that all sorts of persons might walk as commodiously in winter as in summer, which is of late years brought to pass in that great and populous city of Paris in France, but also, as is done in that city, all the winter nights, in the middle of all the streets there should be hanged out so many candles or lamps as that all sorts of persons in this great trading city might walk about their business as conveniently and safely by night as by day.

LXXIV. A law for the better conveniency and benefit of traders and travellers, that at least all roads or highways leading from any parts of England to London may be speedily repaired, and made at least 20 feet wide, all great hollow ways filled up, all very crooked ways made straight, all bridges and cause-ways repaired, at all cross roads posts to be set up with inscriptions, and hands pointing out the several places whereunto the several ways lead, as is done in some countries for the use and benefit of all travelling strangers.

LXXV. Amongst other wants in England, this is by knowing men esteemed none of the least, and may justly deserve to be proposed to the consideration of the true sons of the church now sitting in this parliament, viz. That whereas very many parish churches since the beginning of the late horrid rebellion have been suffered to run to decay, and some of them now almost falling down, and that the dissenters from the church of England by law established, though rich and numerous, do generally refuse to contribute proportionably towards the timely reparation of the said churches whereunto by no statute law they can be compelled; therefore that a short bill may be brought in to constrain all parishioners to pay ratably towards the reparation of their parish churches respectively without any delay.

Now, in case any of these fore-recited proposals shall be judged beneficial for this kingdom (as many of them are by experience found to be in other Christian well-governed countries) what a shame would it be, if amongst 600 persons (for of so many or more consist the two honourable houses of parliament) there should not be found a tenth part to be so good patriots and of such public spirits, as to prefer each one but one bill, for the drawing up whereof, and removing objections, and further information in any particular, &c. the proposer himself humbly offers to contribute his utmost service, and to be ready whensoever he shall be called by any committee appointed to debate or consider any of the said proposals.

Postscript.

Amongst all these fore-mentioned wants of England, amongst the many grievances of this nation, there seems to be none greater than the want of a register, whereby to prevent frauds, forgeries, cheats, and perjuries, in purchases and mortgages; such a register as hath for a long time been practised with much benefit and admirable success in all our neighbour nations; such a register as hath been generally desired by the most wise and most honest men of England, but seems to be reserved for the honour and glory of our present dread sovereign, King James the Just, to whom it is most humbly proposed, that for the infinite good and benefit of all his loving subjects, and of all strangers fled hither for protection, his majesty would graciously be pleased to appoint a select committee of lords spiritual and temporal, of some of the learned judges, and of some members of the House of Commons, to receive such proposals as shall be offered touching the speedy erecting of a register; after mature deliberation to draw up a bill to be read in both houses of parliament. Such a bill as would secure all purchases from dormant intails, from all premortgages, from private trusts and assignments, from forged deeds, pocket-securities, long leases, and a multitude of other frauds and incumbrances which the wit and knowledge of the most learned in the law can never be able to discover. Such a bill as would prevent those common and vile practices which fill our courts with many long, chargeable, and infamous suits.

Such a register would encourage foreigners to bring over vast sums of money, would raise lands, as in Holland, to thirty years purchase, and lower interest of monies to three per cent. whereby trade and commerce would infinitely increase. Briefly, the benefits and advantages thereof are more and greater than any English-man can easily express or conceive.

Lastly, An act of parliament for a solemn anniversary day of thanksgiving during the reign of our sovereign lord the king now reigning, not only for the many signal and wonderful preservations of his royal person, both by sea and land, and of his right and title to this kingdom, maugre the wicked contrivances, conspiracies, and associations of all his mortal enemies, but also for his most peaceable accession to this crown, with the universal good-will and rejoycing of this whole nation, and of all his other dominions.

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF KING JAMES II.

SECOND CLASS.

CIVIL TRACTS.

KING JAMES II.

SECOND CLASS.

CIVIL TRACTS.

The Memoirs of Titus Oates. Written for Publick Satisfaction. 1685.

Nothing displayed the sullen and revengeful disposition of James more than his condescending to prosecute with a sort of personal inveteracy the witnesses in the celebrated popish plot. Even those who regarded Oates and Dugdale as perjured monsters, (an opinion from which there are now few dissenters,) were sensible that the king debased his own character by condescending to 'let his vengeance stoop at such garbage. Oates was, however, brought to trial for perjury.

" Mr Justice Withins had the honour to pronounce the sentence upon him, which he did in a stile that very ill became the bench; for he went thro' the several articles with a sort of wanton pleasantry, and almost seemed to repine that he could not be his executioner.

" His words were these: ' First, the court does order for a fine, that you pay a thousand marks upon each indictment. Secondly, that you be stript of all your canonical habits. Thirdly, the court does award, That you stand upon and in the pillory here before Westminster-hall gate upon Monday next, for an hour's time, with a paper over your head (which you must first walk with round about to all the courts in Westminster-hall) declaring your crime, and that upon the first indictment. Fourthly, on the second indictment, upon Tuesday you shall stand upon and in the pillory, at the Royal Exchange, for the space of an hour, with the same inscription. Fifthly, you shall, upon the next Wednesday, be whipt from Aldgate to Newgate; and on Friday you shall be whipt from Newgate to Tyburn by the hands of the common hangman. But, Mr Oates,' proceeded he, ' we cannot but remember there were several particular times you swore false about; and therefore, as annual commemorations, that it be known to all people as long as you live, we have taken care of you for an annual punishment: Upon the 24th of April, every year as long as you live, you are to stand upon and in the pillory at Tyburn, just opposite to the gallows. You are next to stand upon and in the pillory here at Westminster-hall gate, every 9th of August as long as you live: And, that it may be known what we mean by it, 'tis to remember that you swore about Mr Ireland's being in town between the 8th and 12th of August. You are to stand upon and in the pillory at Charing-Cross on the 10th of August during your life; the like over against the Temple-Gate upon the 11th. And upon the second of September (which is another notorious time, which you cannot but remember) you are to stand upon and in the pillory at the Royal Exchange. And all this you are to do every year during your life; and to be committed close prisoner as long as you live. This I pronounce to be the judgment of the court upon you for your offences: And I must tell you plainly, if it had been in my power to have carry'd it further, I should not have been unwilling to have given judgment of death upon you; for I am sure you deserve it.'

"It is pretty plain that the design of the court was to have him whipt to death; and, had he been less a prodigy in every respect, he had certainly sunk under so horrible a punishment: for he was made to suffer the full rigour of his punishment without the least abatement: and though not able to go or stand the second day, thro' the intolerable anguish of his sufferings during the first, and his dread of worse to ensue (or, according to the charity of Lestrange, because he was scandalously drunk,) he was nevertheless laid on a sledge, his former wounds were cross-furrowed with new, and, like a corpse embalmed in its own blood, he was carried back to Newgate, where, thro' the excellency of his constitution and the care of those who still adhered to him, he obtained a perfect cure, and lived to see the great cause he had been so deeply engaged in once more triumphant."—RALPH'S *History*, I. 865.

The severity of this infliction excited compassion for Oates even among the Tories, on which account it was judged necessary, by such fugitive pieces as these Memoirs, to refresh the public memory concerning the villainies of this celebrated impostor.

The Preface.

THE great and wonderful exploits of our hero Titus have so far out-done the feats of Sancho Pancha himself, that the very atchievements even of a Garantua will bear a fairer appearance of history and truth than the more romantick narrative of our great and formidable Salamanca discoverer: For, truly, to consider how strangely powerful the infatuations even of almost three whole kingdoms have been, in reposing such implicit faith in a discovery made up of so many incongruities, inconsistencies, and palpable contradictions, as are found all along through the depositions of the pretended popish plot, is enough to make the English credulity so universally ridiculous, that all Christendom shall blush at us, and our very posterity shall be so much ashamed of their fore-fathers follies and stupidity, till future generations, even for their own reputation, shall as zealously endeavour to cover and conceal this most egregious blind side of their besotted progenitors, as ever Shem and Japhet did the nakedness of their father.

But because justice has at last in some part overtaken him, and Fridays and Saturdays inquisition into the innocent blood which that barbarous wretch has so solemnly murdered, has set forth the perjured murderer in some of his true infernal colours, I have thought fit to publish these farther Memoirs of that ever execrable fardle of imposture and perjury, his pretended discovery of the popish plot. And the reason of this undertaking is, that notwithstanding the two last trials have made his shams and lyes so notoriously apparent, as to make him truly deserve the lord chief justice's proper character of him, of being certainly the blackest of villains that ever lived upon the face of the earth, and those two limbs of his plot, his consult on the 24th of April, and the August following, have sufficiently assured us that all the rest of his discoveries are but branches of the same damnable stock, whilst the same vein of perjury runs through the whole mass of his hellish lyes and narratives, yet because the universal spirit of delusion is such, that too many of our English fools are as fond of their own senseless dreams as of their very Bibles themselves (and no doubt there are yet thousands of those unthinking, unconverted animals, that have that veneration still for their darling Titus, that they pay him even a wild Indian adoration, and make a god of the devil himself,) it will not be amiss to examine a few more particulars, by way of inquiry into the most important foundation of his whole plot, and shew what nonsense and chimeras have been imposed upon the world.

The popish plot, as delivered by Titus Oates, and the rest of his Zanies, Bedlow, Dugdale, Prance, &c. is wholly founded on these two bases:

First, That the papists had a design to murder the late king.

And next, to massacre us; popery being only to be introduced by these two desperate and bloody undertakings.

The several attempts and designs of murdering the king are as follow:

The first bloody resolve of the papists for that purpose was on the 24th of April in the year 1678, whilst Oates, upon the Holy Evangelists, assures us, that the principal of the jesuits and other great popish agents, to the number of above fifty, from several parts of the world, met together on that day, and came to this resolve; That Pickering and Groves should go on with their attempt of murdering the king, for which the one should have 1500*l.* and the other 30,000 masses: To which resolve and promise they all at several places subscribed their several hands.

Now we are to know likewise who those two persons were that were thus set to work, viz. Two poor servants and retainers to the Romish priests, and two persons who had been before engaged in the same design, and had dog'd the king (by Oates's own oath) from the year seventy to that very day, with screwed guns and silver bullets to do the same execution, and were two such wretched fools at so desperate a piece of service, that one time their flint was loose, another time their gun was charged with all bullets and no powder, another time with no powder in the pan, and another time with all powder and no bullets: Yet nevertheless, after they had always miscarried at this egregious senseless rate, and had been disciplined severely for it, here meets a consult of jesuits from all quarters of Europe; and after a full debate upon so important a point to their grand design, as the immediate murder of the king, they come to no other result than that these two poor cuddens, after above seven years fumbling before, should go on with the attempt, without so much as engaging one hand beside in the conspiracy (for all the other assassinates were not embarked in the design till August following;) so that had Oates been able to have proved himself here in town at the April consult, nevertheless his great April plot must still have fallen to the ground, and consequently all the blood of the executed papists have cried for vengeance from so perjured a murderer; unless we can imagine that so many popish emissaries, the greatest of all the Romish politicians, could be guilty of so ridiculous a management.

Besides, as the sequel of this king-killing-blow, Oates particularly swears, That no sooner was the king to have fallen, but both the Spanish pilgrims, 30,000 strong, and a French army besides, were prepared to land, and follow the blow by joining with the English papists already listed for that purpose, and cutting the protestants throats; so that upon the up-shot of the whole matter, unless we can suppose that the French and Spanish kings had their pilgrims and armies and a fleet ready to land them, all prepared for seven whole years together, winter or summer, to step over the water, to nick the business, and prosecute the massacre upon the crisis of the king's murder, the whole conspiracy comes to nothing.

Besides, we must pardon Mr Oates's forgetfulness in several main passages of Pickering's atchievement; first, That in his Narrative he expressly upon oath assigns the time of Pickering's flint being loose, and his being lashed for it, to be in January 1677, but at his trial he positively swears it was done in April 1678. Secondly, we must not be stagger'd to imagine how a fellow, in so open a place as St James's-Park, could present a gun against the king, and flash in the very pan, (as another time he swears for Pickering,) and yet neither the king nor any one of his attendants discover him. Neither are we to reflect, how it is utterly impossible to shoot a silver bullet out of a screwed gun, silver being too hard a metal ever to be discharged without tearing the gun all to pieces.

For the history of his other popish ruffians, his Conyers with his dagger, his four

Irish ruffians (by the bye, all gentlemen of quality and fortune, and yet all hired for so bold an attempt as shooting the king for but poor fourscore pounds between them, when the little inconsiderable wretch Groves was to be rewarded with no less than 1500*l.*) For the history, I say, of these assassinates and Sir George Wakeman's affair, they were altogether a mass of nonsense so nauseously fulsome, that even the all-believing whigs themselves, in the very hottest dog-days of the true protestant zeal and enthusiasm, turned stomach at, insomuch that the terrible poisoner, Sir George himself, was acquitted even by a whig jury, in defiance of all the popish fears and jealousies, which at that time of the world were no less than mountain high.

But to muster the strength of all these last undertakers, and indeed the whole force of his plot itself, in his preface to his Narrative he tells the world, that he discovered his plot first to his majesty, by the introduction of Mr Christopher Kerby, on the 13th of August, 1678; at which time you must note, he brought no other credentials to support his plot, but words and forehead, oath and impudence, being utterly unable to produce the least scrap of one of all his numberless pretended treasonable papers, letters, or commissions, to corroborate his evidence; notwithstanding his Narrative assures us, that the jesuits had long before wrought the king almost to an utter deafness and infidelity against all informations whatever against them, and consequently his preserving some of those undeniable records against them, all entrusted in his hands, was the only necessary introduction to the credit and support of his whole discovery.

But, however, not one syllable of any thing of that kind was ever seen or brought forth from that day to this, and the only lame excuse that can help him is to say, truly whilst he plotted with them he was one of them, and therefore did not seek to preserve any such convincing papers or commissions: Though, by the bye, it looks a little odd in one of his trials, where he downright swears he was a protestant all along, and disguised himself a papist only to herd with them and betray them. But let that pass.

The prodigious over-sight and negligence of our discoverer in this point being forgiven him for once, how came it to pass nevertheless, that after that very 13th day of August, when he returned again to the jesuits, and plotted with them once more, only as a spy and a trapan to take an opportunity of betraying them; when after that very day he delivered out several new commissions, met also at a consult of the Benedictines, and carried their subscribed resolve of murdering the king to a second consult of the Carmelites, for to sign it; met likewise another time Conyers with his broad dagger in Gray's-Inn-Walks, and Pickering with his basket of fire-balls at noon-day, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, when he saw Coleman dispatch the messenger to the four Irish ruffians: Nay, and all the whole business of Sir George Wakeman was all acted after that day; when, in fine, no less than thirty paragraphs in his Narrative, containing the very hottest part of his whole plot, were all transactions after this first discovery to the king: How comes it to pass, I say, after his cold reception at court, and the king's so obdurate incredulity, that our adventurer should set out a treason-hunting once more, for no other design but for proof and demonstrations, and ocular testimonials; and yet after all these offered advantages of both conspirators and conspiracies, traitors and treasonable records in his power, he should still come to Sir Edmondbury Godfrey the September following, with his full and compleat popish manifesto, and yet without one scrap of commissions, papers, resolves, &c. and with only his old jargon, breath and words, noise and oaths, for the support of his pretended oraculous discovery. Good Heaven! How wide was the English swallow, when such idle ridiculous stuff could go down!

But to leave the king-killing part of his plot, and take a little view of his protestant throat-cutting, viz. The second act of his popish tragedy.

Here we must return to his Spanish pilgrims, his black-bills, and his French armies before-mentioned, together with the armies of English papists designed to be raised to join with them. And to begin at home, here was the Lord Bellasis, and the Lord Petre, and a great many other of the greatest Roman catholicks, had commissions deliver'd them to be generals, lieutenant-generals, and so downwards to colonels and captains, &c. over several popish armies intended to be raised to subdue England to the Romish yoke.

Now here are a great many very odd things in this projection. First, 'Tis wondrous that the jesuits and the head plotters of the papists were so cock-sure of the fidelity of their whole party, that they durst hope to list so many thousands of Roman catholicks, (nay had listed them, if Bedlow may be believed, being all ready to rise at four and twenty hours warning,) and not have one false brother amongst them all, to betray so barbarous and so rebellious an undertaking. There was a time when thousands of that religion ventured both lives and fortunes to recover the king's right against usurping traitors, with scarce one dissenter amongst the whole party against so loyal a cause; and 'tis a very strange change, that in a matter of thirty-odd years they should all be so universally perverted to the deposing and murdering him, as not to meet so much as one Pendril or one Huddlestone amongst so many thousands (as this army was to consist of) that might probably have told tales beforehand, and betrayed so wicked and so hellish a purpose, and thereby not only have ruin'd the whole plot, but the whole party besides.

Secondly, We are to take notice it was in May, June, July, and August, 1678, that Oates attests his delivery of commissions for the pretended popish armies: And on the success of these armies, assisted by the foreign popish auxiliaries beforementioned, depended the whole fortune of the Romish cause, popery being wholly to be established by military execution. And yet, as the devil and the doctor would have it, Pickering and Groves, as you have been told before, had been seven years together at the king's very throat; nay, and the great rewards of *1500l.* and 30,000 masses, together with Pickering's severe backside castigation, were motives and spurs to hasten and expedite the future performance of these two terrible screwed gunners. And yet here was the king to have been shot the very next moment, (if possible,) and all the while the very commissions were not given out till some months after, for the raising the army so immediately necessary to prosecute the blow after the king's dispatch: Now, in the name of dulness, where were our wits when all this hideous piece of apocrypha was current gospel amongst us?

And, lastly, To bring the foreign heroes into play too, Oates swears, that upon subduing of England in manner aforesaid, the French were to be lords of the ascendant, the government of England being designed to have devolved into their hands. And pray mark the riddle of the business: here was the Spanish king, in the year 1678, leading no less a body of men than thirty thousand fighting pilgrims to help to establish the French king in the monarchy of England, at the very same time that he was in actual war against him, and an utter enemy to France, and so harassed by the French that he was courting almost all Christendom against him, and imploring all foreign aids and alliances to oppose him; yes, though he had already lost so large and so important a part of his own country to him, and was not over able with his best strength to defend the rest from him, yet is this Spanish king forsooth (if Oates's evidence will hold water) aiding and assisting the French king with so vast a succour, for the enlarging the very victories of his most hated enemy by so prodigious an acquisition as the imperial diadem of England. Oh! the miracles of a Romish plot, and the more miraculous English stomachs to digest it!

This, reader, is the great and dreadful popish bug-bear that once had power to fright three kingdoms out of their senses; and this the saviour of the nation, that so many almost prostrate knees and up-lifted hands entertained and saluted with no less than palm-branches and hosannahs. The particularising of all the nonsensical incongruities and contradictions through the whole legend of his discovery, such as his swearing at one trial he was perverted to the Romish religion, and at another that he was still a protestant, and only played the hypocrite amongst the papists, to learn their secrets and to detect their plots; and then his swearing before the council that he knew not Coleman, when brought face to face before him, and yet at his trial to swear he was his most intimate acquaintance and co-plotter in the whole business of the four Irish ruffians, and consequently was the main evidence that hanged him; but, most of all, this his most egregious perjury, in swearing before the House of Lords that he had discovered the whole plot, and had not one person more to accuse than what he had named and impeached before,—and yet, after all this, to bring the very queen into the conspiracy to poison the king; a princess of that immaculate virtue and unexampled piety into so damnable and hellish a design,—that most arrogant of impostures and villainies, as far from the very shadow of truth as the monster that uttered it is from heaven;—the particularising, I say, of all the egregious and impudent falsities through his whole fardle of narratives, is a work too long and tedious. Besides, the mystery of iniquity (thanks be to Heaven) is already made so transparent almost to all eyes and understandings, that it is almost impossible that any thing but wilful and hardened blindness itself cannot plainly see through it.

The only and last, though feeble argument that his defenders (if it's possible he can have any left) can make for him, is to say, How is it possible that all his discovery should be such arrant forgery and imposture, and yet be so universally believed, even by the most unanimous and so long assent of the greatest and most sensible men of the whole kingdom? Why, truly, were not an Englishman's belief one of the greatest prodigies since the flood, this might be much wondered at. And, truly, it would appear almost stupendous how almost a whole nation should be so besotted, had not woeful experience convinced that this is the second notorious blot in our English scutcheon; for let us look back into the dismal fears and jealousies in the reign of King Charles I. and we shall find the self-same phantom governed then too, for just such another as senseless and as ridiculous imaginary plot of setting up popery and arbitrary power, *O monstrum horrendum!* blew three kingdoms into a flame; and from the dismal effects of that epidemical lunacy has left that stain upon the English name and reputation abroad in the world that not whole ages will wash off. And, truly, we have no excuse left why we should be so grossly imposed upon again, and run into a second as damnable an error as the first, but frankly confessing that the frenzy of our fathers is hereditary, and nothing but their madness running in our blood has been the cause of so enormous a folly, the extravagant apprehensions of the danger of popery being that natural imperfection, that the generality of Englishmen are as much born to as men are to a club-foot, or a hunch-back, or any other deformity, and (really) which they are almost as hardly to be cured of.

And therefore, to draw to an end with our swearing-master Titus, that hellish incendiary, and chief visible original of our so many years distractions, his sentence, though it seem severe, is much less than he deserves, our English law-makers, as never imagining the possibility of so unexampled an offender, having provided no punishment equal to the demerits of such unprecedented villainy.

Brief Reflections upon the Inconveniences attending wilful and malicious Forgery and Perjury; with some Reasons why such Crimes ought to be made Felony. 1685.

THESE two pernicious and inseparable companions, forgery and perjury, like poisonous vermine, have often sucked out and destroyed the very juice and beauty of many flourishing flowers; nor hath the royal oak escaped being encompassed about with the malignant ivy of those horrid crimes, even to that dangerous degree of rebels gaining a point almost fit for laying their fatal axes to the root of that sacred tree.

To discourse of the late grand impostors of state, or their flagitious practices, would be a task too tedious for me, or my present purpose, and only fit for an age more stupid, and less capable of observation and rational sentiments than this.

Their unparalleled villanies are now become too apparent to every discerning eye, either to be questioned or doubted; for 'tis most certain, that the extravagant pranks and projects of those monsters still beat very convincingly intense upon the nerves and intellectual parts of all truly loyal and unprejudiced subjects, who now perhaps cannot but reckon it a very great blemish to the English air that ever such miscreants should have the happiness of breathing in it.

And if there be any reason to find fault with the imperfection or deficiency of the statute-laws of this realm in criminal cases, (which undoubtedly are otherwise the best and most rational laws in the world,) 'tis principally because there are none yet severe enough against the pernicious and dangerous crimes of wilful forgery and perjury.

For if a thief steal a horse or a mare, or but the value of two or three shillings, it is felony, and by the law he ought to die for hat offence; but if a pack of rogues join together, and by forgery and perjury ruin men in their reputations and estates, they are usually only exalted to stand in the pillory, or fined, or imprisoned for it; which minute punishment seldom produces any other effect than barely to make the criminal the more incorrigible, and proves many times but as sauce to craving stomachs, preparing them the better to devour and consume the next dainties they can meet with, never scrupling to make a prey of men's lives and fortunes, though the ungodly and illegal disinheriting of kings, the unhinging of monarchy, and the utter devastation and destruction of kingdoms, societies, and families should inevitably fall into the bargain: and therefore, if an argument drawn *ab inconvenienti* (which is generally held to be very forceable) ought to have any power in any case, certainly it ought to have so in this, to make wilful and malicious forgery and perjury felony; for it's almost impossible to prove (suppose what you will) that greater inconveniences will attend the making of such crimes felony than have attended, and may be feared will attend, the not making of them so.

That many particular persons have severely smarted in their reputations and estates, as well as the kingdom in general, by forgery and perjury, 'tis presumed will not be denied by any judicious, observing, and thoughtful man: Nor durst I presume any man so totally unacquainted with the affairs of this world, but either he knows or hath heard what havock and mischief those two abominable and destructive sins have made amongst the widows and orphans of this age.

However, that you may be furnished with some few fresh instances of that kind, (for to give you all, as it is impossible, so it were fitter for a large volume than the narrow compass of a sheet of paper,) I am obliged to assure you, (particular instances of matter of fact being the most cogent and prevailing arguments,) that two persons of good quality and reputation have been lately damnified and prejudiced in their estates to the value of at least 3000*l.* in different cases, by the male-contrivance and false oaths of common hackney-swearers and knights of the post, who with their confederates and abettors (after many years prosecution, *in forma pauperis*, of the persons and executors whom they have so grossly abused and oppressed) are at last found out and detected; and now it appears that the deeds and instruments in writing by them set up, (and whereon verdicts and judgments at law for great sums of money were obtained,) were actually forged several months after the deaths of the persons and testators, whose deeds they were pretended to be, though so cunningly and artificially contrived as to bear date many years before their decease: and one of the principal forgers (being served with process to appear and answer to an information of forgery and perjury lately exhibited against him) soon after, and before justice could come to bestow upon him his due reward, died. But one of his champions and brother confederates in that horrid iniquity, having survived him, is now under prosecution for the same crimes, which undoubtedly will be so fully and plainly proved, that 'twill be almost impossible any thing should be wanting to do him right, save only severer laws for his punishment; for such hath been his confidence (as though inexpressible impudence were one of the least ingredients in the composition of his rogueries) that he hath confessed that he hath been hired and suborned to swear falsely for money; and even since the information exhibited against him, hath boldly affirmed, that he neither regarded nor valued a pillory, declaring that better men than himself were daily brought thither, and that 'twas but to have a little patience for an hour or two, and the whole business would soon receive a determination and be over, with as much ease and little trouble as a nine days wonder; which language, without question, is very agreeable to the rest of his wicked crew. So that 'tis plain the pettiness of the punishment usually inflicted upon such offenders, makes them persist the more obstinately in the practice of their black and hellish crimes; and therefore 'tis conceived, that the most probable way to abate their confidence and asswage their courage, is to make and execute more strict laws against them than there are yet in being.

Besides, 'tis credibly reported, that this famous artist (for all sorts of notorious contrivances in mischiefs) hath as great reputation for his wit and cunning in forgery, amongst all the rogues and knights of the post about this town, as ever any criminal had that was hanged at Tyburn, boasting that he could so exactly counterfeit the hand-writing of men's names, that it was impossible to find out the cheat, unless the persons whose names were so counterfeited (he usually dealing with the names of dead men) should arise out of their graves, and swear that 'twas none of their own handwriting. And that he formerly got by his subtile tricks at least 100*l.* per annum from the catholicks, it being his practice (about six or seven years since) to forge writs against several catholicks of good quality, privately pretending that the same writs were regularly issued against them upon penal statutes out of the courts of Westminster-Hall, and thereby affrighted them (he being then a common informer) into secret agreements to pay him several sums of money; whereas in truth there were never any such writs or process granted out against those persons from whom he thus vexatiously extorted money.

But to resume, and give you one or two instances more for all the rest of the great inconveniences attending the faintness and deficiency of our statute laws (in point of punishment) against wilful and malicious forgery and perjury.

If any person lie in wait to wound or deface another, or if a highway-man rob you, (though only of your travelling coin,) he becomes thereby guilty of felony, and, according to statute law, he ought to be hanged for it; besides, you have your remedy by the statute (in the last case made and provided) to recover of the hundred wherein you were robbed the value of all that was so taken from you: and this is concluded (as indeed it is) to be both reasonable and just. But if a knight of the post (by premeditated and malicious forgery and perjury) ruin and undo honest men and their families, by taking away and destroying both their lives and fortunes at once, (as too often, by sad and lamentable experience, it hath happened,) yet in this case (by the statute laws as now they are) there is no provision made either to punish the malicious perjured person with death, as a just recompence and satisfaction to the law of God for shedding innocent blood, or to subject his estate (if he have any) to make restitution to the injured person's family for the loss and ruin of his; which (*prima facie*, besides the ill consequences of it) seems to be a very severe and hard case. And wherein, in this case, doth that just proportion lie (which ought to be) between the punishment and the crime? Or how is the punishment proportionable to the offences in the cases of wilful forgery and perjury, when, after a man shall be thereby utterly ruined and undone, he shall have no other remedy and satisfaction left but (at the rate of great trouble and expense) the empty shouts and laughter of the mobile and rabble, with (it may be) the unwarrantable discharge of a few vollies of rotten oranges and eggs to the profligate and incorrigible villain that stands in the pillory?

'Tis therefore (and for other weighty reasons too tedious to be here expressed) high time, (with submission to better judgments,) both with respect to his majesty's interest and the safety and security of his kingdoms and people, that such inconveniences should be remedied and redressed, and stricter laws made (with greater punishments than yet there are) against such offenders; for if it be contrary to principles of justice and reason, that such transgressors should be exempt from punishments adequate to their crimes, then 'tis both reasonable and just that a law should be made to punish them according to their demerits, for *ratio est anima legis.*

And in regard the grand council of this nation (by his majesty's special grace and favour) are now assembled in parliament, 'tis humbly offered to the serious consideration of his most sacred majesty, and his great council assembled, that such a statute law may be made this session of parliament against wilful forgery and perjury, as may not only tend to destroy that herd of perjured satanists in this kingdom, but to relieve and discharge those that have been oppressed by their malicious contrivances from the judgments at law obtained thereby; and curb their unbridled insolences for the time to come with enacting that such crimes shall be made felony, which certainly (notwithstanding what can be rationally objected against it, after serious consultation and advising with the learned in the law concerning the due qualifying, limiting, and well-penning of such an act) will not at all (as some fancy) discourage honest and good men from a chearful swearing the truth in courts of law and justice, for the determination of controversies, (their own interest, and that most excellent rule, of doing for others as they would that they should do for them, indispensibly requiring it,) but, on the contrary, for the future will certainly affright and deter all knights of the post and hackney-swearers from offering any more to attempt the ruin of kings, kingdoms, societies, or families, by such their most destructive practices and diabolical crimes.

A Scheme for the Foundation of a Royal Hospital, and raising a Revenue of Five or Six Thousand Pounds a Year, by and for the Maintenance of a Corporation of skilful Midwifes, and such Foundlings, or exposed Children, as shall be admitted therein. As it was proposed and addressed to his Majesty King James II., by Mrs Elizabeth Cellier, in the Month of June, 1687. Now first published from her own MS. found among the said King's Papers.

Mrs Elizabeth Cellier was by profession a midwife, and therefore this scheme is entirely in character. She had formerly been deeply concerned in what was called the Meal-Tub Plot, and other schemes more likely to put people out of the world than to bring children into it. She was a woman of an active intriguing spirit, and a catholic withall, and therefore probably expected to be lady directress of the proposed hospital should her scheme be adopted.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the humble Proposal of Elizabeth Cellier,

Sheweth,

THAT, within the space of twenty years last past, above six thousand women have died in child-bed, more than thirteen thousand children have been born abortive, and above five thousand *chrysome* infants have been buried, within the weekly bills of mortality; above two-thirds of which, amounting to sixteen thousand souls, have, in all probability, perished for want of due skill and care in those women who practise the art of midwifery.

Besides the great number which are overlaid and wilfully murdered by their wicked and cruel mothers, for want of fit ways to conceal their shame and provide for their children, as also the many executions on the offenders.

To remedy which, it is humbly proposed that your majesty will be graciously pleased, by your royal authority, to unite the whole number of skilful midwifes now practising within the limits of the weekly bills of mortality, into a corporation, under the government of a certain number of the most able and matron-like women among them, subject to the visitation of such person or persons as your majesty shall appoint, and such rules for their good government, instruction, direction, and administration, as are hereunto annexed, or may, upon more mature consideration, be thought fit to be annexed.

That such number, so to be admitted, shall not exceed a thousand at one time; that every woman so to be admitted as a skilful midwife, may be obliged to pay, for her admittance, the sum of five pounds, and the like sum annually, by quarterly payments, for and towards the pious and charitable uses hereafter mentioned.

That all women so admitted into the thousand shall be capable of being chosen matrons or assistants to the government.

That such midwifes as are found capable of the employment, and cannot be admitted into the first thousand, shall be of the second thousand, paying for their admittance the sum of fifty shillings, and fifty shillings a-year, by quarterly payments, towards the pious and charitable uses hereafter mentioned; and out of these the first thousand are to be supplied as they die out.

That, out of the first sum arising from the admittance-money, one good, large, and convenient house or hospital may be erected for the receiving and taking in of exposed children, to be subject to the care, conduct, and management of one governess, one female secretary, and twelve matron-assistants, subject to the visitation of such persons as to your majesty's wisdom shall be thought necessary.

That such hospital be for ever deemed of your majesty's royal foundation, and from time to time subject to the rules and directions of your majesty, your heirs and successors.

That the annual five or six thousand pounds which may arise from the thousand licensed midwifes, and second thousand, may be employed towards the maintenance of such exposed children as may from time to time be brought into the hospital, and for the governess, her secretary, and the twelve assistant matrons, and for the necessary nurses, and their assistants, and others fit to be employed for the nourishment and education of such exposed children, in proper learning, arts, and mysteries, according to their several capacities.

That, for the better maintenance and encouragement of so necessary and royal a foundation of charity, it is humbly proposed, that, by your majesty's royal authority, one-fifth part of the voluntary charity collected or bestowed in any of the parishes within the limits of the weekly bills of mortality, may be annexed for ever to the same, other than such money taxed for the maintenance of the parish poor, or collected on briefs by the royal authority for any particular charitable use.

That likewise, by your majesty's royal authority, the said hospital may have leave to set up in every church, chapel, or publick place of divine service, of any religion whatsoever, within the limits aforesaid, one chest or box, to receive the charity of all well-minded people who may put money into the same, to be employed for the uses aforesaid.

That such hospital may be allowed to receive the donation of any lands, legacies, or other gifts, that pious and well-minded people may bestow upon them.

That such hospital may be allowed to establish twelve lesser convenient houses, in twelve of the greatest parishes, each to be governed by one of the twelve matrons, assistants to the corporation of midwifes; which houses may be for the taking in, delivery, and month's maintenance, at a price certain of any woman, that any of the parishes within the limits aforesaid shall, by the overseers of the poor, place in them; such women being to be subject, with the children born of them, to the future care of that parish whose overseers place them there to be delivered, notwithstanding such house shall not happen to stand in the proper parish.

All and every of the twelve houses to be members of, and dependants on, the royal hospital, and subject to the government of the same; and all such children as shall be exposed into them, whose parents and places of abode cannot be found, are to be conveyed thence to the great hospital, there to be bred up and educated as though they had been exposed into it.

That, for the better maintenance and encouraging the government of the said hospital in the educating such exposed children in proper learning, arts, and sciences, according to their several capacities, it is humbly proposed that, by your majesty's royal authority, all the children so exposed shall be deemed members of, and apprentices to the said society, till they attain the full age of twenty-one years, to be reckoned from their first admittance into the same, unless, by consent of the government thereof, they should happen to be married, or otherwise licensed to depart, under the public seal of the same.

That likewise, by your majesty's royal authority, the children exposed and educated as aforesaid, may be privileged to take to themselves sirnames, from the several arts or mysteries they shall be excellent in, or from the remarkable days they were exposed on, or from their complexions, shapes, &c.; and may be capable, by such names, of any honour or employment, without being liable to reproach for their innocent misfortune.

That, by your majesty's royal charter, the children so educated may be free members of every city and corporation within your majesty's kingdom of England and dominion of Wales.

That, for the better providing sure ways and means for the instructing all present and future midwifes who shall be admitted into the said corporation, fit care ought to be taken to induce that person, who shall be found most able in the arts, and most fit for that employment, to instruct them in the most perfect rules of skill, by reading lectures and discoursing to them.

That, on the lecture days, or other times appointed for that purpose, such midwife, in whose practice any extraordinary occurrents shall happen, shall report the same to the governess, and such of her assistants as shall then happen to be present, and they to be free in his or their instructions.

And it is humbly proposed, in the first years, before the charge of the said hospital can be great, that, out of the annual duties arising from the licensed midwifes, the sum of   may be paid to the proposer, to enable her to provide for her children, that nothing may divert her from employing all her industry for the good of those poor exposed children.

And that all admittance-money which shall be paid after the first thousands are settled, shall be divided between the governess and the man-midwife, or director of the house for the time being, by even and equal proportions.

That, upon the admitting any woman to be deputy to any midwife, the sum of thirty shillings shall be paid, and the like sum annually, by quarterly payments; twenty shillings whereof shall be as a fee to the governess, and ten shillings to her secretary, besides their necessary lodging and other conveniences in the said hospital.

That, after this first settlement, no married woman be admitted to be either governess, secretary, or any of the twelve principal assistants to the government; and that no married person, of either sex, shall be suffered to inhabit within the said hospital, to avoid such inconveniences as may arise as the children grow to maturity; and that, as soon as any of them be found fit and capable of such employment, the governess, secretary, under-governesses, governors, treasurer, register, and all other offices of the house shall be chosen, as they become capable thereof, and have entered themselves to continue members of the said society, during their natural lives; and if any of these persons do marry afterwards, then to clear their accounts and depart the house, by being expelled the society.

Rules for Governing the Hospital of Found Children.

That the governess be appointed by his majesty, as likewise her secretary, and twelve assistants, who are to name twenty-four to be of the government.

That, upon the death of the governess, her place be supplied by her secretary, or such person as shall be chosen by the twelve principal assistants, or the major part of them, and the approbation of his majesty; that the secretary be chosen by the governess, and approved of by his majesty, his heirs and successors.

That, upon the vacancy of one of the twelve principal assistants, by death or otherwise, one of the four-and-twenty shall succeed, by election of the governess, secretary, and the other eleven; as also, the number of four-and-twenty shall be supplied, by election of the governess, female secretary, and twelve principal assistants, or the major part of them; and, in all cases, the governess to have three, and the secretary two voices.

That all rules for governing the children, under five years of age, shall be made by the governess, her secretary, and their assistants; that the government of the whole, under such rules, be in the governess.

That all female children shall continue under the sole government and direction of the governess until they attain the full age of twenty-one years, or are married by her consent.

That all male children, at the age of five years, shall be separated from the female, and put under government of the several masters, to be appointed to instruct them in learning arts and trades, according to their several capacities and the rules of the house.

That the principal chaplain be governor of the male children above five years of age, according to such rules as shall be made from time to time, for well ordering the said hospital.

That all parish-found children, under the age of three years, shall be admitted into the said hospital, as soon as it is built, for two shillings per week, or the sum of fifteen pounds, to be paid at the election of the overseers, or vestry of the parish that send them, to continue there twenty-one years.

That there shall be appointed proper mistresses to instruct all the children under five years of age in reading and arts, according to their capacities, who are to have salaries and subsistence from the house, by such rules as shall be made from time to time, as occasion happens; which mistresses are all to be subject to the governess.

That like mistresses be appointed for instructing the female children in plain-work, lace-making, point-embroidery, and all other female arts, according to their several capacities, and under the like government.

That masters in several mysteries, arts, and handicrafts, be appointed to teach the male children; as painters, engravers, carvers, watchmakers, smiths, and carpenters of all sorts; sailmakers, taylors, shoemakers, and many other trades, according to their geniusses, strengths, and several capacities.

That an able register be appointed to set down and keep a due account of the day of the entrance of every child into the hospital, with the proper marks of its body, colour of its cloaths, and other things about it, with its hospital name, and where it was found, with its own name, if a note be left thereof, to the end that any one may recover their lost child, if they please; that the register take care to cause all children to be instructed in fair writing and accounts, according to their several capacities.

That all names are to be given by the governess, and that every child upon its being brought into the hospital, shall be marked with a cross of blue under the brawn of the arm, with the day and year of its admittance, to the end they may be found out and recovered, if they should chance to conveigh themselves out of the hospital before the age of twenty-one years, to defraud it of the benefit of the mystery, art, or trade they have learned.

That a woman, sufficiently skilled in writing and accounts, be appointed secretary to the governess and company of midwifes, to be present at all controversies about the art of midwifery, to register all the extraordinary accidents happening in the practice, which all licensed midwifes are, from time to time, to report to the society; that the female secretary be reckoned an assistant to the government, next to the governess, and capable of succeeding in her stead, if chosen thereunto by the governess, in her life-time, with the approbation of his majesty, his heirs and successors.

That the principal physician, or man-midwife, examine all extraordinary accidents, and once a-month, at least, read a public lecture to the whole society of licensed midwifes, who are all obliged to be present at it, if not employed in their practice; and he shall deliver a copy of such reading to be entered into the book to be kept for that purpose; a copy of which shall be made out to any person demanding the same, for such reasonable fee as shall be appointed by the government, and shall be free, for any licensed midwife, at all convenient times, to have recourse to the said book, and to read any part of the same *gratis*.

That no men shall be present at such public lectures, on any pretence whatsoever, except such able doctors and surgeons as shall enter themselves students in the said art, and pay, for such their admittance, ten pounds, and ten pounds a-year; five pounds to the house, and the other five to be divided equally between the governess and the chief doctor, or surgeon, that shall be director of the house for the time being.

That all physicians and surgeons, so admitted students and practitioners in the art of midwifery, shall be of council with the principal man-midwife, and be capable of succeeding him, by election of the governess, her secretary, twelve assistants, and the twenty-four lower assistants, or the major part of them all: elections to be made by balloting, the governess three balls, and the secretary two balls.

That the man-register and secretary of the house be under the command and direction of the whole government thereof, for all business except the art of midwifery, which is to be meddled with by none but the governess, female secretary, man-midwife, and their assistants.

That any child under the age of one year, whose parents are known or not known, shall be admitted into the house under the rules of being there twenty-one years, provided there be paid into the stock of the hospital the sum of thirty pounds at the sending in of the said child.

That any person or persons who would have a child out of the said society, shall have power to examine the register, whether the child, by its marks, be living or dead, and may redeem the same, being under the age of five years, for twenty-five pounds; or being of that age, or under the age of seven years, for forty pounds; and from seven to ten, for fifty pounds; but, after the age of ten years, every year it continues in the house shall advance ten pounds in the price of the redemption, till such times they attain the age of fifteen; after which time, no increase of the price of redemption shall be upon any child; any one being, at any time, to be free for a hundred pounds, or less, if the governess of the house, her secretary, twelve assistants, or the major part of them, consent to the same; the governess hath three, and the female secretary two voices, which are to be given by the chaplain, register, and treasurer, if it be a male child that is to be redeemed; but if it be a female, then the power to rest in themselves.

That all the money coming to the said hospital, either by annual payments, charity, redemption, or any other ways whatsoever, shall be placed into one common treasury, to be kept in one or more iron chests, not to be opened but by the consent of the governess, her secretary, the chief chaplain, or him that shall be governor of the male children, the register, and treasurer, who shall each of them have a key to so many several locks, and the said monies, other than the constant salaries of the officers, and daily maintenance of the children, shall not be applied to any extraordinary use, but such as shall be appointed by the whole government of the hospital, in which number the keeping of those keys, for such purposes, are to be accounted part.

The accounts whereof, and of all monies coming into, or going out from the same, shall be kept by the register; and free access shall be had, at all times, to the same, *gratis*, by the governors, or any of the visitors of the said hospital; and that once a-month all comings in, and goings out, and all other transactions on that account, shall be, by the register, fairly entered into a book for that purpose, which shall always remain with the governess, and not be taken out upon any pretence whatsoever; and that any person may search the register's book for the fee of sixpence for one year's search.

That rules shall be made, from time to time, by the governors, for trying the geniusses of the children, and dividing them into several classes and employments, according to their several capacities, and for entering them under proper mistresses and masters, upon certain salaries, or otherwise binding them apprentices to the mistresses and masters within the house, or for cloathing them during their residence in, or at their going out of the said hospital.

As likewise for all other accidents, as lunaticks, idiots, and other infirmities, diseases, and sicknesses; and for separating the infirm from the healthful, and the infectious diseases from the other sick, and for all other contingencies, as there shall be occasion.

That none shall be detained, against their wills, above the time of twenty-one years, nor turned out at that time, if they desire to stay, it being in the power of any of them, at that age, to enter him, or herself, subject to the rules and duties of the house, for their natural lives; nor are any of them incapacitated to get their livings abroad, nor, being within the house, at any time to be turned out; but are to be maintained by them in necessary meat, drink, cloaths, and lodging, during their natural lives, or till they recover of their distempers, so as to be able and willing to leave the same.

But no person once discharged, and out of the care of the house for six months, shall be capable of demanding entrance into the same again, or of maintenance from it, but by the consent of the governors thereof; and that such as return to the house shall give good testimony that they have spent their time well, and without scandal, or be for ever expelled the society.

That further rules for the establishment and foundation of the said community, or hospital, and for visiting the same, may be appointed in the charter for endowing the same, and such penalties imposed on such as practise without licence from the corporation, as to your majesty's wisdom shall seem meet.

To which all is humbly submitted.

The Declaration of James Duke of Monmouth, and the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, now in Arms for Defence and Vindication of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws, Rights, and Privileges of England, from the Invasion made upon them; and for delivering the Kingdom from the Usurpation and Tyranny of James Duke of York.

This declaration of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth upon the causes of his taking up arms, was drawn chiefly by the plotter Ferguson, in what Bishop Burnet terms a tedious and fulsome style, full of much black and chill malice. It is plainly addressed to the capacity and prejudices of the vulgar, and contains many allegations, as well as many promises, of a nature too gross to obtain credit with the higher and better informed classes of society.

As government was originally instituted by God, and this or that form of it chosen and submitted to by men, for the peace, happiness, and security of the governed, and not for the private interest and personal greatness of those that rule, so that government hath been always esteemed the best where the supreme magistrates have been vested with all the power and prerogatives that might capacitate them not only to preserve the people from violence and oppression, but to promote their prosperity, and yet where nothing was to belong to them by the rules of the constitution that might enable them to injure and oppress them.

And it hath been the glory of England, above most other nations, that the prince had all intrusted with him that was necessary either for advancing the welfare of the people, or for his own protection in the discharge of his office, and with all stood so limited and restrained by the fundamental terms of the constitution, that, without a violation of his own oath, as well as the rules and measures of the government, he could do them no hurt, nor exercise any act of authority, but through the administration of such hands as stood obnoxious to be punished in case they transgressed. So that, according to the primitive frame of the government, the prerogatives of the crown, and privileges of the subject, were so far from jostling one another, that the rights reserved unto the people tended to render the king honourable and great; and the prerogatives settled on the prince were in order to the subjects protection and safety.

But all human things being liable to perversion as well as decay, it hath been the fate of the English government to be often changed and wrested from what it was in the first settlement and institution. And we are particularly compelled to say, that all the boundaries of the government have of late been broken, and nothing left unattempted for turning our limited monarchy into an absolute tyranny; for such hath been the transactions of affairs within this nation for several years past, that though the protestant religion, and liberties of the people, were fenced and hedged about by as many laws as the wisdom of men could devise for their preservation against popery and arbitrary power, our religion hath been all along undermined by popish councils, and our privileges ravished from us by fraud and violence. And, more especially, the whole course and series of the life of the present usurper hath been but one continued conspiracy against the reformed religion and rights of the nation.

For whosoever considers his contriving the burning of London; his instigating a confederacy with France, and a war with Holland; his fomenting the popish plot; and encouraging the murder of Sir Edmund Bury-Godfrey to stifle its discovery; his forging treason against protestants; and suborning witnesses to swear the patriots of our religion and liberties out of their lives; his hiring execrable villains to assassinate the late Earl of Essex, and causing several others to be clandestinely cut off in hopes to conceal it; his advising and procuring the prorogation and dissolution of parliaments, in order to prevent inquiry into his crimes, and that he might escape the justice of the nation; such can imagine nothing so black and horrid in itself, or so ruinous and destructive to religion, and the kingdom, which we may not expect from him, upon his having invaded the throne, and usurped the title of a king. The very tyrannies which he hath exercised since he snatched the crown from his brother's head do leave none under a possibility of flattering themselves with hopes of safety, either in their consciences, persons, or estates.

For in defiance of all the laws and statutes of the realm, made for the security of the reformed protestant religion, he not only began his usurpation and pretended reign, with a bare-faced avowing himself of the Romish religion, but hath call'd in multitudes of priests and jesuits (for whom the law makes it treason to come into the kingdom) and hath impower'd them to exercise their idolatries, and besides his being daily present at the worship of the mass, hath publickly assisted at the grossest fopperies of their superstition.

Nor hath he been more tender in trampling upon the laws which concern our properties, seeing by two proclamations, whereof the one requires the collecting of the customs, and the other the continuing that part of the excise which was to expire with the king's death, he hath violently, and against all the laws of the land, broken in upon our estates. Neither is it any extenuation of his usurpation and tyranny, that he is countenanced in it by an extra-judicial opinion of seven or eight suborned and forsworn judges: That, rather declaring the greatness and extent of the conspiracy against our rights, and that there is no means left for our relief, but by force and arms. For, advancing those to the bench who were the scandal of the bar, and constituting those very men to declare the laws who were accused and branded in parliament for perverting them, we are precluded all hopes of redress in Westminster-Hall: And through packing together, by false returns, new illegal charters, and other corrupt means, a company of men, which he intends to stile a parliament, he doth at once deprive us of all expectation of succour, where our ancestors were wont to find it; and hopes to render that which ought to be the peoples fence against tyranny, and the conservators of their liberties, the means of subverting all our laws, and of establishing his arbitraryness, and confirming our thraldom. So that, unless we could be contented to see the reformed protestant religion, and such as profess it, extirpated; popish superstition and idolatry established, the laws of the land trampled under foot; the liberties and rights of the English people subverted; all that is sacred and civil, or of regard amongst men of piety or virtue, violated, and an usurper tyrannising on the throne; and unless we could be willing to be slaves as well as papists, and forget the example of our noble and generous ancestors, who conveyed our privileges to us at the expence of their blood and treasure; and withal be unmindful of our duty to God, our country, and posterity; deaf to the cries and groans of our oppressed friends, and be satisfied not only to see them and ourselves imprisoned, robbed, and murdered, but the protestant interest throughout the whole world betrayed to France and Rome; we are bound as men and Christians, and that in discharge of our duty to God and our country, and for satisfaction of the expectations of the protestant nations round about us, to betake ourselves to arms: Which, we call Heaven and earth to witness, we should not have done, had not the malice of our enemies deprived us of all other means of redress, and were not the miseries we already feel, and those which do further threaten us, worse than the calamities of war.

And it is not for any personal injuries or private discontents, nor in pursuance of any corrupt interest, that we take our swords into our hands; but for vindicating our religion, laws, and rights, and rescuing our country from ruin and destruction; and for preserving ourselves, wives, and children, from bondage and idolatry; wherefore, before God, angels, and men, we stand acquitted from, and do charge upon our enemies, all the slaughters and devastations that unavoidably accompany an intestine war.

Now, therefore, we do here solemnly declare and proclaim war against James Duke of York, as a murderer and an assassin of innocent men; a popish usurper of the crown; traytor to the nation, and tyrant over the people. And we would have none that appear under his banners to flatter themselves with expectation of forgiveness, it being our firm resolution to prosecute him and his adherents without giving way to treaties, or accommodations, until we have brought him and them to undergo what the rules of the constitution, and the statutes of the realm, as well as the laws of nature, scripture, and nations, adjudge to be the punishment due to the enemies of God, mankind, their country, and all things that are honourable, virtuous, and good.

And tho' we cannot avoid being sensible that too many have from cowardice, covetousness, and ambition, co-operated to the subverting religion and inslaving their country, yet we would have none, from a despair of finding mercy, persevere in their crimes, nor continue to pursue the ruin of the kingdom. For we exclude none from the benefit of repentance, that shall join with us in retrieving what they have been accessary to the loss of; nor do we design revenge upon any but the obstinate, and such as shall be found at this juncture yielding aid and assistance to the said James Duke of York.

And that we may both govern ourselves in the pursuit of this glorious cause wherein we are engaged, and give encouragement to all that shall assist us in so righteous and necessary an undertaking, we do, in the presence of the Lord, who knows the secrets of all hearts, and is the avenger of deceit and falsehood, proclaim and publish what we aim at, and for the obtaining whereof we have both determined to venture and are ready to lay down our lives. And tho' we are not come into the field to introduce anarchy and confusion, or for laying aside any essential part of the old English government, yet our purpose and resolutions are to reduce things to that temperament and balance, the future rulers may remain able to do all the good that can be either desired or expected from them; and that it may not be in their power to invade the rights and infringe the liberties of the people.

And whereas our religion (the most valuable blessing we lay claim unto) hath been shaken by unjust laws, undermined by popish councils, and is now in danger to be subverted by a tyrannous and idolatrous usurper; we are therefore resolved to spend our blood for preserving it to ourselves and posterity; nor will we lay down arms till we see it established and secured beyond all probability of being supplanted and overthrown; and until all the penal laws against protestant dissenters be repealed, and legal provision made against their being disturbed by reason of their consciences, and for their enjoying an equal liberty with other protestants. And that the meekness and purity of our principles, and the moderation and righteousness of our ends, may appear unto all men, we do declare, that we will not make war upon, or destroy any for their religion, how false and erroneous soever: So that the very papists, provided they withdraw from the tents of our enemies, and be not found guilty of conspiring our destruction, or abettors of them that seek it, have nothing to fear or apprehend from us, except what may hinder their altering our laws, and endangering our persons, in the profession of the reformed doctrine and exercise of our Christian worship.

Our resolution in the next place is, to maintain all the just rights and privileges of parliament, and to have parliaments annually chosen and held, and not prorogued, dissolved, or discontinued, within the year, before petitions be first answered and grievances redressed.

And seeing many of the miseries under which the nation doth groan, arise from displacing such out of the number of judges, as would not, for promoting popish and arbitrary designs, wrest and misapply the laws, and from constituting corrupt and mercenary men in their room, on purpose to stretch the laws beyond the reason and intention of them, and to declare that for law which is not, we can neither with silence pass over the mentioning of them, nor should we have peace in ourselves, if we did not endeavour to prevent the like mischiefs in time to come. For by means of ill men's being advanced to the bench, and holding their places only *durante bene placito,* many persons have been condemned in exorbitant fines for no crimes, or for very small ones; many statutes made for the safety of the subject, particularly the Habeas Corpus Act, hath been wickedly eluded, to the oppression of innocent and loyal men; the popish lords that were impeached in parliament, for a most hellish conjuration, have, to the subverting of the rights of the House of Commons, and trampling on the jurisdiction of the House of Lords, been discharged and set free; the imposing a malignant mayor and sheriffs upon the city of London by fraud and violence hath been justified, and those who, in discharge of their duty, opposed it, illegally prosecuted and arbitrarily punished; London, and other cities and corporations, have been robbed of their charters upon unrighteous judgments of pretended forfeitures; Sir Thomas Armstrong executed without being allowed the benefit of a tryal; Colonel Algernon Sidney condemned to die upon the deposition of one scandalous witness; and that loyal and excellent person, the late William Lord Russel, murdered for alledged crimes, in reference to which, if all had been truth that was sworn against him, yet there was nothing that, according to law, could have reached his life: Wherefore we do, upon the considerations aforesaid, further declare, that we will have care taken for the future, for debarring ignorant, scandalous, and mercenary men from the administration of justice, and that the judges shall hold their places by the ancient tenure of *quam diu benegesserint*, and do leave it to the wisdom of a parliament to settle some way and method for the approbation of such as shall be advanced to the degree and dignity of judges.

And forasmuch as the invasion made upon the rights of cities, boroughs, and towns corporate, in the seizure of their charters, whether by surrender or upon pretence of forfeiture, hath been wholly arbitrary and illegal; we likewise therefore declare, that we will, to our utmost endeavour, see them repossessed in whatsoever they formerly had, and could legally claim before the late usurpation upon them; and that we do esteem all judgments given against them, and all surrenders made by a corrupt and perjured party amongst themselves, null and void in law; and do hold and declare their old charters (notwithstanding the new ones lately granted) to be good and valid: And accordingly we do invite and encourage all honest burgesses and freemen to reassume the rights and privileges, which by virtue of the said old charters belonged to their several and respective corporations, and to deliver themselves from those court parasites and instruments of tyranny set up to oppress them.

Moreover, for restoring the kingdom to its primitive condition of freedom and safety, we will have the corporation and militia acts repealed, and all outlawries of treason against any person whatsoever upon the late pretended protestant plot reversed; and also all other outlawries, banishments, warrants, judgments, imprisonments, abjurations, and proceedings against any other persons, upon any of the penal statutes made against protestant dissenters, reversed and made null and void; and we will have new laws enacted, for placing the election of sheriffs in the freeholders of the several counties, and for settling the militia in the respective sheriffs, and for preventing all military standing force, except what shall be raised and kept up by authority and consent of parliament.

And whereas several gentlemen and others, who have been worthy and zealous assertors of the protestant interest, and laws of the kingdom, are now in custody in divers prisons within the realm, upon most unjust accusations, pretences, proceedings, and judgments, we do hereby declare their said imprisonments to be illegal, and that in case any violence shall be offered to them, or any of them, we will revenge it to the utmost upon such of our enemies as shall fall into our hands.

And whereas the said James Duke of York, in order to the expediting the idolatrous and bloody designs of the papists, the gratifying his own boundless ambition after a crown, and to hinder inquiry into his assassination of Arthur Earl of Essex, hath poisoned the late king, and therein manifested his ingratitude as well as cruelty to the world, in murdering a brother who had almost ruined himself to preserve and protect him from punishment; we do therefore further declare, that, for the aforesaid villainous and unnatural crime, and other his crimes before mentioned, and in pursuance of the resolution of both houses of parliament, who voted to revenge the king's death, in case he came to any untimely end, we will prosecute the said James Duke of York till we have brought him to suffer what the law adjudgeth to be the punishment of so execrable a fact. And in a more particular manner, his grace the Duke of Monmouth being deeply sensible of that barbarous and horrid parricide committed upon his father, doth resolve to pursue the said James of York as a mortal and bloody enemy, and will endeavour, as well with his own hand as by the assistance of his friends and the law, to have justice executed upon him.

And forasmuch as the said James Duke of Monmouth, the now head and captain-general of the protestant forces of this kingdom assembled in pursuance of the ends aforesaid, hath been, and still is believed to have a legitimate and legal right to the crowns of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, with the dominions thereunto belonging, of which he doubts not in the least to give the world full satisfaction, notwithstanding the means used by the late king his father, upon popish motives, and at the instigation of the said James Duke of York, to weaken and obscure it; the said James Duke of Monmouth, from the generousness of his own nature, and the love he bears to these nations, (whose welfare and settlement he infinitely prefers to whatsoever may concern himself,) doth not at present insist upon his title, but leaves the determination thereof to the wisdom, justice, and authority of a parliament, legally chosen, and acting with freedom. And, in the mean time, doth promise and declare, by all that is sacred, that he will, in conjunction with the people of England, employ all the abilities bestowed upon him by God and nature, for the re-establishment and preservation of the protestant reformed religion in these kingdoms, and for the restoring the subjects of the same to a free exercise thereof, in opposition to popery and the consequences of it,—tyranny and slavery: To the obtaining of which ends, he doth hereby promise and oblige himself to the people of England, to consent unto, and to promote the passing into laws all the methods aforesaid, that it may never more be in the power of any single person on the throne to deprive the subjects of their rights, or subvert the fundamental laws of the government designed for their preservation.

And whereas the nobility, gentry, and commons of Scotland are now in arms upon the like motives and inducements that we are, and in prosecution of ends agreeable with ours, we do therefore approve the justice of their cause, commend their zeal and courage, expecting their, and promising our assistance, for carrying on that glorious work we are jointly engaged in.

Being obliged, for avoiding tediousness, to omit recounting many oppressions under which the kingdom hath groaned, and the giving a deduction of the several steps that have been taken for introducing and establishing of popery and tyranny, we think fit therefore to signify, both to our countrymen and foreigners, that we intend a larger manifesto and remonstrance of the grievances, persecutions, cruelties, and tyranies we have of late lain under, and therein a more full and particular account of the unparalleled crimes of the present usurper.

And we make our appeal unto God, and all protestant kings, princes, states, and people, concerning the justice of our cause, and the necessity we are reduced unto of having our recourse to arms. And as we do beseech, require, and adjure all sincere protestants, and true Englishmen, to be assisting to us against the enemies of the gospel, rights of the nation, and liberties of mankind, so we are confident of obtaining the utmost aid and succour which they can yield us with their prayers, persons, and estates, for the dethroning the said tyrant and popish usurper.

Nor do we doubt being justified, countenanced, and assisted by all protestant kings, princes, and commonwealths, who do either regard the gospel of Jesus Christ, or their own interest; and, above all, our dependence and trust is upon the Lord of Hosts, in whose name we go forth, and to whom we commit our cause, and refer the decision betwixt us and our enemies in the day of battle. "Now let us play the men, for our people, and for the cities of our God, and the Lord do that which seemeth good unto him."

A Copy of the Duke of Monmouth's Letter to the King, dated from Ringwood, the 8*th of July*, 1685.

The unfortunate Monmouth's ill-concerted enterprize being entirely ruined, and he himself a prisoner to his inexorable uncle, his spirit was so far humbled as to ask his life by the following letter. The mysterious passage where he speaks of *one word* of infinite importance, has been variously interpreted. It has been supposed to refer to the intrigues of the Prince of Orange, to those of the secretary of state, Sunderland, to the denunciation of some accomplice of importance, who had encouraged his undertaking; and, finally, it has been supposed that the unfortunate nobleman threw out the expression at hazard, merely, by exciting James's curiosity, to obtain his consent to the interview, of which he hoped to make advantage. All these opinions have their difficulties; and Mr Fox has well concluded, "that if any precise meaning existed in his (Monmouth's) mind, we must be content to pass it over as one of those obscure points of history which neither the sagacity of historians, nor the many documents since made public, nor the great discoverer, Time, has yet thrown any distinct light upon." Certain it is, that when Monmouth obtained access to the king, he either had no discovery of importance to make, or had altered his resolution and resolved to make none.

SIR,

YOUR majesty may think it is the misfortune I now lie under makes me make this application to you, but I do assure your majesty it is the remorse I now have in me of the wrong I have done you in several things, and now in taking up arms against you. For my taking up arms, it never was in my thoughts since the king died. The Prince and Princess of Orange will be witness for me of the assurance I gave them that I would never stir against you; but my misfortune was such as to meet with some horrid people that made me believe things of your majesty, and gave me so many false arguments, that I was fully led away to believe that it was a shame and a sin before God not to do it.[1] But, sir, I will not trouble your majesty at present with many

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[1] In this assertion the unfortunate nobleman seems to have spoken the truth. The following letter, written during his retirement at the Hague, to one of his partizans, who had been goading him to action, gives a singular picture of his mind, and demonstrates his peaceable intentions:—

" *A Letter of the late Duke of Monmouth's, writ in his Retirement in Holland, a little before his Attempt in the West.*

" I received both yours together this morning, and cannot delay you my answer longer than this post, though I am afraid it will not please you so much as I heartily wish it may. I have weighed all your reasons, and every thing that you and my other friends have writ me upon that subject, and I have done it with the greatest inclination to follow your advice, and without prejudice. You may well believe I have had time enough to reflect sufficiently upon our present state, especially since I came hither; but whatever way I turn my thoughts, I find insuperable difficulties. Pray do not think it an effect of melancholy, for that was never my greatest fault, when I tell you, that in these three weeks retirement in this place, I have not only looked back, but forward; and the more I consider our present circumstances, I think them still the more desperate, unless some unforeseen accident fall out which I cannot divine nor hope for. [Here follow sixteen lines all in cypher.] Judge then what we may expect in case we should venture upon any such attempt at this time. It's to me a vain argument that our enemies are scarce yet well settled, when you consider that fear in some, and things I could say for myself that I am sure would move your compassion, the chief end of this letter being only to beg of you that I may have that happiness as to speak to your majesty; for I have that to say to you, sir, that I hope may give you a long and happy reign. I am sure, sir, when you hear me, you will be convinced of the zeal I have for your preservation, and how heartily I repent of what I have done. I can say no more to your majesty now, being this letter must be seen by those that keep me. Therefore, sir, I shall make an end, in begging of your majesty to believe so well of me, that I would rather die a thousand deaths than excuse any thing I have done; if I did not really think myself the most in the wrong that ever any man was, and had not, from the bottom of my heart, an abhorrence for those that put me upon it, and for the action itself. I hope, sir, God Almighty will strike your heart with mercy and compassion for me, as he has done mine with the abhorrence of what I have done. Therefore I hope, sir, I may live to shew you how zealous I shall ever be for your service; and could I say but one word in this letter, you would be convinced of it; but it is of that consequence that I dare not do it. Therefore, sir, I do beg of you once more, to let me speak to you, for then you will be convinced how much I shall ever be,

Your majesty's most humble and dutiful
MONMOUTH.

An Account of what passed at the Execution of the late Duke of Monmouth, on Wednesday the 15th of July, 1685, on Tower-Hill.

A late right honourable historian has drawn the character of the unfortunate Monmouth with a lenient pencil. "Thus fell, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, James Duke of Monmouth, a man against whom all that has been said by the most inveterate enemies both to him and to his party, amounts to little more than this, that he had not a mind equal to the situations in which his ambition at different times engaged him to place himself. But, to judge him with candour, we must make great allowances, not only for the temptations into which he was led by the splendid prosperity of the earlier parts of his life, but also for the adverse prejudices with which he was regarded by almost all the contemporary writers, from whom his actions and character are described. The tories of course are unfavourable to him; and even among the whigs there seems in many a strong inclination to disparage him; some to excuse themselves for not having joined him; others to make a display of their exclusive attachment to their more success-

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ambition in others, have brought them to comply; and that the parliament, being made up for the most part of members that formerly run our enemy down, they will be ready to make *their* peace as soon as they can, rather than hazard themselves upon an uncertain bottom. I give you but hints of what, if I had time, I would write you at more length; but that I may not seem obstinate in my own judgment, or neglect the advice of my friends, I will meet you at the time and place appointed. But, for God's sake, think, in the meantime, of the improbabilities that lie naturally in our way, and let us not, by struggling with our chains, make them straighter and heavier. For my part, I'll run the hazard of being thought any thing rather than a rash, inconsiderate man. And, to tell you my thoughts without disguise, I am now so much in love with a retired life, that I am never like to be fond of making a bustle in the world again. I have much more to say, but the post cannot stay, and I refer the rest till meeting; being entirely Yours."
—WELLWOOD'S *Memoirs*, Lond. 1702, 8vo, p. 377.

ful leader, King William. Burnet says of Monmouth, that he was gentle, brave, and sincere; to these praises, from the united testimony of all who knew him, we may add that of generosity; and surely those qualities go a great way in making up the catalogue of all that is amiable and estimable in human nature. One of the most conspicuous features in his character seems to have been a remarkable, and, as some think, a culpable degree of flexibility. That such a disposition is preferable to its opposite extreme, will be admitted by all who think that modesty, even in excess, is more nearly allied to wisdom than conceit and self-sufficiency. He who has attentively considered the political, or even the general concerns of life, may possibly go still farther, and rank a willingness to be convinced, or, in some cases, without conviction, to concede our own opinion to that of other men, among the principal ingredients of practical wisdom. Monmouth had suffered this flexibility, so laudable in many cases, to degenerate into a habit which made him often follow the advice, or yield to the entreaties, of persons whose characters by no means entitled them to such a deference. The sagacity of Shaftsbury, the honour of Russell, the genius of Sidney, might, in the opinion of a modest man, be safe and eligible guides. The partiality of friendship, and the conviction of his firm attachment, might be some excuse for his listening so much to Grey; but he never could, at any period of his life, have mistaken Ferguson for an honest man. There is reason to believe that the advice of the two last-mentioned persons had great weight in persuading him to the unjustifiable step of declaring himself king. But far the most guilty act of this unfortunate man's life was his lending his name to the declaration which was published at Lyme, and in this instance, Ferguson, who penned the paper, was both the adviser and the instrument. To accuse the king of having burnt London, murdered Essex in the Tower, and, finally, poisoned his brother, unsupported by evidence to substantiate such dreadful charges, was calumny of the most atrocious kind; but the guilt is still heightened when we observe, that, from no conversation of Monmouth, nor indeed from any other circumstance whatever, do we collect that he himself believed the horrid accusations to be true; with regard to Essex's death in particular, the only one of the three charges which was believed by any man of common sense, the late king was as much implicated in the suspicion as James. That the latter should have dared to be concerned in such an act, without the privacy of his brother, was too absurd an imputation to be attempted, even in the days of the popish plot. On the other hand, it was certainly not the intention of the son to brand his father as an assassin. It is too plain, that, in the instance of this declaration, Monmouth, with a facility highly criminal, consented to set his name to whatever Ferguson recommended as advantageous to the cause. Among the dreadful circumstances attending civil wars, perhaps there are few more revolting to a good mind than the wicked calumnies with which, in the heat of contention, men, otherwise men of honour, have in all ages and countries permitted themselves to load their adversaries. It is remarkable that there is no trace of the divines who attended this unfortunate man having exhorted him to a particular repentance of his manifesto, or having called for a retraction or disavowal of the accusations contained it. They were so intent upon points more immediately connected with orthodoxy of faith, that they omitted pressing their penitent to the only declaration by which he could make any satisfactory atonement to those whom he had injured."—Fox's *History of James II.* Lond. 1808, 4to, p. 286.

To these observations, it can only be added, that the unfortunate duke appears to have been deeply imbued with romantic enthusiasm, of that sort which sometimes forms a strange alliance between devotional feelings and amorous attachment. Upon the whole, Monmouth's character ought to be regarded with kindness and sympathy, since, whatever might be the hidden designs of his partizans, his own were noble, and aimed chiefly at the good of his country, though he mistook the means to attain it.

THE late Duke of Monmouth came from the Tower to the scaffold attended by the Bishop of Ely, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr Tennison, and Dr Hooper, which four the king was graciously pleased to send him as his assistants to prepare him for death; and the late duke himself intreated all four of them to accompany him to the place of execution, and to continue with him to the last. The two bishops, going in the lieutenant's coach with him to the bars, made seasonable and devout applications to him all the way; and one of them desired him not to be surprized, if they, to the very last, upon the scaffold, renewed those exhortations to a particular repentance, which they had so often repeated before.

At his first coming upon the scaffold he looked for the executioner, and seeing him, said, Is this the man to do the business? Do your work well.

Then the late Duke of Monmouth began to speak, some one or other of the assistants, during the whole time, applying themselves to him.

Monmouth. I shall say but very little; I come to die. I die a protestant of the church of England.

Assistants. My lord, if you be of the church of England, you must acknowledge the doctrine of non-resistance to be true.

M. If I acknowledge the doctrine of the church of England in general, that includes all.

A. Sir, it is fit to own that doctrine particularly, with respect to your case. [*Here he was much urged about that doctrine of non-resistance, but he repeated in effect his first answer.*]

Then he began, as if he was about to make a premeditated speech, in this manner:

M. I have had a scandal raised upon me about a woman, a lady of virtue and honour; I will name her, the lady Henrietta Wentworth. I declare that she is a very virtuous and godly woman; I have committed no sin with her; and that which hath passed betwixt us was very honest and innocent in the sight of God.

A. In your opinion, perhaps, sir, as you have been often told; (*i. e.* in the Tower) but this is not fit discourse in this place.

Mr Sheriff Gostlin. Sir, were you ever married to her?

M. This is not a time to answer that question.

Mr Sheriff Gostlin. Sir, I hoped to have heard of your repentance for the treason and bloodshed which hath been committed.

M. I die very penitent.

A. My lord, it is fit to be particular; and, considering the public evil you have done, you ought to do as much good now as possibly you can, by a public acknowledgment.

M. What I have thought fit to say of public affairs, is in a paper which I have signed: I refer to my paper.

A. My lord, there is nothing in that paper about resistance; and you ought to be particular in your repentance, and to have it well grounded. God give you true repentance.

M. I die very penitent, and die with great chearfulness, for I know I shall go to God.

A. My lord, you must go to God in his own way: Sir, be sure you be truly penitent, and ask forgiveness of God for the many you have wronged.

M. I am sorry for every one I have wronged; I forgive every body; I have had many enemies; I forgive them all.

A. Sir, your acknowledgment ought to be public and particular.

M. I am to die; pray, my lord,—— I refer to my paper.

A. There are but a few words that we desire: we only desire an answer to this point.

M. I can bless God that he hath given me so much grace, that, for these two years last past I have led a life unlike to my former course; and in which I have been happy.

A. Sir! Was there no ill in these two years? In these years these great evils have happened: And the giving public satisfaction is a necessary part of repentance; be pleased to own a detestation of your rebellion.

M. I beg your lordship that you will stick to my paper.

A. My lord, as I said before, there is nothing in your paper about the doctrine of non-resistance.

M. I repent of all things that a true Christian ought to repent of: I am to die; pray, my lord——

A. Then (my lord) we can only recommend you to the mercy of God; but we cannot pray with that chearfulness and encouragement as we should if you had made a particular acknowledgment.

M. God be praised, I have encouragement enough in myself; I die with a clear conscience; I have wronged no man.

A. How, sir, no man! Have you not been guilty of invasion, and of much blood which has been shed; and, it may be, the loss of many souls who followed you?—You must needs have wronged a great many.

M. I do, sir, own that; and am sorry for it.

A. Give it the true name, sir, and call it rebellion.

M. What name you please, sir; I am sorry for invading the kingdom, for the blood that has been shed, and for the souls which may have been lost by my means; I am sorry it ever happened. [*This he spoke softly.*]

Mr Sheriff Vandeput. [*To some that stood at a distance.*] He says he is very sorry for invading the kingdom.

A. We have nothing to add, but to renew the frequent exhortations we have made to you, to give some satisfaction for the public injuries to the kingdom. There have been a great many lives lost by this resistance of your lawful prince.

M. What I have done has been very ill, and I wish with all my heart it had never been; I never was a man that delighted in blood; I was very far from it; I was as cautious in that as any man was; the Almighty knows how I now die with all the joyfulness in the world.

A. God grant you may, sir: God give you true repentance.

M. If I had not true repentance, I should not so easily have been without the fear of dying. I shall die like a lamb.

A. Much may come from natural courage.

M. I do not attribute it to my own nature, for I am fearful as other men are; but I have now no fear, as you may see by my face; but there is something within me which does it, for I am sure I shall go to God.

A. My lord, be sure upon good grounds: Do you repent you of all your sins, known or unknown, confessed or not confessed; of all the sins which might proceed from error in judgment?

M. In general for all; I do with all my soul.

A. God Almighty, of his infinite mercy, forgive you. Here are great numbers of spectators; here are the sheriffs, they represent the great city; and in speaking to them, you speak to the whole city; make some satisfaction, by owning your crime before them. [*He was silent here.*]

[*Then all went to solemn commendatory prayers, which continued for a good space; the late Duke of Monmouth and the company kneeling, and joining in them with great fervency.*

Prayers being ended, before he, and the four who assisted him, were risen from their knees, he was again earnestly exhorted to a true and thorough repentance.

After they were risen up, he was exhorted to pray for the king; and was asked, Whether he did not desire to send some dutiful message to his majesty, and to recommend his wife and children to his majesty's favour.]

M. What harm have they done? Do it, if you please; I pray for him, and for all men.

[*Then the Versicles were repeated.*]

A. O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us.

M. [*He made the Response.*] And grant us thy salvation.

A. [*It followed.*] O Lord, save the king.

M. And mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.

A. Sir, do you not pray for the king with us? [*The Versicle was again repeated.*] O Lord, save the king.

M. [*After some pause he answered*] Amen.

[*Then he spoke to the executioner concerning his undressing, &c. and he would have no cap, &c. and at the beginning of his undressing, it was said to him on this manner.*]

A. My lord, you have been bred a soldier, you will do a generous, Christian thing, if you please to go to the rail, and speak to the soldiers, and say, That here you stand a sad example of rebellion, and entreat them and the people to be loyal and obedient to the king.

M. I have said I will make no speeches: I will make no speeches: I come to die.

A. My lord, ten words will be enough.

M. [*Then calling his servant, and giving him something, like a tooth-pick case.*] Here (said he) give this to the person to whom you are to deliver the other things.

M. [*To the Executioner.*] Here are six guineas for you; pray do your business well; do not serve me as you did my Lord Russel; I have heard, you struck him three or four times. Here (*To his Servant*) take these remaining guineas, and give them to him if he does his work well.

Executioner. I hope I shall.

M. If you strike me twice, I cannot promise you not to stir.

[*During his undressing and standing towards the block, there were used by those who assisted him diverse ejaculations proper at that time, and much of 51st Psalm was repeated, and particularly,* "Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God, &c.]

Then he lay down, and soon after he raised himself upon his elbow, and said to the executioner, Prithee let me feel the axe: (*He felt the edge, and said*) I fear it is not sharp enough.

Executioner. It is sharp enough, and heavy enough.

Then he lay down again.

During this space many pious ejaculations were used by those that assisted him with great fervency, Ex. Gr. God accept your repentance: God accept your repentance: God accept your imperfect repentance: My lord, God accept your general repentance: God Almighty shew his omnipotent mercy upon you: Father, into thy hands we commend his spirit, &c. Lord Jesus, receive his soul.

Then the executioner proceeded to do his office.[*]

This is a true Account, Witness our Hands,

FRANCIS, ELY. THOMAS TENNISON. WILLIAM GOSTLIN, } *Sheriffs.*
THOMAS, BATH & WELLS. GEORGE HOOPER. PETER VANDEPUT, }

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[*] "But under such distraction of mind, that he fell into the very error which the duke had so earnestly cautioned him to avoid, wounding him at first so slightly that he lifted up his head and looked him in the face, as if to upbraid him for making his death painful, but said nothing. He then prostrated himself again, and received other two ineffectual blows; upon which the executioner threw down his axe, in a fit of horror, crying out, He could not finish his work: But on being brought to himself, by the threats of the sheriffs, took up the fatal weapon again, and at two other strokes made a shift to separate the head from the body."—*Review of the Reigns of Charles and James, p.* 885.

A Copy of the Paper, to which the late Duke of Monmouth referred himself in the Discourses held upon the Scaffold.

I declare, That the title of king was forced upon me; and that it was very much contrary to my opinion when I was proclaimed. For the satisfaction of the world, I do declare, That the late king told me, he was never married to my mother. Having declared this, I hope that the king, who is now, will not let my children suffer on this account. And to this I put my hand this fifteenth day of July, 1685.

MONMOUTH.

Declared by himself, and signed in the Presence of us,

FRANCIS, ELY. THOMAS TENNISON.
THOMAS, BATH & WELLS. GEORGE HOOPER.

The Speech of Sir George Pudsey, Sergeant at Law, Recorder of the City of Oxford, spoken in the Guild-Hall of the said City, at the Swearing the New Mayor, September 30th, 1685.

Anno 1685.

This second specimen of Sir George Pudsey's oratory refers chiefly to the defeat of the unfortunate Monmouth.

Gentlemen,

THAT England is second to no nation for all things that can delight the sons of men, for a happy government, for a valiant, loyal, and religious people, all authors, both antient and modern, do allow: It's our glory that the first Christian emperor and king in the universe were natives of this island: The gospel flourished here in the very dawning of it, and so continued until the tenth persecution under Dioclesian, for though it was the last, yet it was the first the Britons felt; afterwards it was restored by Constantine the Great, the aforesaid emperor; and did shine again here, until the Saxon cruelty and paganism had almost utterly extinguished it: It was afterwards revived by Augustine, the great apostle of the English Saxons, in the year 686.

That Providence has given us so choice an inheritance is no ordinary mercy, though, common to all its inhabitants. Now if this blessing is capable of any improvement, we citizens of Oxford enjoy it. You know in the land of Ham there was a Goshen for God's chosen people, in which they were safe, when all Egypt besides felt the heavy hand of divine vengeance for its wickedness. This city has been the peculiar care of God, and his servants our sovereigns, for more than eight hundred years. It was the learned and warlike King Alfred first that made it the seat of our Engish rabbies; no doubt but he consulted the situation, the fertility of its soil about it, the pureness of its air, and all things convenient for so glorious an undertaking: It's the boast of our country, and the sight of it the brag of all travellers. From Alfred's days to ours it has been the fountain of all learning, piety, loyalty, and virtue; so that it's hard to believe that our citizens can be otherwise than good men. Ten righteous persons had saved Sodom: Can a soul then be lost here, that have so many eminent divines to instruct and pray for us? That our kings have always held this place in great esteem, I shall make you sensible of: 'Twas the royal seat of some of the Saxon kings. Maud the empress, the daughter and heir of Henry the First, found safety here against the usurper Stephen. King John and Henry the Third held parliaments in this place to curb their head-strong and unruly barons. Many other kings have call'd their great councils hither, to stem the tide of faction and rebellion. Charles the Martyr, and Charles the Merciful, are full to our purpose. Charles the First, from this place had opportunity to retire from a prevailing traitorous English army, though indeed he unfortunately met with as bad, or worse, of Scots. Charles the Second here received advice from Heaven to put an end to the worst councils of the worst parliaments that ever England had; I say again, the worst, and will not yield the point though that of forty-one be offer'd to me: The reason's manifest, because that parliament did not fall to the extremity of mischief till it was first modell'd and forced by the army, their then masters; so that it was but the rump of that parliament which acted that horrid villainy upon the sacred person of the royal martyr, which was never out-done, but by the Jews. The Oxford parliament, by inclination, were for breaking through all bounds and methods of government and succession: They aim'd at impossibilities, by vainly attempting to divide the united hearts of the two royal brothers; the one must not succeed the other in his dominions, because the enemies to both would succeed in their treasons. Thus far I go, because Oxford was the scene of this mighty change, when both church and state lay under great convulsions. We had a sudden and speedy deliverance; our fears are vanish'd; no evil can come to us if we act none. It has been observed, that in times of greatest difficulty brave spirits (as great princes have great ministers) have been always raised to ease the royal head: Who they are, at present to name them, is to lessen them, their actions being so conspicuous; for which they now enjoy the highest places under the wisest of princes.

I am sure here dwells all loyalty: Methinks I see into your hearts, and there find that you would more willingly have fought for James the Just, against the western rebels, than they did for James the Traytor. If it shall be objected, That we have at any time made a stand in our duty, I answer, The best man sins, and that often too: Ours was but a little too eager a zeal for our privileges: We saw our error, and soon implored mercy, and as soon had it: So that he's a stranger to us that doubts our loyalty; this city has been always eminent for it: It was for that chiefly we can number so many charters: There's hardly a monarch since the conquest, but we can produce his seal to some new grant or confirmation. I could wish that we had no occasion to remember, that 'twas not long ago that we were like to have lost all: His late majesty's *quo warranto* would have made wholesale-work, had it proceeded; it had left us a town, without either city or corporation: But a gracious prince, a powerful advocate for us with him, the Earl of Abbington, (to whom you can never make sufficient acknowledgment) and a loyal prudent magistrate, preserved us, otherwise we had met with the fate of London, who has its magistrates now but at pleasure. It's a great Till, and that's all; when Cæsar says the word. What could we hope for, when she fell, that was so supported by parliaments and charters? You must know her great sin was caballing against the government; which is altogether antipodes to the institution of corporations: Shops were made for trade and commerce, and not for stating the question about politicks, and the arcana of government; they are matters above our consideration. Our post is obedience and submission to the sovereign power. The minister need not instruct the farmer what grain to sow for his tythe sake. Would not one of you *ridicule* me for pretending to direct you in the cunning of your trade? Every thing does best in its own element: Had London considered that, she had not lost those immunities which she has enjoyed many ages. It's vain to think his majesty will suffer so many petty commonwealths within his kingdoms, as corporations seem to be, when they, Uzaa-like, profanely (though to a contrary end) hold forth the hand to touch the ark. There is an implied condition in all corporations, that so long as they keep within their obedience to majesty, they are safe; but if once they rival kings in their royal concerns, adieu to all privileges and franchises. It cannot be denied, but that corporations have been once fatal to the kingdom. What armies did London send out against her sovereign in the never-to-be-forgotten rebellion! Most corporations did their parts. But Oxford indeed was all white, all innocent; nay, let me do it more right, 'twas a retreat for injured majesty; it stood not a looker on, but heartily and loyally espoused the royal interest.

I know it's expected that I should say something of the government of this city for two years past under the loyal Sir William Walker, your mayor. I am very glad, for his sake, that his merits are so eminent; otherwise he would suffer much by the character I were able to give him. His being formerly in that office, and your choice of him again, is a sufficient demonstration of his great integrity and abilities in that station. His late majesty (who, like Solomon, knew from the cedar to the shrub) commended your choice so well, that he made you happy in him a *third* time. And his present majesty (the joy of all good men, and *terror* of ill) for his unshaken fidelity to the crown, gave him a mark of honour.

At his first coming into the office the second time, your condition was very crazy, and wanted such a magistrate; he has preserved your privileges, and saved your treasure. Such another you have now wisely chosen: Therefore what can hinder but this must be a flourishing year to us? He has your hearts, and he, in few words, has told you his; which is first to serve the crown, and next the city. To make this harmony compleat, your concurrence with him in loyalty and duty to the government, under our most august sovereign, and your obedience to him, as your mayor, will render this a great city, and make us beloved both of God and the king.

A full and true Relation of his Excellency the Pope's Nuncio making his public Entry at Windsor, on Sunday the 3d of this instant July, 1687.

Printed in the Year 1687.

The Earl of Castlemain, whom King James had sent as ambassador to Rome, met nothing but mortification in his reception there. The pope was seized with a fit of political coughing whenever he attempted to enter upon business, and two trifling favours, a dispensation, namely, for the Mareschal D'Humiere's daughter to marry her uncle, and another to enable Father Petre to hold a bishopric, were all that the ambassador, who came to announce his master's attempt to restore the ancient religion, was able to obtain from the Roman see.—" His holiness did, however, so far acknowledge the honour done him by his majesty, that he returned the compliment, by sending Cardinal Dada, his nuncio, to England, who had a public audience of the king at Windsor on the 3d of July; to which he was accompanied by the Duke of Grafton and Sir Charles Cotterel; and having in his train the coaches of the lord chancellor, the lord president, the lord privy-seal, many other state officers, and of two bishops, namely, Crew, Bishop of Durham, and Cartwright of Chester. We are told the scene was laid at Windsor, for fear it should have created some disorder at London; and that it gave no small pain to those who, by their places, were obliged to assist in the ceremonial: all commerce with the see of Rome being declared treason by the law; and it being apprehended that the very participating in this ceremonial would fall within the reach of the statute:—but all the thorough-paced courtiers complied nevertheless; depending, no doubt, on the virtue of a dispensation, or being assured of a pardon. Some there were, however, who would neither accept of the one nor the other, and who for that reason had the honour to be dismissed from all their employments. Among these particular mention is made of the Duke of Somerset, who could not be prevailed upon, even by the king himself, to commit a trespass, because his majesty had it in his power to forgive him.

"But though his majesty saw himself abandoned by every man who had a due respect for the religion and laws of his country on this extraordinary occasion, and had reason to know, that, except he should make such a submission to France in temporals, as he had already made to Rome in spirituals, he could not give greater umbrage to his people than by opening this public correspondence with his holiness, such an ascendancy had his zeal over his discretion, that he caused an account of this transaction to be inserted in the Gazette; and afterwards, by the same vehicle, informed the public, that he had admitted the Earl of Castlemain, his late ambassador at Rome, to a seat at the council-board: by which means he in a manner authorised his enemies to vilify and undermine his government."—RALPH's *History*, I. 957.

THE town of Windsor was so full of all sorts of people, from all parts, that some of the inhabitants were astonished; and it was very difficult to get provisions or room either for horse or man; nay, many persons of quality, and others, were forced to sit in their coaches and calashes almost all the day.

So great were the expectations of all people to see this ceremony, supposing it to be greater than ordinary, by reason there has not been any public minister of state from the pope, for above an hundred and forty years, that hath made any public entry, as I am informed.

All the spectators supposed he would set out a little after noon, but did not till between five and six of the clock in the afternoon; at which time his excellency took coach, it being one of his majesty's, for that purpose, at his own lodgings, the Duke of Grafton and Sir Charles Cotterel being in the coach with him; his excellency was clothed in purple, and a gold crucifix hanging at his breast.

The first that appeared in this ceremony was one of the knight-marshal's men on horseback, and after him two others followed on foot; after them went his excellency's footmen, being twelve in number, their coats being all of a dark-grey coloured cloth, with white and purple lace. After them followed the coach of state, in which was his excellency, having four pages to attend him, two on each side, taking hold of the coach; their coats were very richly laced. His excellency had three coaches, with six horses a-piece in each coach. Immediately after his excellency, in two of his coaches, were ten priests, his coach of state going empty. After them went the lord chancellor's, two of the lord president's, the lord privy seal's, and the lord chamberlain's coach. There were eighteen coaches more besides them, with six horses a-piece; in which number the Lord Bishop of Durham's[1] was one, and the Bishop of Chester's[2] another. In this order they went up to the castle, where they stayed about a quarter of an hour, and then his excellency returned back to his lodgings.

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[1] Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham.

[2] Dr Cartwright, Bishop of Chester.

By the King, a Declaration.

Printed at Holy-Rood-House in the Year 1688.

The news of the Prince of Orange's arrival on the English coast was brought to London by an officer of the Swallow frigate, so exhausted by fatigue, and so affected with the tale he had to deliver, that he fell speechless at James's feet. An extraordinary council was immediately called, and the following proclamation was issued, to which the people paid but little attention, being deeply imbued with the persuasion, that the fair promises which it contained would not be held binding any longer than the emergency which produced them.

JAMES R.

As we cannot consider this invasion of our kingdoms, by the Prince of Orange, without horror, for so unchristian and unnatural an undertaking in a person so nearly related to us, so it is a matter of the greatest trouble and concern to us, to reflect upon the many mischiefs and calamities which an army of foreigners and rebels must unavoidably bring upon our people. It is but too evident, by a declaration published by him, that, notwithstanding the many specious and plausible pretences it carries, his designs in the bottom do tend to nothing less than an absolute usurping of our crown and royal authority; as may fully appear by his assuming to himself, in the said declaration, the regal stile; requiring the peers of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, and all other persons of all degrees, to obey and assist him in the execution of his designs, a prerogative inseparable from the imperial crown of this realm: and for a more undeniable proof of his immoderate ambition, and which nothing can satisfy but the immediate possession of the crown itself, he calls in question the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, our son and heir-apparent; though, by the providence of God, there were present at his birth so many witnesses, of unquestionable credit, as it seemed to have been the particular care of Heaven, on purpose to disappoint so wicked and unparalleled attempt.

And in order to the effecting his ambitious designs, he seems desirous, in the close of his declaration, to submit all to the determination of a free parliament, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with our people; though nothing can be more evident, than that a parliament cannot be free so long as there is an army of foreigners in the heart of our kingdoms; so that in truth he himself is the sole obstructor of such a free parliament: We being fully resolved, as we have already declared, so soon as (by the blessing of God) our kingdoms shall be delivered from this invasion, to call a parliament, which can no longer be liable to the least objection of not being freely chosen, since we have actually restored all the boroughs and corporations of this our kingdom to their ancient rights and privileges, and in which we shall be ready, not only to receive and redress all the just complaints and grievances of our good subjects, but also to repeat and confirm the assurance we have already given to them, in our several declarations, of our resolution, by God's blessing, to maintain them in their religion, their liberties and properties, and all other their just rights and privileges whatsoever. Upon these considerations, and the obligations of their duty and natural allegiance, we can no ways doubt but that all our faithful and loving subjects will readily and heartily concur and join with us, in the entire suppression and repelling of those our enemies and rebellious subjects, who have so injuriously and disloyally invaded and disturbed the peace and tranquillity of these our kingdoms.

Given at our court, at Whitehall, the 6th of November 1688, and of our reign the fourth year.

A List of the Foot and Horse that are come with the Prince of Orange, as printed in Holland.

Horse.

The Life-Guard
Regiment of Guards commanded by Benting
Waldeck's Regiment
Nassaw
Ginckel
Mompellian
Count Vander Lip
The Prince's Dragoons
Marrewis's Dragoons
Sgravemoer
Sapbroek
Fioddorp
Seyde
Oye
Suylestein

In all,

Troopers	1683
Life-Guard	167
Regiment of Guards of Benting	480
Prince's Dragoons	860
Marrewis's Dragoons	440
In all,	3660

Foot.

Foot-Guards, commanded by C. Solmes	25 Comp.
Mackay	12 Comp.
Balfour	12 Comp.
Talmash	12 Comp.
Regiment which was formerly Bellise's	12 Comp.
Regiment which was formerly Wachop's	12 Comp.
Regiment which was the late Earl of Ossory's	10 Comp.
Barckevelt	10 Comp.
Holstein	10 Comp.
Wirtemberg	12 Comp.
Hagendorn	10 Comp.
Fagel	10 Comp.
Nassaw	10 Comp.
Carelson	12 Comp.
Brander	10 Comp.
Prince of Borkevelt	10 Comp.
In all,	164 Comp.
At 53 in a company, is	8692
Of Guards,	2000
Summa	10692

All these troops (if compleat) would have amounted to this number, but, as they are not, they amount but to about	Foot	10692
	Horse	3660
		14352
		12000

List of the Fleet.

Men of War	65
Fly-Boats	500
Pinks	60
Fire-Ships	10
In all,	635

The Relation of the Rejoicings made in Rome for the Birth of the most Serene Prince of Wales, only Son of James the Second, King of Great Britain, Defender of the Faith, &c. Faithfully translated into English from the Italian Impression, as it was Printed at Rome and Genoa.

Printed in the Year 1689.

THE angelical kingdom of England, that in times past equalled, as I may so say, Idumæa, with so many glorious palms of martyrs sent to heaven, and which published thousands of volumes that her holy doctors wrote in favour of the Roman church, with a diabolical impiety, rebelling against the eternal Monarch, became a miserable slave of Satan; and, changing the divine worship into the doctrine of devils, continued in a most deplorable condition for many years, an enemy of the King of kings; but at length the most merciful God, being moved to compassion for so many souls so unhappily lost, was inclined to reduce her to her primitive state, and make her a worshipper of the holy catholic religion, and the successor of St Peter, his vicar on earth. And, to bring so worthy a work to a fortunate end, makes use of the most ardent zeal of the catholic James the Second, there by the Divine Providence constituted king.

He was prepared for so glorious an enterprize, not regarding either dangers or oppositions, not forbearing any application, always indefatigable, and all intent to reduce his triple dominion to the adoration of the Holy Trinity, the confession of the true faith, and the obedience of the pope. This he knew he should effect, through the assistance of the Divine Omnipotence, which made the lamentable farce give way to his power, who trampled on the heretical doctrines, caused the precepts of Jesus Christ to be publicly professed, called home the banished priests, restored the profaned temples to the sacred ministry, and, throwing down the banners of the prince of darkness, sets up the standard of the catholic faith. And offering his sceptre at the feet of his holiness our Lord Pope Innocent XI., resumed it, tributary to heaven, raising to himself statues of his singular merit with the Divine Majesty, and everlasting fame throughout the universe. And having driven away those rebel angels that led his people to eternal damnation, gave them for their guides priests of the church of Rome, that would conduct them to the everlasting delights of paradise.

The great God being pleased to reward him on earth, before he took him hence to receive a more glorious recompence in heaven, has blessed him with a male child, born the 20th of June, in the year 1688, being, according to the English stile, the feast of the Holy Trinity, betwixt the hours of nine and ten in the morning.

The catholic ruler acknowledged so valuable a grace bestowed on him by the Creator of all, and returned his due thanks, rejoicing that he was like to breed up a son himself in the divine precepts, that might be equally heir both of his father's greatness and most ardent zeal for the catholic religion.

By an express from his majesty, this news arriving at Rome the 2d of July, occasioned a jubilee in the breast of the most holy pastor, and universally filled all with extreme joy.

Whereof there were public demonstrations, and for three days successively was solemnized the nativity of this royal infant, beginning from the 25th of the same month, the feast of St James the apostle, in the manner following:

His eminence Cardinal Philip Thomas Howard of Norfolk, of the order of Preachers, Titular of St Mary at the Minerva, designing the Church of St Thomas of the English Nation, for the return of thanks to God, richly hung it with brocard silks, and very noble tapestries, which, with the sacred vestments, appeared so splendidly, by the reflection of a vast number of lights, that it resembled a palace of the sun, and even dazzled the eyes of the beholders.

Leave being obtained of his holiness the morning of the said 25th day, there was a chapel for the cardinals, where were present eighteen of their eminences, who gloried much in this, that, after so many years, they were at last met together to congratulate the nativity of a son of a catholic king of England.

Here was celebrated the high mass, at which assisted the most famed musicians and choicest singers, making their several virtues to be admired by their angelical voices and harmonious concerts. After the communion *Te Deum* was begun, which being followed by them, was accompanied by a concert of drums and trumpets, and divers salutes of mortar-pieces, got ready for that purpose, that for a long time made the Latian fields and banks of Tyber to resound.

His eminence caused wine, bread and cheese, and other refreshments, to be distributed to the servants, footmen, and coachmen of their eminences the cardinals that were at this feast, who, while eating and drinking, made continual huzzas of *Viva* for his eminence and the royal babe.

He caused also a great fountain of most noble architecture, painted over like marble, to be erected, covered with gold on the corners and edges; on the top whereof were the arms of his majesty of Great Britain, adorned with a rich crown, supported by a lion and unicorn, near whereto, in the night, were set great numbers of white wax-lights, adding beauty to this stately structure; that for three days together, and as many nights, run no small quantity of exquisite wine for the benefit of the public, and was distributed in exact order by men habited in vests, with the arms of his eminence embroidered on them.

All the palace of his eminence, contiguous to the forementioned church of St Thomas, in the three rows of apartments without, was beset with torches of white-wax, and below were links, on several posts of wood, planted on the ground about the palace, making that vast fabric, by an unusual miracle, more resplendent than even the heavens when fullest of stars.

His eminence also caused a mount of earth to be raised in the court of the English college, joining to the said church of St Thomas; on the top whereof was made a majestic theatre, all adorned with rich tapestries and greens, set together by a curious workmanship; in the midst of which, the first day, (to imitate the ancient custom of London on their solemn festivals) was roasted a whole ox, the extreme parts all covered with gold and greens, and within full of young pigs, and several sorts of fowls, that, from divers parts of the ox seemed, though dead, as if they would fly death, thrusting out their heads and feet at the several holes in it, which were certain to serve either as a prey to the devouring flames, if they fell there, or to the people, if pulled thence.

And, for the roasting the said great animal, there was a machine erected, framed with great wheels, turned with six men in coats, with the arms of his eminence gilded on them, and caps with the like; who, going round that theatre, dispensed flesh and bread in great quantity to the people, making frequently loud acclamations of *Viva* for the new prince of England.

It gave no little content to see the people that thronged to get the meat; and when some, with no small pains, were come up just ready to receive it, they were strongly beat back by a multitude of others, that, with all the force they had, thrust up to this machine; and in like manner was it great pleasure to behold the coveted food taken out of a man's hand after he had got it with a great deal of sweat, by those that could not have it from the distributers.

One greedily snatched the bread and meat, another went to drink, a third returned to the theatre, or to the fountain; one clamoured, another at a distance called for things; one asked for wine, another cried out to make way that he might come to eat and drink: And thus, eating and drinking, (not to lose time in the narration) in all appearance it looked like an inward jubilee; and such a spectacle was so pleasing, that all Rome unanimously confessed they had not seen the like.

During the illuminations, the lights in the air excited not only this city, but the neighbouring places, to the greater rejoicings.

Two good concerts of drums and trumpets continuing all the three days and nights, made all that feasting neighbourhood ring again.

And in the palace of his eminence was heard most incomparable music, and symphonies of the best instruments, where his eminence gave great quantities of refreshments to all those persons of quality that were met together for the festivity of the royal infant.

His eminence did also exercise the wonted acts of his generosity, distributing large alms amongst the modest indigent persons of the parish of St Catherine's, where his eminence lives, and the like to the parish of St Mary at the Minerva, of which he is titular; and, besides, he gave a rich regale to all his court, proportionably to their respective charges.

And other cardinals and princes, that were either allied by relation to his majesty, or were his dependants, or well-affectioned to the kingdom, made their feastings for the happy birth of the royal babe by setting up so many torches and lights at their palaces, and making so many fires about them, that it seemed as if they would be reduced to ashes in the flames.

Sir John Lytcott, Knight, agent for his majesty of Great Britain, illuminated all the windows of his palace, which stands in the Strada Gregoriana, with a vast number of white-wax torches, for three nights, where continually, as also the three days, drums and trumpets sounded; and, at his own expences, he made all the adjoining streets to his palace to be enlightened by the hanging up many lanthorns with the royal arms of England, and links; the whole being accompanied with the discharge of a great number of mortar-pieces.

Over the portal of his palace, which was all hung with red damask, and with galloon and fringe of gold, was seen exposed a rare picture, the work of some able Apelles, more than twelve hands high, on which was drawn the royal infant, with the habit of the most noble order of the Garter, and every way encompassed with a great laurel, which descended from heaven, and was upheld by two angels, and girt about with a numerous army of the same; one whereof held the royal crown of England, another, in one hand, a shield, with the arms of England, and with the other the sword and garter; another had an olive branch in its right hand, and in its left the cross of union of England with Scotland; and another, above the rest, in the opening of the heaven, on a label, exhibited these words,

Serus redeat.

And over the picture of the most serene prince were his arms, (*i. e.* three feathers of an ostrich) with this motto,

Ich Dien, i. e. *I serve.*

Below, at a distance, was the sun rising in the east, figuratively expressing the child born to be the most resplendent sun of the catholick heaven; and also there was seen the sea, with a naval fight, where the invincible courage and renowned valour of the admiral of England triumphed over their enemies.

This picture made its beholders immoveable, who, though they well knew that it was made by colouring and pencil, and that it had only a surface, nevertheless seemed to cheat themselves, insomuch, that they believed the objects there represented not feigned, but true. They saw the child stir, the wings of the angelic troops clap together, the waves of the salt element move, and, more than that, dyed with blood, the broken masts, the torn sails, and the sterns shattered in pieces: there were seen, labouring to swim, those that remained alive out of the sinking ship; they saw the soldiers and the gasping mariners the sport of the waters, and it appeared to them that they asked their help; they saw the fire of the cannons, and if they heard not the sound, they fancied it, which, because of its distance, could not reach them; and if many had not been thrust away from that place by the people that came to admire so worthy a work, they had been fixed there for a long time; and this picture was in the midst of two, one of the king, and the other of the queen; and above these was that of his holiness.

He caused also the second day an ox to be roasted, with other animals within it; and because the Strada Gregoriana was too streight for such a performance, he chose the square of Trinita de Monti, near thereto, where it was roasted in a spacious place, and there the flesh distributed, with bread, in great abundance, where the wine run out of a fine fountain for three days, and as many nights together; and the same and like accidents followed in the distribution of it, as what were recounted in that of his eminence Cardinal Howard's.

The Scotch college set up over the portal a very charming picture, where was seen the royal babe in swadling-cloths, lying on a very rich cushion; on one side whereof were painted, on a well-wrought pillar, the three crowns of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and on the other, at an agreeeble distance, there was seen a rising sun, alluding, as that before, to the birth of the royal prince; and over the picture was this motto:

Magnus Amor Matris,
Magnum Patris Incrementum.

And that picture was placed in the midst of two others, one representing the king his father on the right hand, and the other, on the left, the queen his mother; and all the three were under a rich canopy of red damask, edged with gold, whereto were set some torches before, that made them seen as clearly in the night as day.

And if the pictures of Sir John Lytcott were wonderful, those roused, in those that beheld them, the unusual amazement, seeming, that if they stood silent, it was not that they could not speak, but because silence became a royal decorum in this conjuncture.

And for three days they had illuminations, not only all over the front of the church and the college, but also of all the houses that were near, both of one and the other side of the street, at their proper expences.

And in like manner there was cast, for three days and three nights, abundance of wine, from a pretty contrived fountain, placed on one side the portal of the college, adorned with excellent paintings and greens; and on the other side were distributed several hundred loaves of bread to the poor.

And to this the people flocking together to eat and drink, as in other places, made of itself a very delightful sight.

There they discharged sometimes, betwixt the day and the night, one hundred and fifty mortar-pieces; there they burnt many hogsheads; the trumpets sounded from the windows, and the drums in the streets.

They also made a very splendid banquet for all those of the Scotch nation that they found in Rome.

The Urceline nuns, lately founded by the pious munificence of Mary Beatrice, queen consort of England, and the most serene Laura, Duchess of Modena, her mother, in acknowledgment for so great a benefit, had mass solemnly sung in their church, and *Te Deum*, with discharge of mortar-pieces; and for three nights made rich illuminations and lanthorns, with the arms of the king of Great Britain artificially disposed over all their cloyster.

The convent of the Dominican fathers of the English nation, dedicated to St John and Paul, enlightened for three nights all their church and convent, and particularly their steeple, that seemed, in the darkness of the night, as if there had been raised from earth to heaven another sphere of stars.

The Irish Dominican fathers of St Sistus and St Clement also set up innumerable lights on their church and convent.

The religious Irish Franciscans of St Isidore made a very glorious appearance of lights, that adorned all the frontispiece of their church for three nights.

Mr Michael Plunket, agent in Rome for the Irish clergy, had very many lights at all the windows of his usual habitation, for three nights, after the same manner.

But no less considerable was the magnificent demonstration of joy, both by fires and lights, that were made the three nights by ——— Selayne, an Irishman, professor of divinity in the college *De Propaganda Fide*, and doctor of the Sorbonne.

And very many other considerable persons, in token either of dependence on his majesty, or out of reverence or affection to him, rejoiced as others did, with lights, torches, and fires, for so happy a birth.

All the people of Rome were only in those places where the rejoicings were made, the rest of the city remaining unpeopled.

Every one grieved that he could not be at the same time in all those places where these testimonies were given for joy of the birth of so great a prince; so that, while they enjoyed the sight at one place, they afflicted themselves with the consideration of losing it at others.

And those that sought nothing but eating and drinking, complained against nature for that it had not made them more bellies, or those they had larger; and all would have been Briareus's, that they might have stretched out an hundred and an hundred arms to receive so many portions.

In fine, all Rome rejoiced, every inhabitant in it feasted, and nothing else was heard all over but the glorious name of the happy James II., in whom the divine blessings were seen apparently to reward his heroic acts in having granted him a successor; who, treading in his father's steps, should pursue the course of his catholic glories.

The Seven Hills burned, and seemed one only light, and one only fire; and, in despight of the horrors of the night, gave a clearness more resplendent than that of the greater planet at noon-day; and they looked so as when, by the cruelty of Nero, they were made a prey to the flames, or that they represented the famous city of Troy, when, by treachery, it was made a trophey to the fires.

The concerts of music, the festival sounds of the drums, trumpets, and mortar-pieces, and the common acclamations that gave applause to the English rulers, and tributes of joy to the born infant, seemed by consent even to deafen heaven.

The Expedition of his Highness the Prince of Orange for England. Giving an Account of the most remarkable Passages thereof, from the Day of his setting sail from Holland, to the first Day of this instant December, 1688. *In a Letter to a Person of Quality.*

SIR,

THE account you so earnestly desired of me, of the prince's expedition and invasion of England, is a task no one should have commanded from me but yourself; the ancient friendship between us makes nothing appear difficult in the way to serve you. I shall not undertake to determine the legality of this great and bold attempt, nor reflect on the councils that have brought this misery upon us, but shall content myself with giving you a brief account of the prince's expedition.

And, first, you are to take notice, that his highness set sail from Holland with fifty-one men of war, eighteen fire-ships, and about three hundred and thirty tenders, being ships hired of merchants, for the carriage of horse and foot, arms, ammunition, &c. The fleet stood out at sea to the northward, which met with horrid storms for two days and two nights together; in which bad weather there were lost above five hundred horse, and a vessel parted from the fleet, wherein were four hundred foot, supposed to be lost, but now known to be arrived at the Texel, though grievously shattered and torn by the storm. Two of the prince's principal men of war were forced to new-rig at Helvoetsluce.

The prince, immediately on his return back, informed the States of the condition of the fleet, (which was not so damnified as was represented by the vulgar and ignorant), who thereupon, to lull a great man[*] asleep, the States, or some one employed by them, ordered that the Haerleme and Amsterdam Courantier should make a dismal story of it, by representing to the world, that the prince returned with his fleet miserably shattered and torn, having lost nine men of war, and divers others of less concern; a thousand horse ruined; a calenture among the seamen; the loss of Dr Burnet, and the chief ministers under the prince; the ill opinion the States had of the expedition; in short, that one hundred thousand pounds would not repair the damage sustained; and almost next to an impossibility that the prince should be in a condition to pursue his design till the spring. And yet at the same time all the hands were at work to repair the damaged ships, which were inconsiderable; so that in eight days time they were all refitted. The signal being given by the discharge of a gun, all the fleet immediately weighed anchor, and stood out at sea, steering their course northwards all that night. Next day, upon tide of ebb, they made a stretch, and made a watch above a league, and then stood westward; and lay all night in the same posture, not making two leagues a watch.

In the middle of the night, an advice-boat brought us an account, that the English fleet, consisting of thirty-three sail, lay to the westward of ours. Upon which the prince fired a gun, which caused a great consternation in the whole fleet. We, having a brisk easterly wind, concluded ourselves to be all ruined; but the small advice-boats, cruising for a more certain account of the English, brought us back word, that instead of the English fleet, which the former advice had alarmed us with, it was Admiral Herbert with part of our fleet, which had been separated some hours from the body of our fleet: upon whose arrival great rejoicing was among us all, and a signal of joy was given for it by the prince.

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[*] James II.

In the morning about eight, the prince gave a signal, that the admiral should come aboard him. Immediately after the whole fleet was got into the North Foreland, upon which the prince gave the usual sign of danger (according to the printed book), and ordered that the fleet should all come up in a body, some fifteen or sixteen deep, his highness leading the van in the ship the Brill, (in English, Spectacles): His flag was English colours; the motto impaled thereon was, *The Protestant Religion, and Liberties of England;* and underneath, instead of *Dieu et Mon droit*, was, *And I will maintain it.*[1]

The council of war, from on board the Prince, sent three small frigates into the mouth of the Thames, viz. the Porpus, Postilion, and Mercury; who, on their return, brought us word that the English fleet lay in the Buoy of the Nore, consisting of thirty-four sail, and three more which lay in the Downs. The wind continuing at E. N. E.

The prince immediately thereupon gave another signal of stretching the whole fleet in a line, from Dover to Calais, twenty-five deep; so that our fleet reached within a league of each place; the flanks and rear were guarded by our men of war. This sight would have ravished the most curious eyes of Europe. When our fleet was in its greatest splendour, the trumpets and drums playing various tunes to rejoice our hearts. This continued for above three hours.

Immediately after the prince gave us a sign to close, and sailed that night as far as Beach, and commanded us to follow the signal by lights he had hung out to us, viz. all the small sail should come up to him by morning.

By the morning-day we espied the Isle of Wight, and then the prince ordered the fleet to be drawn into the same posture as before related, yet not stretching above half channel over in this place. About five in the morning we made the Start, the wind chopping about to the westward, upon which we stood fair by Dartmouth, and so made for Torbay, where the prince again ordered the whole fleet into the same posture as at Dover and Calais.

Upon his arrival at Torbay, the people on land, in great numbers, welcomed his highness with loud acclamations of joy.

Immediately after, the prince gave two signals that the admirals should come aboard him, which they did, and then ordered that the whole fleet should come to an anchor, and immediately land; and further ordered that the admirals should stand out at sea as a guard, as well as the smaller men of war, to attend and guard their landing, and also ordered six men of war to run in to guard Torbay.

The prince then put out a red flag at the mizen-yard-arm, and provided to land in sixty boats, laid ready for that purpose; upon which the prince signified that General Mackay, with his six regiments of English and Scotch, should first land; and also that the Little Porpius, with eighteen guns, should run a-ground to secure their landing; but there was no opposition, for the people bid us heartily welcome to England, and gave us all manner of provisions for our refreshment.

The fifth of November (a day never to be blotted out of the Englishman's heart) the prince caused to be landed about two thousand. On the sixth we landed as many horse and foot as we could possibly, and so continued the seventh; the country bringing in all manner of provision, both for man and horse, and were paid their price honestly for it.

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[1] This was a translation of William's family motto, *Je maintiendrai.*

The prince, the same day, commanded Captain M——— to search the Lady Cary's house, at Tor-Abbey for arms and horses, and so all other houses which were Roman catholicks. The lady, entertaining them civilly, said her husband was gone to Plymouth; they brought from thence some horses and a few arms, but gave no further disturbance to the lady or her house. Nor shall it be forgotten what was faithfully acted at this lady's house immediately on our arrival at Torbay: There were a priest, and some others with him, upon a watch-tower, to discover what our fleet was, whether French or Dutch. At last they discovered the white flags on some of our men of war; the ignorant priest concluded absolutely we were the French fleet, which, with great impatience, they had so long expected; and, having laid up great provisions for their entertainment, the priest ordered all to the chapel to sing *Te Deum* for the arrival of their supposed forces; but, being soon undeceived on our landing, we found the benefit of their provisions; and, instead of *vôtre serviture, monsieur*, they were entertained with *Yeen mynheer,* Can you Dutch spraken; upon which they all run away from the house but the lady and a few old servants.

The whole army, to the best of my knowledge, consisted of eighteen thousand horse, three thousand dragoons, and one thousand eight hundred foot, besides a thousand volunteer persons of quality, horse well equipped, and about five hundred horse for carriage.

November the eighth, the prince came from Chudleigh, towards Exeter, with the greatest part of his army attending him, and, about one of the clock, entered at the West-gate of the city, welcomed with loud acclamations of the people.

The manner of his public entrance into Exeter was as follows:

1. The Right Honourable the Earl of M————,[1] with two hundred horse, the most part of which were English gentlemen, richly mounted on Flanders steeds, managed and used to war, in head-pieces, back and breast, bright armour.
2. Two hundred blacks, brought from the plantations of the Netherlands in America, having on embroidered caps lined with white fur, and plumes of white feathers, to attend the horse.
3. Two hundred Finlanders, or Laplanders, in bear-skins, taken from the wild beasts they had slain, the common habit of that cold climate, with black armour and broad flaming swords.
4. Fifty gentlemen, and as many pages to attend and support the prince's banner, bearing this inscription,—"God and the Protestant Religion."
5. Fifty led horses, all managed and brought up to the wars, with two grooms to each horse.
6. After these rode the prince, on a milk-white palfrey, armed *cap-a-pee,* a plume of white feathers on his head, all in bright armour, and forty-two footmen running by him.
7. After his highness followed likewise on horseback two hundred gentlemen and pages.
8. Three thousand Switzers with fuzees.
9. Five hundred volunteers, each two led horses.
10. His captain and guards, six hundred, armed *cap-a-pee.*

The rest of the army brought up the rear.

That night the prince lay at the deanery, having before ordered the advanced guard to march to Clistheath, and settled the quarters of the army, which was done so much to the content and satisfaction of the inhabitants in and about the city, and such just payments made for what the soldiers had, and such civil behaviour among them, without swearing and damning, and debauching of women, as is usual among some armies, that it is admiration to behold. I am sure, sir, I was an eye-witness of the whole order, and, when we marched away from this city, their joy was turned into dulness and cloudiness.

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[1] Macclesfield.

On the ninth the prince commanded Dr Burnet to order the priest-vicars of the cathedral not to pray for the Prince of Wales, and to make use of no other prayer for the king but what is in the second service, which they refused to observe, till they were forced, and very severely threatened; the bishop[1] and the dean being then gone from the city.

About twelve this day notice was given to the canons, and all the vicars, choral and singing lads, to attend in the cathedral immediately, for that the prince would be there; and Dr Burnet ordered them, as soon as the prince entered into the choir, they should sing *Te Deum*, which was observed.[2] The prince sat in the bishop's chair, and all his great officers attending on him. After *Te Deum* was sung, Dr Burnet, in a seat under the pulpit, read aloud the prince's declaration, and reasons for this his expedition; when this was over, the prince returned to the deanery.

The baggage was many days bringing from Torbay, but the ammunition, both arms for foot and horse, and the artillery, were brought into Topsham road, and there by boats and other carriages landed; the field-pieces were sent after the army at Clistheath, the brass cannon remaining some of them in Exon.

The greatest part of the army were ordered to march forward to Ottery and Honyton, and in several parties were ordered to divers places in the county. One party was sent to the north of Devon for horses, which were bought at excessive rates: From Roman catholicks, they took horses without money, and many gentlemen, who might have had money for their horses, refused, as the bishop's son and divers others.

On Sunday Dr Burnet preached at the cathedral on this text, Psalm cvii. last verse. Ferguson preached in the presbyterian meeting-house, but was fain to force his way with his sword up to the pulpit, for even the old presbyter himself could not away with the breath of his brother Ferguson in his diocese: His text was in Psal. xciv. "Who will rise up for me against evil doers."[3] I heard one of that gang say, that his discourse came very much under the lash of the 25th of Edward the Third; he is not much regarded by any of the prince's retinue.

Sir William W———,[4] who had been at Ford with the prince, to see Sir William C——,[5] were both refused to be seen of him. One Major M——, and Sir Will——, were in commission to make new levies, which was carried on vigorously, and many enlisted under them: But Sir W——, it seems, began to use an old trade of taking money for quarters: Complaint was made thereof to the prince, and they were discarded, and the men disbanded to seek for new officers. But Sir W—— does continue under the prince's protection.

The prince was here above three days before any appearance of gentry came, insomuch that the great officers began to wonder that the prince should be invited into England by them, and not to appear to the prince's assistance; but this consternation was soon over, when a considerable body of the gentry came into him. Some that were for taking off the test and penal laws, they have not appeared as yet. So that now the counties of Cornwall and Devon are in the possession of the gentry thereof, and the prince's army quite marched away.

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[1] Dr Lamplugh, then Bishop of Exeter, fled upon the prince approaching the city, and was rewarded by James with the Archbishopric of York, once destined for Father Petres.

[2] The author conceals that the canons refused to attend, and the choir left the church so soon as the anthem was performed.

[3] Ferguson forced the doors, saying "He would take the kingdom of Heaven by storm."

[4] Waller.

[5] Courtenay.

Pendennis castle is managed by several gentlemen, who take their turns. Plymouth fort is declared for the prince's service, by the Earl of B——, who, it seems, was to have been poisoned, by throwing white mercury over a leg of mutton (appointed as one dish for his supper) instead of flour: For that, and some other reasons, he secured the Lord H——, turned out all papist soldiers, and has taken in the country soldiers into the fort.

Since which, there is an association among the gentry, worded much after that of my Lord Shaftsbury's.

Mr Seymour being made governor of Exeter, and the Lord Mordaunt in his absence, there are new levies raising every day; so that this city is almost full of these new regiments, which are hourly disciplining by officers and old soldiers left here by the prince. All their arms are the prince's, and I am told he brought with him as many as will set out twenty thousand both horse and foot. I am apt to believe this to be true, having seen most of what has been landed. All the vessels that brought up the ammunition, &c. are returned again to Torbay, under the guard of the principal men of war, a squadron of which lie now in the sound of Plymouth, and saluted each other with many cannon from the fort and the fleet.

On Sunday last there was a report that the twenty thousand French were landed at Porlock in this county, upon which the whole country rose with pikes, spits, scythes, and what weapons they could get, and made away for Exeter, but it proved a false alarm; for there were two small French ships driven by the Dutch fleet ashore, and the French quitted their vessels and went on land, and were some killed, others sent hither. So that now they are pretty quiet again; but it has given that advantage to the commissioned officers, who are to raise new levies, to pick and chuse amongst them whom they please.

I shall now return again to the prince: When his highness left Exeter, Wednesday Nov. 21, he marched with his own guards, attended by a great many of the gentry both of Somersetshire and Devon to St Mary Ottery, where he dined; after which he marched to Axminster, where he continued four days; from thence to Crook-Horn, where he tarried only one night; from thence to Sherborne, where his highness was splendidly entertained by the Lord D———; from thence he went to Wincanton, where he lodged at the house of one Mr Churchill, a merchant, and, it is credibly reported, designs for Oxford.

Sir, I have given you the best account I can of this great affair; you may communicate it to such friends as you think fit. Sir, I am, with all due respects,

Your most obedient servant,

N. N.

Wincanton, Dec. 1. 1668.

A further Account of the Prince's Army, in a Letter sent from Exon, dated November 24.

Had I not insensibly overslipped my time the last post, you had received this then:

When I came here, I endeavoured to inform myself, after the best manner I could, as to the number and quality of the prince's army; and all generally concluded them to be about thirty thousand, all picked men, and many of them personally present at the siege of Buda. This I am certain of, that they appeared to be men resolute, well disciplined, and stout, and of an extraordinary stature, and their arms suitable, muskets, swords, and pikes, being far larger than ever I yet saw; and notwithstanding the streets were thronged, almost as thick as yours on a lord-mayor's day, yet was it ever a rarity to see one of them shorter than six foot; and some of them were, I am confident, six foot and a quarter, if not six foot and an half, in height: So that, were it lawful to trust in an arm of flesh, they might have some cause to presume; but the tenor of their words was otherwise; the civil deportment and their honesty of paying for what they have, (and the strictness of their discipline hinders them from being otherwise) winning not a little the affections of the country-men, who daily resort thither, forty or fifty in a gang, to be enlisted. My Lord Mordaunt's regiment was soon compleated, which, with two others, was raised and maintained, at the charge of the gentry in this country, of which Edward Seymour, Esq. is, by the prince, made governor. During his highness's stay here, which was till last Wednesday, there appeared a court most splendid, composed, not only of foreign, but of many of the English nobility and gentry, which came hither to wait on his highness, since his arrival, of both ranks, upwards to the number of sixty, all mighty gallant in their equipage, each striving thereby to add to the glory of their design. The gentry of these parts first seemed slow in their advances to serve the prince; but as soon as the ice was broke by Capt. Burrington, the majority soon followed his steps, and have entered into an association. It is to admiration to consider the vast magazine of all warlike utensils brought hither by the prince's army, their baggage having for a fortnight together been continually landing, and yet not fully ended: Were it not for the badness of the roads, as I was informed by a private sentinel, they could draw into the field an artillery of above two hundred pieces: But the greatest curiosity I yet saw was a bridge of boats, such as I conceive the imperialists use to pass over the Danube and Saave with, which was, for the speedy conveyance of their carriages, laid over the river in two or three hours, and afterwards as soon removed; not to mention a smith's shop or forge, curiously contrived in a waggon; or another contrivance the foot carry with them to keep off the horse, which, in their manner, may well yield the service of a pike.

There hath been lately driven into Dartmouth, and since taken, a French vessel loaden altogether with images, and knives of a very large proportion, in length nineteen inches, and in breadth two inches and a half; what they were designed for, God only knows.

Some Reflections upon the humble Petition to the King's most Excellent Majesty, of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal who subscribed the same; presented Nov. 17, 1688.

Ralph gives the following account of the circumstances in which this controversy originated:—

"In the meantime it became the talk without doors, that his majesty had declared himself resolved not to call a parliament, but that whoever should presume to require it of him would incur his highest displeasure. This was matter of great concern to those who were anxious for an accommodation, and of as much pleasure to those who thought it their interest to inflame the broil, and who knew that the king could upon no ground whatever be attacked with more advantage or success than this. Hence it followed that both those parties, without entering into each other's views and motives, were easily brought to a meeting at the Bishop of Rochester's; and when together consisted of the following persons, namely, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York (Lamplugh, who had so lately fled from the Prince of Orange) the Bishops of St Asaph, Ely, Rochester, Peterborough, and Oxford; the Dukes of Norfolk, Grafton, and Ormond; the Marquis of

Halifax; the Earls of Oxford, Dorset, Anglesey, Nottingham, Clare, Clarendon, Burlington, and Rochester; the Viscount Newport; the Lords Chandos, Paget, Carberry, and Ossulston. To petition the king for a free parliament was what they all agreed in; as also that his majesty would entertain some expedient for keeping the peace in the meanwhile: But when the following clause came to be proposed, viz. That the peers who had joined the prince might sit in the after parliament, debates ensued, the parties divided, and upon the whole it was rejected (as needless, says Bishop Kennet) by a great majority: upon which the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Oxford and Nottingham, and the Lord Carberry, withdrew; and the petition agreed upon was drawn up in the following words:

"May it please your majesty, we your majesty's most loyal subjects, in a deep sense of the miseries of a war now breaking forth in the bowels of this your kingdom, and of the dangers to which your majesty's sacred person is thereby likely to be exposed, and also of the distractions of your people by reason of their present grievances, do think ourselves bound in conscience, of the duty we owe to God and our holy religion, to your majesty and our country, most humbly to offer to your majesty that, in our opinion, the only visible way to preserve your majesty and this your kingdom would be the calling of a parliament, wherein we shall be most ready to promote such counsels and resolutions of peace, and settlement in church and state, as may conduce to your majesty's honour and safety, and to the quieting the minds of your people. We do likewise humbly beseech your majesty in the meantime to use such means for the preventing the effusion of Christian blood as to your majesty shall seem most meet. And your petitioners shall ever pray," &c.

"As it was now no longer feared that the presenters of petitions would be prosecuted as criminals, the two Archbishops and the Bishops of Ely and Rochester undertook to present this in the name of the rest; which they accordingly did on the 17th of November, and received the following answer:

"My lords, what you ask of me I most passionately desire: and I promise you, upon the faith of a king, that I will have a parliament, and such a one as you ask for, as soon as the Prince of Orange has quitted this realm: for how is it possible a parliament should be free in all its circumstances, as you petition for, whilst an enemy is in the kingdom, and can make a return of near an hundred voices?"

"Both petition and answer were immediately made public, and gave rise to a short but warm controversy, in which the petitioning lords are on the one hand treated as incendiaries at least, if not rebels; and on the other it is suggested that no faith ought to be given to papists; and that the people could have no security but in the sword of their guardian angel the Prince of Orange."—RALPH, I. 1040.

THAT the peace-makers are blessed, is a truth our Saviour hath left recorded in the holy Scriptures, and those are truly to be honoured who can contribute any thing to so happy a work: But that either this way of petitioning, or the matter in it desired, is likely to produce so great a blessing, is a question worthy serious consideration.

I shall first therefore take notice of some of the dubious expressions in the petition, and then lay down some few reasons why I judge the petition in itself unseasonable; and, lastly, endeavour to shew how unpracticable the summoning of a parliament is at this present.

The expression, "that a war is now breaking forth in the bowels of the kingdom," shews that their lordships either know or foresee, that a civil war is fomenting; and I pray God this petition do not, more than any thing else, occasion it; or that the Prince of Orange intends to carry on the war through the bowels of the kingdom, whereas those that wish well to the king hope it will be kept in and about the parts where he landed.

Secondly, as to "the distraction of the people under their present grievances," it seems to many true members of the church of England, that it had been every whit as agreeable to your lordship's character, to have rather thanked his majesty for his late extraordinary and gracious favours, than to have amused the subjects at this time with the apprehensions of grievances, without any intimation what they were; for it is most manifest, that by such remonstrating of grievances the people were instigated to that bloody rebellion in 1641.

As to the expression, "That your lordships think yourselves bound in conscience of the duty you owe to God and to our holy religion, and to his majesty and our country, most humbly to offer to his majesty, That in your opinion the only visible way to preserve his majesty and his kingdom, would be the calling of a parliament regular and free in all its circumstances,"—I hope to make out, that the summoning of a parliament now is so far from being the only way to effect these things, that it will be one of the principal causes of much misery to the kingdom; and I am sure both our duty to God and our holy religion, as well as to his majesty and our country, doth plainly enjoin us to use one other effectual means to obviate the miseries of a civil or invasive war; which is, the keeping inviolably our allegiance to our sovereign, and effectually joining with him to resist all his enemies, whether foreign aggressors or native rebels: And it is much to be wondered at that this duty, so well known to your lordships, should never be mentioned.

As to the regular and free parliament in all its circumstances, I shall now proceed to prove, that at this season all our wishes for such an one are impotent, and must be ineffectual.

First, It is a known truth, and sadly experienced, that whenever the people are in a great ferment, and contrary parties are bandying one against another, the giving liberty to the people to meet in great bodies is dangerous to the government; and you yourselves not long since were, when you opposed the vehement addresses to King Charles II. for summoning a parliament, when he judged it would strengthen the faction against him; and you very well know, when great heats were among the members, and unreasonable votes were passed against the lineal succession, and other matters endangering the government, the king was obliged to prorogue some parliaments from time to time, that such separation might produce more sober counsels: And then the great cry was, that for the preservation of the king's person and our religion, they were so earnest to have a parliament meet.

Secondly, It is impossible there can be a regular and free election while the electors are so violently divided; one part of them being so vehement wishers of the success of the Prince of Orange, that they slight all the miseries that unavoidably will fall on the country thereby, upon the bare hope that he will preserve religion and property. Now, in such a time as this, when (if we will give credit to the prince's declaration) there are so many that have invited him, can it be safe for the king to grant a commission, even to the people, to assemble in such great confluxes, as may afford them opportunity of listing themselves against him?

Thirdly, If we yield that elections can be without outrageous routs; yet when the parliament is met, it is requisite, by the very constitution, that every part of that august assembly should be free in their assent or dissent to what is to be debated; and that freedom is as fundamentally necessary in the person of the king, as in the members of either house; and that one of the proper and necessary circumstances of that convention ought to be, that all the members shall be present. I shall therefore shew, that at this time none of these can be practicable.

First, As to the king: While such powerful enemies are in the country, and so many ready to catch any opportunity to join with them, how can the king be absent from his army? The providing for, cherishing, animating, and ordering of which will sufficiently employ the most indefatigable of princes. And none can think that any prince can watch the motions of such an enemy, and time his opportunities of assaulting them, or defending himself, and at the same time be embarrassed with a party in the houses, that may as dangerously be levelling their votes against him, as the invaders are their artillery. However here can be no freedom to the king, how undaunted soever, because the impending storm may so affright his council, that they may advise to the yielding of some things that may be of ill consequence to the government; for whatever lessens the king's just prerogative, as this may do, in depriving him of exercising his negative voice, is at one time or other prejudicial to his subjects.

Secondly, As to the lords: There can be no free convention of them, since several of them have so far forgot their allegiance, that they are actually in the Prince of Orange's army, and many other lords are attending the king, and their charges; so that while these armies are in being, they cannot meet in their house but by their proxies; which, I suppose, none can expect will be allowed to the peers that are in rebellion, if we may be allowed to call that such which all our laws so adjudge.

Thirdly, The like may be said for the House of Commons: All the gentlemen of interest in their country, by their allegiance, are bound to serve the king in his wars at his command; and will be few enough to keep their respective counties in peace. And I am confident none will think that a parliament, as this ought to be that is desired, should consist of such who have been little conversant in public affairs, or have small interests in their counties.

So that, upon the whole, I cannot see how any free parliament can meet, unless it be such a convention as the Saxons obtained of the Britons on Salisbury plains, where the most eminent of both people were to meet unarmed, and there amicably adjust matters in difference; but it is well known that the Saxons, under their long coats, had their weapons, wherewith they slew the flower of the British nobility, and thereby rendered their conquest more easy.

It is true such a stratagem is not now like to take effect; but the king and those that wish well to the succession of the monarchy, and the preservation of their country, must needs fear, that there will be as dangerous contests within the houses as may be in the open fields; and thereby little can be expected from such a parliament which can redound to the public good of the kingdom.

Fourthly, Those spiritual and temporal lords that have signed this petition, either have not, or they have, consulted the Prince of Orange, before they proposed this advice.

If they have not consulted him, they ought to satisfy the king how they can warrant a cessation of arms on the prince's side, or how they can hinder him from advancing further to awe debates in the houses, or what assurance they can give that he will acquiesce in the free decision of the matters proposed, or that he will peaceably depart out of the land when things are settled, and will not pretend to stay here till the vast sums be paid him that he hath expended on this occasion; or, lastly, that he will not find new occasions of questioning the security of the performance of any agreement to be made.

If they have consulted the prince, they ought to show his commission, authorising them to make proposals, or show the heads of those grievances he demands to be redressed; for some, they urge in their petition, there are which distract the people; but I suppose they are more careful of their heads than to own any such correspondence.

If these noble persons would have effectually saved effusion of blood, they should rather have used all their interest to have kept the Prince of Orange in his own country, though with his army and fleet in readiness, and have obtained his sending his demands; and have waited like dutiful subjects till the king had convened his parliament, and have tried how gracious the king would have been in redressing grievances and securing religion and property; and, after the king's refusal, there might have been some colour for his invasion; but none upon any pretence whatsoever to have invited him to it.

Fifthly, Those who will not openly and with a bare face justify the Prince of Orange's pretensions, cannot think it consistent with the honour of the king to stoop so low as to summon a parliament at the direction of an invader, who can never be conceived to desire it with that eagerness, if he did not judge it very much conducive to his interest; for which very reason the king ought to be jealous of such councils.

And I humbly conceive those peers have not sufficiently considered how prejudicial this sort of address may be to the king's affairs, and how much it will conduce to the further alienating of the affections of the subjects from the king, when they shall hear of his denial to comply at present with this expedient, and never hear the reasons thereof; since they have not divulged his majesty's gracious answer, together with their petition: And I am sure, at this time, the putting the king upon such a dilemma is the greatest dis-service can be done him, and very little inferior to joining with his enemies.

I might add many more arguments to prove that the king cannot in honour yield to this advice, without quitting that undeniable prerogative the laws give him, of making war or concluding peace, if those matters should be submitted to the arbitrement of the two houses; or owning that the allegiance of his subjects did not bind them to assist him in the defence of his crown and dominions without the votes of a parliament,—but I shall conclude with some few considerations I humbly offer to those right reverend and noble lords, and all those who are of the same judgment with them, to reflect upon.

First then, I desire them to consider, whether it will not be more glorious and agreeable to the principles of our religion, effectually to assist our undoubted lawful sovereign, than to suffer him to be dethroned solely because he is a Roman catholick, since the papists themselves, though they neither take the oath of allegiance or supremacy, yet do, and ever have declared, that if any Roman catholick prince, yea the pope himself in person, should invade any king of England, though a protestant, they are bound to defend such a king against them, as much as if they were Turks.

Secondly, Whether the true and original cause of this invasion, and consequently all the blood-shed these lords so earnestly desire to prevent, hath not been the denying to concur with the king in establishing of liberty of conscience, even with such security to the protestant religion and church of England as could be desired; and whether, in all human probability, that would not be more conduceable to establish the public tranquillity of the kingdom, and its increase in wealth and people, and consequently the most efficacious means to reduce the Dutch to be just and tractable allies and neighbours, rather than any thing can be effected by this invasion, or the truckling to such avowed enemies to our country, our religion, and our king.

Thirdly, Whether the king's entire trust in the fidelity of his own subjects for his defence, and not admitting of foreign aids that were, unsought for, proffered, do not oblige all that have any sense of gratitude or duty, to aid him to the very utmost against such foreigners as so unnaturally and so unjustly invade him; and when it hath pleased God to give success to the king's just arms, we are not to doubt but the king, according to his solemn promise in his late royal declaration, will speedily call a parliament, and in it redress all such grievances as his people can justly complain of, with a full and ample security to the church of England and all his protestant subjects, which it will much more be our interest to have in a truly harmonious and free parliamentary way at that time established, than at this present in a tumultuary and precipitate haste, so patched up as will not be durable; and the more earnestly we desire to see this good work to be set upon, the more haste the nobility and gentry should make to expel those who hindered the convention of that parliament, which was much more likely to have settled matters to the content of the king and his people, than this invasion can ever hope to effect.

Some Reflections upon his Highness the Prince of Orange's Declaration.

This piece was published immediately after his highness's landing, and makes as free with the pretences assigned therein for to justify his expedition, as the said declaration had before done with the measures of his majesty's reign: who the penman of it was is scarce possible to conjecture, but that it had all the countenance which the court could give it there is no room to doubt. The answer which follows it came from the Prince of Orange's camp, and may therefore be ascribed either to Burnet or Ferguson, at the pleasure of the reader.—*Orig. Edit.*

§ 1. Having read the Prince of Orange's Declaration, the reflections I now publish did very easily occur to me in the perusal of it. The first thing I looked for was, the exposing of our clandestine league with France, so much talked of, to excuse the Dutch preparations and invasion; but I find, after all, not one word said of France, or any such secret league, the main thing pretended and expected; ay, that hateful and dreaded thing, which was to introduce a French army to destroy us protestants, and set up popery: the only fear that could excuse the prince's coming, or make the thoughts of it any thing tolerable to an Englishman, though a protestant. This deep silence upon the first and greatest point, the point in which we are most interested, and about which we have had the last pain and thought of heart, shews evidently we have been abused with feigned dangers and false fears: And what for, if not to cover, break, and lessen the guilt of a protestant invasion?

§ 2. This is not all: Had his highness only pretended to come to deliver the king from evil counsellors, and to engage him further into the interest of England and Europe, that he might not seem a property to a few ill men for narrow ends, the Prince of Orange had less needed an apology with some others; but to over-look the king, a lawful king, the father of his princess, in whose right he can only pretend to come, and instead of the king's name, to use in England the style of We and Us, commanding, preferring, advancing, rewarding, punishing, having of parliaments, and settling the nations; and, last of all, that he will then send back his army, which sheweth he intends to stay behind himself, can declare nothing else to us but that his design is to be king. Now how this is practicable, and a rightful king alive, his uncle and his wife's father, through whom only he can pretend any interest; and besides this, an heir-apparent, the Prince of Wales, who hath a prior and incontestable title, I leave first to the nobility and gentry of the realm to think upon, whose blood and estates are like to be a great part of the price of such a quarrel; and next, to the divines in point of conscience, and to the lawyers in point of justice, to consider seriously of.

§ 3. I cannot find how he states a clear and just call: A son against a father; a nephew against an uncle; a neighbour against a neighbour, without any act of hostility or breach of peace on the king's part, can to be sure be no good call: but that a protestant, after all our exclamations against papists, should attempt such an invasion, without any publick complaint, memorial, or demand made; and yet the Dutch embassador, in the name of the Dutch government (of which the Prince of Orange is so great a part, that the rest seem to have scarce any), had often assured the king, that their preparations of war were not intended against him: I say, that a neighbour, a nephew, a son, and a protestant too, should do so extraordinary a thing, contrary to the laws of nature and nations, is without precedent; and, in my poor opinion, Almighty God will (I was ready to say can) never bless the attempt.

§ 4. The most melancholy part of this business is, that hereby the protestant religion is at once unnecessarily exposed and hazarded; for if the king prevail, what can the Prince of Orange's sort of protestants expect at his hand? Will the attempt then be no reproach to the name of the religion, and the miscarriage no danger to the thing? The first cannot fail, but I hope the latter will. But then it must be by the union of the English protestants for their English king, that to them chiefly, if not only, the honour of his preservation may be attributed; this the love they have to themselves and their religion, which is their true interest, will oblige them to; for if they change masters, they entail blood upon their children about the title of the crown; and if they will keep their master, and shew their strength by saving him, it will convince him he cannot be safe without them; and therefore he cannot fail to please and secure them. I say, this invasion is staking the whole protestant interest in England at once; and God deliver us from such desperate gamesters.

If this were really a fit or transport of zeal for the protestant cause, we must needs think the prince hath mist his man, and might have found other places fitter for his enterprize. Had he set his face towards the country we were said to be in a secret league with, by whose only help England can be made popish, and where the protestants have already been ill used, and their edicts entirely violated by which they were once preserved, and where the prince himself, in his principality of Orange, hath been notoriously invaded, it would have looked very natural, after so many distressed Hugenots had filled Holland with their complaints and sufferings for religion. This he could not but think would have given France a seasonable diversion, that is now ravaging the empire, and disquieting the peace of Christendom: This would also have been a sufficient test upon his majesty whether he was in league with France or no, or would have fought the French king's quarrel in defence of persecution, and in the prince's wrong; but it seems his father and uncle, of all others, must be the man he will attack, and England of all kingdoms his seat of war; and what that can mean besides the crown is past my comprehension; which leads me to consider the particulars of his declaration.

§ 5. He says, in the first paragraph, "That the peace or happiness of any state or kingdom cannot be preserved where the laws, liberties, and customs established by the lawful authority in it are openly transgressed and annulled; more especially where a religion contrary to law is endeavoured to be introduced, and that those who are most concerned are indispensibly bound to endeavour to maintain the established laws, liberties, and customs; and, above all, the religion and worship of God." This is a stumble at the threshold; the proposition is confused, and ill distinguished at best; for some laws are better broke than kept, and without it Christianity had never come into the world. Laws for idolatry cannot bind; laws that impose a faith or worship I think untrue, do not oblige me; laws against fundamental right and justice are void in themselves; a lawful authority, by exceeding or straining points beyond their just bounds, may act unlawfully.

Yet further, introducing a religion contrary to law may be justifiable, because law doth not make a religion true or false; so that a change may be unlawful and not unreasonable or unchristian, in that a religion that is so may happen to have law of its side, as in the case of Judaism and Paganism, when a change is from a false to the true, though it be unlawful by the laws of a country, it may be both lawful and a duty by the law of God, nor can human wisdom or measures bound mankind in this case, or be observed by them in a point so much above it; less is any body indispensibly bound to such an absurdity and impiety: for if a religion be not true, who is bound indispensibly to maintain it, that does not turn atheist, and prefer human law above divine truth? And yet, with reverence be it spoken, as the declaration runs, the legality, and not the verity of a religion, obliges the support of it. For my part, I think no relation to a government puts this task upon any man, or can excuse them that take it upon them; no not for the true religion itself, if it be by such ways as Christ forbad. In fine, what laws, liberties, and customs, are they that are to be maintained? And what religion, and by what means and methods, is it to be done?

The second paragraph applies the first, "That evil counsellors here have overturned the laws and liberties, and subjected them in all things relating to their consciences, liberties, and properties, to arbitrary government."

The charge is great, for it leaves no one thing excepted from their tyranny.

The third paragraph begins the proof, "That those evil counsellors, to colour this with a plausible pretext, did invent the king's dispensing power, and that the king can dispense with laws made by king and parliament for the security and happiness of the subject, and so rendered the laws of none effect." But in this the Prince of Orange has been ill advised and abused, for the matter of fact is not true: One would think the laws that would shake a government to be dispensed with, were the moral laws, or laws of God, that are the foundation of government, and rule of virtue and goodness; laws that preserve right to every man, the fundamentals of a country; whereas the laws dispensed with are laws restraining conscience, punishing non-conformity, to the ruin of thousands; laws that usurp God's prerogative over conscience, and that make people offenders for what they can't help; laws that destroy property for opinion, the freehold of this world for faith about the next, which is literally against the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the nature of government, and of rewards and punishments, blending civil with religious things, overthrowing the ancient hold and title of the free-man of England; the effect of partiality, and the interest of a party only; the ground of all the strife and mischief this kingdom hath laboured under for above an age. These are the laws his majesty has dispensed with for the ease and peace of his subjects, and benefit of the trade of the kingdom, till redress can be had by parliament: and this is made his crime, and the Prince of Orange's standard.

The fourth paragraph gives a reason against the dispensing power that is rather for it. His highness shifts the subject of the question, and then makes the inference. The words are these: "The king can pardon treason or felony, but not suspend the laws relating to treason or felony:" whereas the question is not about what is evil in itself; for all agree the king cannot dispense with laws against evils that are such in themselves, tho' he may pardon the party offending the law: But because he cannot do so, that therefore he may not dispense with a law against an evil that is not so in itself, but by law only made so, for a civil conveniency, will not follow; for it is to say, that if the king can dispense with the law that forbids the exportation of wool, or importation of Irish cattle in case of a general murrain in the kingdom, he can also dispense with the laws against sodomy, theft, perjury, &c. which is a most inconsequent thing; and yet it is upon no better bottom that his highness sets this invasion. To end my reflections here, it must be granted there is no higher authority in England than king, lords, and commons, and as true they only can make and abrogate laws; but 'tis also true, that dispensation is neither, and therefore not inconsistent with the supreme power of the kingdom: yet it ought not to be used but about temporary laws, and where the execution is an inconveniency to the publick, and no hurt to any man's property, and at that time only when a parliament cannot conveniently meet. Now, let the laws be read over that the king has dispensed with, and the terms he did it upon, and we shall find it not impossible to support the government without their execution, when we consider the execution of them had almost ruined the kingdom: And whatever the Prince of Orange may please to compliment us with, Dutch good-nature we very well know at all the markets in the world: Liberty of conscience gave them their trade, and that the mighty wealth they have; and they fear the consequence of it here, lest what we should get they might in a great degree lose; and unless dissenting protestants were not worth saving, the prince might have found room enough for his favours to them at the latter end of the last king's reign, when the civil and religious rights of the best part of the people of England were lower much than they have been since this king came to the crown. This by the by.

The fifth paragraph is a reflection upon the ministers, for tempting and shifting the judges, and packing the benches, to support the dispensing power. If there was any extraordinary art used, or indirect dealing with any of them, it was ill done, and such are answerable for it: But this a parliament could have censured as it deserved, without the help of an invasion.

The sixth paragraph strikes at employing people without taking the usual oaths and tests; which excludes from all capacity in the government as well protestant dissenters as Roman catholicks: this, in the opinion of the declaration, is ill done, and crime enough for an invasion: But others are of another mind, and say, those laws are from a private spirit, a partial narrow interest, contrary to the privilege and duty of the subject, as well as the inseparable and indispensable right of the king: However, this would have also had its due consideration in a parliament, where a papist could not have sate, and where as good protestants would have sate as ever were in parliament.

The seventh paragraph, tho' long, will need but a short answer. 'Tis a reflection upon the constitution and proceedings of the ecclesiastical court: Both are at an end: the Bishop of London and Magdalen-College are restored, and the commission is broke: But I am very glad the prince, in the occasion of Magdalen-College, shews himself so hearty for freedom of election; some ill-natured people were ready to say they hoped he was for it in Holland too.

The eighth paragraph complains, "That chappels are suffered to be built, and monasteries erected against law, the jesuits teach school, and Father Peters is a privy counsellor; and, finally, that they are served and seconded by the ecclesiastical commissioners." Now, for their chappels, they are places of devotion, and not much more unlawful than the dissenters meeting-houses; which must be meant, and have a feeling through the other, both being against law. But, under correction, this doth not agree with liberty of conscience to papists in the 19th paragraph, no more than to refuse them priests, without which they can exercise no religion. For monasteries I have heard of none, and of schools but one: But this I know, they are to be found in Holland, and jesuits too; no wonder then if a popish king hath admitted them: It is against law in both places alike; only in Holland 'tis called prudence, but here it must be subverting the government. For Father Peters, he is long ago of age, and must answer for himself; but I am ready to think he had not been a blot for the prince to hit now, if he had thought fit to have asked him of his father out of a declaration.

The ninth paragraph complains of laying aside the lord-lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants, &c. because they would not concur to repeal the test. But before the king knew this would be a fault imputed in the Prince of Orange's declaration, he was contented the test should remain, and they be restored, and not to make any thing worse than it was: The king ever declared, he did not dislike the test for the security it was to the protestant religion, but the affront it was to himself; and, on the other hand, all good protestants as freely acknowledge, that they only desired to keep it because of its security. The consequence of which is, that if another security could be found, both were agreed in the repeal; if not, the old one must remain, because the king from the first assured us, the liberty should be so established, that it should not be in the power of his own, or any party, to invade it: But must a foreign prince invade us upon every false step he thinks our government makes, and yet that without warning?

The ninth paragraph falls upon seizing of the charters of the corporations in England; and with some reason, if a neighbour prince may be allowed to meddle with our administration: But, to be just, it refers more to the late king's reign than to this; and, to his majesty's great honour let it be told our children, he frankly restored them all, that he might lay the foundation of legal and free parliaments for the people of England in all time coming.

The tenth paragraph is a repetition and aggravation of the fifth about the judges.

The eleventh paragraph complains of the ministers putting in popish judges, (tho' there never were but two,) and aggravates the uncertainty and invalidity of those judgments they have passed about the person and property of the subject; which is true, if, upon a due enquiry, it be found, after all Sir Edward Cooke has said in favour of the king's prerogative, that the king has not the power; but at any time it seems hard that the Prince of Orange should be judge or chancellor upon the question; and more, that before it is debated, he will invade the king about it. One would hardly credit it.

The twelfth paragraph reaches Ireland, and says, "The whole government is in the hands of papists; and the protestants, for fear of another bloody massacre, have left the kingdom and their estates." And yet an hundred times more remain than are gone: And if the pleasure of a court here had not made it uneasy living there for them, they might have rendered the kingdom safer, and themselves happier than they now are. I did never apprehend the policy, I confess, of making that great change; but I was told the king and his friends would be safe somewhere; and till they had fair and legal quarter here, Ireland so disposed of, would help to make the better bargain for them at home; and that done, the kingdom to return for the most part into the old channel: Nor is it possible indeed it should be otherwise at last; and therefore the matter, I hope, will not be difficult to obtain.

The thirteenth paragraph relates to Scotland. How far it can affect the English ministers, is best known to themselves; but all the place that kingdom can expect here is, that we are strangers to the nature of the government, and consequently know not how that monarchy, and the prerogative of it, bears proportion to ours.

The fourteenth paragraph begins as if it referred to the oppressions of Scotland, and would justify the several insurrections of that people to deliver themselves, but ends in softer practices of the discontented in England. It complains of the bishops usage for their petitioning the king about reading the declaration for liberty of conscience; and of their appearing before professed papists; and that the judges were turned out that gave their opinion in their favour. But all this depends upon the validity of the king's declaration; for if that be law, they were in the wrong. But let me make this short reflection: The king is head of their church; they have preached up an indispensible conformity and obedience to the king's commands, as God's vicegerent, when he commands nothing against the law of God; and this was but a nicety about the law of men. It was refused also at an ill time, and for an ill turn; for it shewed a dislike to the liberty itself, that so many thousands wanted; and where people accustomed to be severe, pretend the contrary, and yet refuse the means of a softer conduct, their excuses are ever suspected. It is now over,—and many wish it had never been: But still, must we be invaded for this? was there no other remedy?

The fifteenth paragraph seems of great weight; it declares, "That the Prince and Princess of Orange have, in terms full of respect, signified to the king their deep regret, which all these things gave them, and their thoughts about repealing the test and penal laws, as an expedient of peace, and a happy agreement amongst the subjects of all persuasions: But the evil counsellors have so construed it, as to alienate the king more and more from them, as if they designed to disturb the quiet and happiness of the kingdom.' And did they not say true, as it happens? Believe me, some folks think many of them are not often guilty of such foresight. But this signification to the king was but privately; why not a publick manifesto before an invasion? Had the prince and princess avowed the nation's right in so peaceable a way, it had in all probability done the business: but this is to leap over all bounds, and such as nobody, that is a faithful and conscientious subject, can tell how to follow. It is also hard to think the ministers (to whom I am not naturally very partial) should make an ill use of their highnesses mediation and expediency; for it is certain the king has almost come up to Mijn Heer Fagel's letter, that was the declaration of their mind, viz. The church of England, the test, and laws of supremacy to remain; the king concedes the first and last, and the legislative test; why should not this have prevailed to stop so violent an attempt upon a father and an uncle? Let me add, that I have heard that the king wrote last, and that their highnesses first broke the correspondence, and that without a reason ever rendered for it.

The sixteenth paragraph tells us, "That the last and great remedy of these evils, is the calling of a parliament; but those evil counsellors are against it, for fear of being called to an account for their wicked practices, that under pretence of liberty of conscience they had divided protestants, that are equally concerned against popish oppressions; that they pre-engaged voices to take off the test and penal laws for the next parliament, and regulated corporations and boroughs, that they might assure themselves of the members that are to be there chosen; that returns made by popish officers are invalid; that all elections ought to be free, by the government and immemorial custom of England; such a parliament cannot be had now, but one, perhaps, chosen by fraud and force; for the same persons tried the members of the last parliament, to gain their consent to the repeal of the test and penal laws, and got it dissolved when they found they could not prevail with the members to comply with their wicked designs." This is a severe censure; but for that end it was given; how deserved is the question: But if it were so, what has this to do with the king? And yet it is the king, and not the ministers, that are invaded; they may fly, or be turned out, or pardoned, and escape the punishment; but the king remains, and must sustain the shock. This seems very unreasonable, that while the counsellors commit the fault, the king and the innocent kingdom must pay the reckoning. It were not unfit to ask, if the Prince of Orange did ever desire the king to lay aside those evil counsellors he invades him for using? For the parliament, his ministers must confess, that in the corporations the king could influence by the new charters granted in his brother's time, and those few that were in his; they were unwilling any should have his interest, that were not for liberty of conscience, according to the king's declaration; but this was no new method, and yet we heard of no invasion for it. A truly free parliament is a chimera; for by money, drink, or power, elections have ever suffered an ill byass upon them. In whose time was it, that thirteen was voted more than one and twenty; and what religion were they of that did so? and of whose side now? I will say no more of that. The last parliament is named to reproach the ministers conduct about this that was intended: and yet it was modelled by some of the same hands, and the members most of them chosen the same way, that is, upon new charters, by the influence and power reserved to the king in them. The change was now only of men and opinions, the way of choosing would have been the very same, and the corporations under no greater or other influence from the king, than they were the last parliament. I say this, to shew how little weight that objection ought to have, since that parliament was as packed as this would have been, and consequently not a freer or more legal parliament, nor this more deserving an invasion. To conclude, I am sorry to hear the merit of that parliament lay in not taking off the penal laws as well as the tests, or that such a character should excuse, nay recommend to the prince a constitution as partial and corrupt as it is possible for him to imagine this would have been. It is a feeling compliment to the church of England, at the cost of the poor dissenter, that refusing to repeal such laws by which he was ruined, should legitimate a parliament born of the same parentage this had descended of, if it had not miscarried by this untimely invasion.

The nineteenth paragraph is what I am ashamed and troubled to name, a great and violent presumption, That the Prince of Wales is an imposture, which is to say, a cheat put upon the world. The words are these: "But to crown all, there are great and violent presumptions, inducing us to believe that those evil counsellors, in order to the carrying on their ill designs, and to the gaining to themselves the more time for the effecting of them, for the encouraging their 'complices, and for the discouraging all good subjects, have published that the queen hath brought forth a son; though there have appeared, both during the queen's pretended bigness, and in the manner in which the birth was managed, so many just and visible grounds of suspicion, that not only we ourselves, but all the good subjects of these kingdoms, do vehemently suspect that the pretended Prince of Wales was not born of the queen: and it is notoriously known to all the world, that many both doubted of the queen's bigness, and of the birth of the child; and yet there was not any one thing done to satisfy them, or to put an end to their doubts." Now, though this hath been done, and a low step it was, God knows, for a great king to make; but that he can hardly refuse any thing that may give the weakest of his subjects satisfaction, it is, I confess, above the present temper of my mind to forbear some reflections upon this jealousy. What ground had the prince and princess to entertain it? The doubt is expressed, but the reason concealed. Is not this as unreasonable as that is scandalous? Did they ever write to the king about this point; in which, as the prince says in the beginning of the next paragraph, "He and the princess are so much concern'd?" Did the king refuse to satisfy them? If not, could a greater impiety, or a more execrable imposture, be insinuated against the most flagitious and profligated persons, than by this paragraph is reflected upon the king and queen, and that Great Presence that have witnessed the prince's birth? The Prince of Orange is to be greatly pitied, that he should fall into so severe and ungenerous a diffidence, below the common faith and justice due to mankind; the effect of the perpetual restless workings of a lewd crew of renegadoes, too freely and nearly admitted by him, who fail not to say any thing that may alien the prince's heart from the king; for the distance they make is their own fortune. The Prince of Wales's birth is so incontestably proved, that it were a crime to think it needed any other defence; but this suggestion, that is by the declaration made the crown of the wicked counsellors evil devices, shews what hath been a brewing at the Hague, what motives some would make rather than fail; which puts me in mind of some people's late and frequent drinking of the Prince of Wales's health in Holland; for, said they, if he die, our business is spoiled, and we shall never stir hence, meaning the invasion would stop; so that the true reason why the Prince of Orange ought not to concern himself with what is done here, more than the Emperor or the King of France, is by his own followers made the reason why he does invade us, that is, there is a Prince of Wales born; which needs no comment.

§ 22. The eighteenth paragraph says, "Since their highnesses have so great an interest in the business of the succession, and since the English shewed themselves so kind to the Dutch nation when invaded with an unjust war in 72, together with that affection the English nation has ever testified for their highnesses, he could not excuse himself from contributing all that lyes in him, for the maintenance of the protestant religion, and securing to them the continual enjoyments of all their just rights, to the doing of which he is most earnestly solicited by a great many lords both spiritual and temporal, and by many gentlemen and other subjects of all ranks." This is the prince's call; pray let us briefly examine it. Their highnesses are concerned in the succession; must the Prince of Wales therefore be a supposed child? or must they therefore have the examining of it with an army? Is the king, queen, and the people present of both religions, no proof? Was not this known to them before the prince's embarquing by private hands? But if the presumption of the Prince of Wales being not born of the queen be so great and violent, why is there nothing said to render such a violent presumption reasonable to the world? else it looks like a very great and violent injustice. Believe me, to set up, upon the infamous shams and legends of the male-contents, is a wretched bottom for such an attempt; the Monument might as well stand upon the other end; for the prince's other motives, the affection of the English nation to their highnesses, and their kindness to the Dutch when invaded by the French, does not justify, but reproaches the present invasion, that cannot be thought to end without making many fatherless and widows, spoiling trade, wasting and impoverishing the country;—a lamentable return to England; that which wise men fear, and fools may feel before the miseries of such an enterprise are over. But the last motive is, the call and invitation of "a great many lords, both spiritual and temporal, and many gentlemen and subjects of all ranks." This I confess is a hard saying; for it is but high treason in those that did so. However I would believe better things of them; though, on the other hand, the Prince of Orange is not one to say positively a thing he did not believe: but it is certain the lords and bishops about the city renounce it, and they are the most eminent of both benches. I confess passive obedience and non-resistance were in an ill pickle if that were true; but doubtless the prince is abused, as the Duke of Monmouth was before him.

§ 23. The nineteenth and twentieth paragraph refers all to a "free parliament," as well what relates to the ill conduct objected against us, the business of the Prince of Wales, the succession and the settlement of our civil and religious rights: But with reverence let me ask, can the Prince of Orange have any pretence to refer other men's business? He is neither heir-apparent, nor presumptive; and if he were, our laws know no such doctrine. Is this the way to preserve the rights of the crown, to refer those of the present possessor over his head? Surely it looks too much like an officious appeal to the people against their own king. This may indeed trouble our waters, and make it good fishing for some of his indigent followers; but it were an unpardonable levity in us, that being in possession of what the prince promises, we should choose blood rather than not change the hand that gives it us: He that hath the best right can make us the best title to what we have or want; and it is unreasonable, both in conscience and prudence, to look any farther, at least till we are refused by him.

The twenty-first paragraph promises "discipline in his army, and that it shall return as soon as the state of the nation will permit." This is but a foreigner's word against our own king's: let allegiance speak which of the two we ought to trust. The army consists mostly of foreigners, of divers nations and religions: I fancy no pleasant sight to English people; for they must live out of their houses. But why the army go back, and not the prince? Does he choose to be a subject here, before a prince at home, or to exchange principalities? Then 'tis a conquest. The words are mysterious, and yet not so hard to fathom when we read the next three paragraphs.

§ 24. The twenty-second, twenty-third, and last paragraph, shew but too plainly his design upon the crown: In one he summons the nobility, gentry, and whole people of England to his standard. If so, who must stay with the king? This does not look like a treaty, or saving the king from his evil counsellours, and therefore to be king. In the next, "he will take care that a parliament be called in Scotland for the restoring of that kingdom also to its old constitution:" and not that the king should do it. The like he says of Ireland, in his last paragraph of his declaration; but that which most of all strengthens this apprehension, is his additional declaration, which consists of these two parts, an angry and scornful reflection "upon the king's late gracious concessions to his people, and that he comes not to conquer;" both which shews it in a several manner: for if the prince came to gain or oblige the king to what he pretends he would have reformed, every step towards it ought to have been received with great satisfaction and respect, and the cheaper got the better; but instead of laying hold of that condescension to carry it farther in a softer way, and rejoycing that so much was done to his hands, he is grum, and renders it a trick, and calling the people "to seek a re-establishment of their religion and laws under his arms." It is a vitious palate, indeed, that thinks blood gives a reformation the better relish; bargains drive hard where that is shed, and 'tis rarely shed before tryal made but to prevent just ones; if that be the case, let God decide it.

The other point is conquest: He denies it. His reason against people's believing it is, "That so many of all qualities that invited him hither would not desire to lose their estates and be made slaves of." But what is this to the king, or the rest of the nation that don't call him in? He that conquers the king, conquers England; for his are the people who has the crown. He that beats the king succeeds to the kingdoms, but not to the obligation the conquered prince lay under: and if he gets the crown by the sword, they are well-natured that think he will not keep it by the sword. His defective title will require a stronger army to support it: besides it is his passion; his education has been under that discipline, and his skill is in martial affairs. He told his father (he now invades) nine years ago, "That his army had cost him 1300 lives to bring it to that discipline it was in." A story that we, who talk of Magna Chartas, trials by juries, and habeas corpus laws, may at leisure think upon. In fine, he does not seem to me to seek the king's compliance in his declaration, but to fear it; and designs to leave no room for it; and is so far from being pleased with what he hath done, that it has drawn an additional declaration from him against the credit of it; and tells he is not to be trusted, which is to say himself is: But if that day come, Englishmen may pray that it may be in better terms than the States of Holland did, to whom he swore never to be statholder, though it should be offered to him, and yet is now that very statholder he swore never to be on any terms. Measure the privileges of the present Dutch government by the standard of their antient liberties, and the disproportion will be much greater than between London and Brandford.

I will conclude, that it all looks very odd, and a contradiction in every part of it. The Prince of Orange, that has left no liberty at home, intends to secure ours here; and being a (synod of Dort) presbyterian, will establish an Arminian church of England. Independent Ferguson comes to settle episcopacy. Balfour, one of the murtherers of the Archbishop of St Andrews, to defend our bishops from persecution. Dr Burnet, with an army, to maintain passive obedience and non-resistance. Major Wildman and Manly to establish the monarchy. Admiral Herbert, Sir Robert Payton, and Captain Matthews, to secure the protestant religion, before they have been guilty of any. From such sort of protectors, good Lord deliver us.

An Answer to a Paper, intitled, Reflections on the Prince of Orange's Declaration.

It seems a strange piece of arrogance that any man should reflect on a Declaration, because it does not begin as he would have it; that is, with a manifestation of our clandestine league with France, whereby any army of Frenchmen, together with our papists, Irish, and other mercenaries, might establish popery in England. The reflector ought to have considered, that a clandestine league, though it may be very notorious as to its existence and effects, may likewise be very difficult to prove, according to the meaning of the word clandestine. But that there is such a one, we have the testimony of the King of France, in a memorial delivered to the states of Holland; and though it has been since disowned by our court, and Mr Skelton upon it committed to the Tower, his short confinement, and sudden advancement to a regiment, shews that his disgrace was but a trick of state: It is also an inconsequential way of arguing, that, because the prince does not begin his declaration with it, therefore there is no such league; things of that high consequence being easier and better carried on by secret messages than writings under hand and seal.

2. In his second reflection, he tells us the prince had needed less apology, if he had pretended only to have come to deliver the king from evil counsellors, and to engage him further in the interest of Europe; forgetting the prince does declare to us he comes for that end, though not singly, and brought over his army to secure him from the rage and fury of those evil counsellors. His next quarrel is, that the prince uses the stile " of *we* and *us* within his majesty's dominions;" a thing, I believe, ordinary enough in great princes, when they speak or write to their inferiors. The Prince of Orange is general of a great and numerous army, admiral of a vast fleet, stateholder to a high and mighty commonwealth, and, consequently, too great to speak in the stile of a private person; so that rewarding, punishing, commanding, advancing, may very naturally fall within his power. Nor is it any crime to endeavour the calling of a free parliament, and settling the nation, though by ways and methods unusual in our days, nothing being more frequent in our histories than for our barons, with arms in their hands, to compel their kings to call and hearken to their parliaments; but now there being a standing army of forty thousand mercenaries in the land, it was grown a crime to petition for a parliament, and a folly to expect a free one, new charters and corporations, and a general nomination of incompetent magistrates, having taken the election of members for parliament out of those hands the laws of the land, and memorial custom, had intrusted with them. According to the new scheme designed by those upstart and popish counsellors, no man was to elect, or be elected for parliament, that would not engage, as far as in them lay, to take away the penal laws and tests; nay, those wicked counsellors prevailed yet farther upon his majesty, and he that pardoned so many of his enemies, was not suffered to forgive his best friends, and most loyal subjects, a refusal or excuse in that particular.

That the prince will send back his army, seems to some a strong presumption that he will not stay behind, since even our own lawful king thinks himself not safe without an army of mercenaries in his own kingdom. From a strained phrase or two, of " *we* and *us* require and command," sometimes used in his Declaration, to infer that the Prince of Orange intends to make himself king of England, seems to all rational men a very captious and unsatisfactory way of arguing, and a very unjust calumny cast upon so great a prince, since more than once, in express terms, he declares he has no design upon his majesty's crown or person, so that all that reproach falls to the ground.

3. In his third Reflection he tells us the prince wants a clear call, and that a son against a father, a nephew against an uncle, a neighbour against a neighbour, cannot be such: That he is a son-in-law and a nephew to his present majesty gives the prince a fair and just pretence to interpose in our affairs; had he been a foreigner, as our reflector terms him, it might have looked like an intended conquest; had he not been a neighbour, it had been impossible for him to have afforded us this seasonable assistance. But some think, that where attempts are made to introduce the catholick religion by a conspiracy against the laws that secure and establish the protestant religion and the test, that can only keep the papists out of the government; and to carry on this conspiracy the better, the old charters are taken away, under pretence of forfeiture and surrender; new ones granted, such as might bring elections within the power of those evil counsellors; papists upon the bench, a jesuit in the council, and whole troops of them in the army: 'twas high time for a protestant prince, that had so near a relation to the crown of England, to look about him, and chuse rather to be censured by our reflector, and such as he, for entering upon the stage a little before his time, than be justly reproached and cursed to the end of the world, by all such as love the protestant religion, and ancient government of England, for appearing too late in their defence. The example of Henry the Fourth of France may teach us how hard it is for a protestant prince to obtain his right where the catholick religion is predominant; nor was the new armour of popery he put on at last sufficient to defend the old protestant against the stab of a jesuited noviciate.

4. His fourth Reflection acquaints us the protestant religion is at once exposed and hazarded; for, if the king prevail, what can the Prince of Orange's sort of protestants expect at his hands, which are indeed all sorts of protestants that I know of; for the presbyterians, independents, fanaticks, church of England men, are in his army. 'Tis fair warning, and I hope God will give the protestants grace to make the right use of it. As for their changing masters, 'tis a chimera of his own, and utterly foreign to the declaration he pretends to reflect upon. Lest we should forget, he reminds us with that admirable demonstration of "I say that the whole protestant religion is at stake," for which I heartily thank our worthy reflector; for, though it be very true, we had not seen it in print but for him.

5. In his fifth Reflection he tells us that some laws are better broken than kept, which will not be easily granted; 'tis indeed true that some laws were better be repealed than continued; but then they must be nulled by the same power they were constituted, and not by any part of it in contradiction to the whole.

His instance is, that Christianity could not have been introduced had the pagan laws been executed, by which parallel he would warrant popery to be the true Christianity, and the protestant the heathen persecutors; laws for idolatry cannot bind, therefore laws against it cannot; a very strange inference! and I allow that a lawful authority, by exceeding their just bounds, may act unlawfully; but the legislative power cannot, since all over the world the supreme power ever was absolute, be it in one or more. He says, no man is obliged to maintain a religion that is not true, be it never so legally established; so that 'tis but saying the protestant religion is not true, and his majesty, notwithstanding his repeated engagements, is no longer bound to protect it: For, in the words of our reflector, 'tis an absurdity and impiety to do so.

6. The sixth thing considerable in our reflector is, his defence of the dispensing power, and the use his majesty, seduced by his evil counsellors, makes of it, which is no other than the setting aside of all our laws made for the security of the protestant

religion; but sure such a prerogative can never be legally vested in the crown, which, if admitted, were the destruction of all law.

Had those evil counsellors only prevailed with his majesty to have dispensed with the penalties inflicted on catholicks and other dissenters, for serving of God according to their particular consciences, though perhaps contrary to law, the matter had never been complained of; but to put them into places of the highest trust, to make one lieutenant of Ireland, another president of the council, a third lieutenant-general of the Tower, a fourth a judge; employing numbers of them in the army, court, &c., is a transgression of the law which is certainly very dangerous, if not immediately, yet inevitable in its consequences to the protestant religion and government, and therefore a mischief remote only (as an egg from a chicken) from the worthy reflector's *malum in se*, which he acknowledges this dispensing power extends not to. And the particular catholicks breaking the law in these points are without excuse; for no man is obliged, in conscience, to be a judge, a priest, a minister, a privy-counsellor, a courtier, or a soldier, in time of peace, contrary to the laws of the land. Nor do those laws deprive the king of the service of any of his subjects absolutely, since all men, if they please, may capacitate themselves for employment. If the high-commission court be at an end, Magdalene college and the Bishop of London restored, we may, in all appearance, thank the honesty and caution of some of its worthy members, and the noise of what our reflector calls the Prince of Orange's invasion, though some will say a descent upon England made by a prince of the blood, married to the eldest daughter of the present king, upon the invitation of many lords both spiritual and temporal, and of the considerable gentry and commonalty of all counties, might have deserved a fairer name. Nor ought any man to complain if his honest neighbour break violently into his house at a time when his family cry out fire, or murder; the common obligations of humanity, and a due care of their own preservation, exact no less of them. But this paper is not intended for a vindication of the prince: I will therefore return to my reflector again, who undertakes for all good protestants, that they only refused to repeal the test by reason of the security it affords to their religion. As if they had cast off all care of their civil concerns, and were only intent upon religious affairs, so as to give his majesty a majority of papists in the House of Lords, by which he might have two negative voices upon all laws to be offered; and an House of Peers ready to repeal the Habeas Corpus bill, and such statutes as any ways seem to incumber what papists think his majesty's prerogative, of which they maintain the dispensing power to be an essential part; and well they may, since it is the very power by which he maintains them in places and employments; so that, by leave of my worthy reflector, the considerations of religion, though they are the principal, are not the only reasons that have determined all good protestants to a non-concurrence with his majesty in the repeal of the test.

8. In his eighth Reflection he tells us, That chapels are places of devotion; so are Turks mosques and the Jews synagogues, yet no good Christian but would be offended to see them multiplied and encouraged, either in his own or his neighbour's country.

9. In his ninth he tells us, The king was content the test should remain. I answer, These evil counsellors were not content the test should remain, but sent their regulators and other agents to threaten, promise, remove, and change the magistrates in all corporations, in order to the procuring members of parliament, such as were to enter the House under solemn promises and firm resolutions to take off the penal laws and test, notwithstanding all the weighty, nay, convincing arguments they might meet with there to the contrary; a desperate sort of senators, and fitter for Catiline's conspiracies than an English parliament. Nor did these evil counsellors cease to solicit even knights of the shire, till the general indignation their proposals met with, together with the noise of the Prince of Orange's preparation, frightened them.

from a farther prosecution of their enormous attempts. He ingenuously confesses the seizing of charters to have been a fault, so there is no contest between us on that point; but he adds, that the Prince of Orange has nothing to do with it. Now others think him highly concerned in it; for if, according to Sir Thomas Moore, *rex potest juri per parta mentem, et potest et destrui;* or, according to the opinion of later times, a parliament may make a bill of exclusion; a prince that has so near a relation to the crown of England ought not to suffer any foul play in the calling together such an assembly as may null his title, or preclude him of his right to the crown in time to come. 'Tis true, the counsel for seizing charters was given in the last king's reign, and most of them then seized; but no man can deny but some have been condemned and seized in the reign of his present majesty, and restored not till the apprehension of the aforesaid invasion, so that we are promised a free parliament, only because they cannot put one of their own framing upon us.

10. His tenth paragraph needs no answer.

11. In his 11th, he tells us there were but two papist judges, as if the laws were not broken unless the judges were all papists, or that judges sitting contrary to law could give a legal sentence. Both these defects he supposes supplied by the dispensing power, a power sufficiently baffled by those gentlemen of the long robe of counsel for the bishops, and not defended by either judges or counsel on the other side; for which two of the judges, Jones and Holloway, lost their places on the bench.

12, 13. His twelfth and thirteenth concern Ireland and Scotland, and therefore I will leave them untouched, to the gentlemen of those nations who best understand, and are most sensible of the oppressions they are under.

14. In his fourteenth he pleads the validity of the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, though that pretended prerogative has been discussed and baffled in parliament within these few years, and deserted as such by his late majesty; he affirms, that the king, as head of the church, might oblige the bishops to cause the declaration to be read in the churches, which, if they had complied with, in the opinion of many good protestants, they had precluded themselves of their votes in parliament against it. For with what forehead could they vote against the declaration, when they caused it to be read in their churches? an act amounting to no less than maintaining or owning the dispensing power.

15. In his fifteenth, he allows the Prince and Princess of Orange have, in terms full of respect, signified to the king their deep regret which all these things have given them, and their thoughts about repealing the test and penal laws as an expedient of peace, but blames him, it seems, for doing all this so respectfully and privately, and would rather had it done by a manifesto, that some of the prince's friends might be imprisoned for delivering it, as Captain Lenham is for bringing over the declaration.[1] He tells us next, the king has come up almost to Fagel's letter, which was the declaration of their minds, viz. the church of England test, and laws of supremacy to remain; then urging the king's concessions, which may be observed to bear date only from the report of the prince's preparations for England.

16. He tells us in his sixteenth, That the prince thinks a free parliament to be the last and great remedy for these evils; but complains these wicked counsellors are

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[1] "About this time [*i. e.* about the time of the pending invasion of the Prince of Orange] one Captain Langham, who had the command of a company of foot in one of the British regiments in the service of the States, and who had found means to get safe to London with a large quantity of the Prince of Orange's Declarations in his portmanteau, which it was his business to disperse, was seized upon suspicion, and the Declarations being found upon him, was committed to prison as a traitor; but though it was resolved to make him an example, so fearful were those in power of the mischiefs which that dangerous paper might cause, that they laid the bill against him without producing a copy of it; and this, the only evidence of his crime, being suppressed, the grand jury took the advantage, and refused to find the bill."—RALPH, I., 1028.

against it, for fear of being called to account that they had pre-engaged voices to take off the penal laws and the test, and regulated corporations and boroughs, that so they might assure themselves of the members of parliament. He allows the charge, but says, what has all this to do with the king? No man says it has, and the prince only requires the removal and punishment of those evil counsellors in a free parliament.

17. Next our reflector tells us, That there never was a parliament absolutely free, but that drink, money, and other evil arts, have had a great sway in elections. This is true, but no reason that we should consent to a general or fundamental corruption of our elections, because we cannot avoid some few and casual ones. Then he would have had the prince have desired the king to have laid aside those evil counsellors, as if it were not notorious, that the prince's dislike of some men has been their ready way to preferment in our court; and ambassadors for Holland have been, of late, chosen out of those he has most aversion for, as if these wicked counsellors feared nothing so much as a good understanding between his majesty and the Prince of Orange.

19. In the nineteenth he tells, The Prince and Princess of Orange's question concerning the birth of the Prince of Wales, saying, that during the queen's pretended bigness, and the manner in which the birth was managed, there have appeared so many just and visible grounds of suspicion, that not only the prince himself, but all good subjects in England, do vehemently suspect that the pretended Prince of Wales was not born of the queen.

20. Next our reflector tells us, That the prince ought to have writ to the king for a private satisfaction in this matter, which the king would no doubt have given in the manner that all reasonable men do when they are examined against themselves. All men allow the imputation of such an imposture to be a great reflection on their present majesties. But some think they have in a great measure drawn it upon themselves, by omitting to have those witnesses by, and those methods observed, that our laws require to prove the birth of a legitimate Prince of Wales: 'Tis not perhaps enough to say that there were as many witnesses, and as good proof of it as the law exacts, still the question returns, Why not the same persons? A legal proof admits of no equivalent.

Our reflector will not deny but that there has been common fame all over Europe that this Prince of Wales was not born of the body of her majesty, and common belief of it among protestants; this of itself were enough to make the next heir to the crown look about, and move every stone, that the matter might be examined by impartial methods in a free parliament, which is all that the Prince and Princess of Orange aim at; for their proofs to the contrary, it is not to be expected they should acquaint the world with them before the trial.

22. In his two-and-twentieth reflection on the eighteenth paragraph, where the prince says, "He was invited to this expedition by many lords, both spiritual and temporal, and many gentlemen and subjects of all ranks," our reflector is plesaed to tell him he is mistaken, as Monmouth was. Notwithstanding those eminent peers, gentry, and commonalty of all sorts that are already in his camp, and such as are going daily, as well soldiers as others, nor considering the great number of the nobility that are in the country and have not been examined, and that such as were examined here in town did no more than answer Not Guilty to the charge of high-treason; so that there are more nobility and gentry with him than with his majesty.

In his three-and-twentieth reflection on the 19th and 20th paragraphs, where the prince refers all to a free parliament, our reflector says, it belongs not to him to refer other men's business, as if the prince had no relation to the crown; then tells us we are already in possession of what the *prince* promises us, as if the catholicks were all out of employment, the dispensing power given up, no standing army, no apprehensions of popery and arbitrary power, and a free parliament for redressing of grievances of all kinds in being.

24. In the twenty-fourth reflection on the three last paragraphs of the prince's Declaration, he tells us, "The prince has a manifest design upon the crown, because he summons the nobility, gentry, and people of England to his standard; and if so, who must stay with the king?" To that may be answered, All such as believe the Prince of Orange has brought this army, and intends to make war upon England to subdue it to his meer will and pleasure, trample all laws, both divine and human, under his feet, dethrone his present majesty, and make himself king; they will stay and fight for him, or at least, to the best of their power, in some other manner assist and help him: On the contrary part, such as believe the prince means nothing of all this, but brought over his army only the better to assist the nobility, gentry, and people of England upon their earnest desires, and frequent solicitations, and reiterated complaints, in the recovering of the old legal way of choosing members for parliament, which, by illegal new charters on pretended forfeitures, was in a ready way to be for ever lost; in rescuing all the laws of England from the devouring jaws of a dispensing power; in reducing popery within those bounds the law has prescribed it, which, like an inundation, had so overflowed its banks, that our religion and government were in peril to be swallowed up by it; and, finally, to redress these and all other grievances, if for these, and no other ends or concerns, men think the prince has landed here, such men will take his part, espouse his quarrel, and contribute to his success; and, in these cases, every man will judge for himself, as they did in our late civil wars.

Again, he charges the prince with a design of conquest, which not only the prince himself disclaims throughout his Declaration, and will hereafter disown in all his manifestos, but the States of Holland, who have so vigorously assisted, and engaged themselves, with all their power and credit to maintain him in this attempt, have assured us he left Holland under high and solemn protestations to the contrary. All this is, I hope, sufficient to dash the strained inferences of an inconsiderable reflector.

As for that impudent calumny of perjury he endeavours to fix upon the prince, it needs no other refutation than a serious consideration of the charge itself; his words are, "The Prince of Orange swore to the States of Holland never to be their stadtholder, though it were offered him, and yet is now that very stadtholder he swore never to be on any terms." Now, let any reasonable man consider whether it be possible a wise state should, by an oath given him, disable the Prince of Orange from being their stadtholder, though circumstances and times should so change, that their immediate preservation, and very existence of their state, should require him to accept and execute that office. For his personal reflections towards the latter end, I think very impertinent, and only fit to be buried in contempt.

Thus, having followed my tedious reflector through his twenty-four reflections, I take my leave of him, reserving the prince's farther vindication to some time when I shall be more at leisure to write, and people willinger to read than they can be under the present surprize, hourly expectation, and continual anxiety, for the event of this heroick enterprize

A true List of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, summoned by the Letter of his Highness the Prince of Orange, to meet at Westminster the 22d Day of January, 1688-9.

HENRY Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal
Charles Duke of Somerset
Henry Duke of Newcastle
Charles Duke of Southampton
Henry Duke of Grafton
George Duke of Northumberland
James Duke of Ormond
Henry Duke of Beaufort

Charles Marquis of Winchester
George Marquis of Halifax

Robert Earl of Lindsey, Lord Great Chamberlain
Aubrey Earl of Oxford
Charles Earl of Shrewsbury
Anthony Earl of Kent
William Richard George Earl of Derby
John Earl of Rutland
Theophilus Earl of Huntingdon
William Earl of Bedford
Thomas Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery
Edward Earl of Lincoln
Henry Earl of Suffolk
Charles Earl of Dorset and Middlesex
John Earl of Exeter
John Earl of Bridgewater
Philip Earl of Leicester
George Earl of Northampton
William Earl of Devon
William Earl of Denbigh
John Earl of Bristol
John Earl of Clare
Pawlet Earl of Bollingbrook
Charles Earl of Westmoreland
Charles Earl of Manchester
Thomas Earl of Berks
John Earl of Mulgrave
Thomas Earl of Rivers
Thomas Earl of Stamford
Heneage Earl of Winchelsea
William Earl of Kingston
Charles Earl of Carnarvan
Philip Earl of Chesterfield
Thomas Earl of Thanet
William Earl of Strafford
Robert Earl of Scarsdale
Henry Earl of Clarendon
James Earl of Anglesea
John Earl of Bath
Edward Earl of Carlisle
William Earl of Craven
Thomas Earl of Aylesbury
Richard Earl of Burlington
Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury
Thomas Earl of Sussex
Edward Henry Earl of Litchfield
Lewis Earl of Feversham
Charles Earl of Macclesfield
Charles Bodville Earl of Radnor
William Earl of Yarmouth
George Earl of Berkley
Thomas Earl of Danby
Daniel Earl of Nottingham
Lawrence Earl of Rochester
James Earl of Abingdon
Edward Earl of Gainsborough
Conyers Earl of Holderness

William Viscount Say and Seale
Thomas Viscount Falconberg
Charles Viscount Mordant
Francis Viscount Newport
Thomas Viscount Weymouth
Christopher Viscount Hatton

Charles Lord Delawar
Thomas Lord Morley and Mounteagle
Robert Lord Ferrers

Henry Yelverton Lord Grey of Ruthin
Conyers Darcy Lord Darcy
Ralph Lord Eure
Philip Lord Wharton
Thomas Lord Willoughby of Parham
William Lord Pagett
Charles Lord North and Grey
James Lord Chandois
Foulke Lord Brooke
Ralph Lord Montague
Ford Lord Grey of Warke
John Lord Lovelace
William Lord Maynard
Thomas Lord Coventry
William Lord Howard of Escricke
Henry Lord Herbert of Cherbury
Thomas Lord Leigh
Thomas Lord Jermyn
William Lord Byron
John Lord Vaughan
Edward Lord Ward
Thomas Lord Colepeper
Jacob Lord Astley
Robert Lord Lucas
Edward Lord Rockingham
Robert Lord Lexinton
John Lord Berkley
Francis Lord Holles
Charles Lord Cornwallis
Henry Lord Delamere
Thomas Lord Crew
John Lord Arundel of Trerise
Richard Lord Lumley
George Carteret Lord Carteret
John Lord Ossulston
George Lord Dartmouth
Ralph Lord Stawell
Sidney Lord Godolphin
John Lord Churchill

Archbishops and Bishops.

William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury
Thomas Lord Archbishop of York
Henry Lord Bishop of London
Nathaniel Lord Bishop of Durham
Peter Lord Bishop of Winchester
Herbert Lord Bishop of Hereford
William Lord Bishop of Norwich
Thomas Lord Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield
John Lord Bishop of Chichester
Thomas Lord Bishop of Lincoln
Humphry Lord Bishop of Bangor
William Lord Bishop of Worcester
William Lord Bishop of Landaff
Thomas Lord Bishop of Peterborough
William Lord Bishop of St Asaph
Robert Lord Bishop of Gloucester
Francis Lord Bishop of Ely
Thomas Lord Bishop of St Davids
Thomas Lord Bishop of Rochester
Jonathan Lord Bishop of Bristol
Thomas Lord Bishop of Carlisle
Thomas Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells
Timothy Lord Bishop of Oxon.

His Highness the Prince of Orange's Letter to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled at Westminster in this present Convention, January the 22d, 1688-9.

My Lords,

I HAVE endeavoured, to the utmost of my power, to perform what was desired from me, in order to the publick peace and safety; and I do not know that any thing hath been omitted which might tend to the preservation of them, since the administration of affairs was put into my hands: It now lieth upon you to lay the foundations of a firm security for your religion, your laws, and your liberties.

I do not doubt but that by such a full and free representative of the nation as is now met, the ends of my declaration will be attained: And since it hath pleased God hitherto to bless my good intentions with so great success, I trust in him that he will complete his own work, by sending a spirit of peace and union to influence your counsels, that no interruption may be given to an happy and lasting settlement.

The dangerous condition of the protestant interest in Ireland requiring a large and speedy succour, and the present state of things abroad, oblige me to tell you, That next to the danger of unseasonable divisions amongst yourselves, nothing can be so fatal as too great delay in your consultations: The states, by whom I have been enabled to rescue this nation, may suddenly feel the ill effects of it, both by being too long deprived of the service of their troops which are now here, and of your early assistance against a powerful enemy who hath declared war against them: And as England is by treaty already engaged to help them upon any such exigencies, so I am confident that their chearful concurrence to preserve this kingdom, with so much hazard to themselves, will meet with all the returns of friendship and assistance which may be expected from you as protestants and Englishmen, whenever their condition shall require it.

Given at St James's this 22d Day of January, 1688-9.

WILL. H. P. D'ORANGE.

To the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled at Westminster in this present Convention.

The King's Letter to the Great Council of Peers. 1688.

RIGHT trusty and right well-beloved cosins, and right trusty and well-beloved cosins, and trusty and right well-beloved, we greet you well: We cannot have better reason to promise ourself an end of our common sufferings and calamities, and that our own just power and authority will (with God's blessing) be restored to us, than that we hear you are again acknowledged to have that authority and jurisdiction which hath always belonged to you by your birth and the fundamental laws of the land; and we have thought it very fit and safe for us to call to you for your help, in the composing the confounding distempers and distractions of the kingdom, on which your sufferings are next to those we have undergone ourself; therefore you cannot but be the most proper counsellors for removing these mischiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a trust we repose in you for the procuring and establishing a blessed peace and security for the kingdom, will appear to you by our inclosed declaration; which trust, we are most confident, you will discharge with that justice and wisdom that becomes you, and must always be expected from you; and that upon your experience, how one violation succeeds another. When the known relations and rules of justice are transgressed, you will be as jealous for the rights of the crown and for the honour of the king as ourself; and then you cannot but discharge your trust with good success, and provide for and establish the peace, happiness, and honour, of king, lords, and commons, upon that foundation which can only support it, and we shall be all happy in each other: And as the whole kingdom will bless God for you, also we shall hold ourself obliged, in an especial manner, to thank you in particular, according to the affection you shall express towards us. We need the less enlarge to you on this subject, because we have likewise wrote to the House of Commons, which we suppose they will communicate to you; and we pray God bless your joint endeavours for the good of us all. And so we bid you very heartily farewell.

V. BAKER.

A Speech of a Commoner of England to his Fellow Commoner of the Convention.

Mr Speaker,

THE present Providence deserves our most serious thoughts; and truly, sir, I cannot but say that we are extreamly obliged to the great goodness and valour of the Prince of Orange, who with such hazard and expence has brought us so seasonable and eminent a deliverance from popery, and (I hope) from arbitrary power also: Sir, we cannot give him too much, unless we give him more than our own, the crown I mean. We have been of a long time taught, that it is not the gift or work of subjects. Sovereign princes have made bold with one another, but I am of opinion, whatever malice may suggest against his highness, he has too noble a soul to be guilty of such an attempt; he came not hither for greatness, he has it of his own, and brought it with him, and values being *optimus* more than *maximus*; which is the best way of joining that imperial stile together, *optimus maximus*: I say, I am confident it is more than he will judge proper to receive, and that he will think it more for his glory to reduce the monarchy to its just and legal establishment, than to be king himself; and to secure us against popery, than to lead us into the errors of it, of which the most pestilent are the deposing princes, and breaking faith with hereticks. The prince is too great a disciple both of religion and honour, not to be satisfied with our doing what is agreeable to them, and let not us press him out of his sentiments, which have been the greatest and most heroick that have appeared in this latter age of the world, lest whilst we have taken arms to redress grievances, we draw greater upon ourselves, and that as well from abroad as at home; for, sir, when we believe catholick princes to have a zeal so unreasonably fierce and unsafe to other people, we cannot at the same time think they will tamely suffer a catholick king to be kept out of his kingdoms for little more than being so; and I am afraid that this procedure may precipitate Ireland into extremities, and, if it should follow the king to France, all sober sensible men know of what ill consequence a revolt to that crown may be to this kingdom: We shall then, instead of invading France, find difficulties to preserve our own; nor, for what I see, are we sure of being at peace here: The tide has mightily abated since the king's going from Rochester. Those that wished his humiliation in the government will by no means hear of his exclusion and perdition from the crown; they either believe the fault none of his, or not of weight enough to justify so extraordinary an example. Kings must see and hear by the eyes and ears of others, which makes it their misfortune rather than their crime that they do amiss. We are also of a church that has been singular for her honour and deference to kings, and if we have any for her, I think we ought to tread tenderly on this point; and that we may be just, two things compel us to it for our own sake: The first is, that most of the things that made the king's government so obnoxious have already been done in this; we have had a dispensing power exercised both at Exeter and London; we have had free quarters constrained in almost all places where the Dutch army has marched; we have, in great part, a popish army too, tho' that was one of the most crying offences we objected to the king, and from which we drew the most popular notions of our insecurity: The very money that is now receiving was asked with two armies on foot, and all men will conclude it was ill refusing a proposal so seconded; and how far our famous Petition of Right may be concerned in this, the gentlemen of the law must determine; but I dare say, this very loan could not escape it under a lawful prince, and under our present circumstances we cannot reasonably think the case better. Nor, Mr Speaker, is this all; the second reason for our temper is, the little truth that at last appears in those many stories that above any thing seemed to alienate the hearts of the subjects from his majesty, and to dissolve that tie of affection and duty they had to him, as his subjects: Such as the alarms we had here of a French invasion; the king's selling the kingdom for five millions sterling; the Irish killing man, woman, and child upon the roads; the French embarked for the West, but met and sunk by the Dutch; the forty thousand new fashioned knives of slaughter; the queen's back-door for bringing to bed a false child; her cuffing the Earl of Craven and the princess Ann; with forty more of that stamp, that time has proved as malicious as false: How much they have influenced to this present great change, is not unworthy of our just thoughts and censure; and, in my opinion, that calls upon us as loudly for a speedy reparation. Mr Speaker, these are the things that have driven the king out of England, and if it can be proved that the Prince of Wales is an impostor, and that there was a league with France to cut off protestants, I think nothing that has befallen him too hard measure for him; but, Mr Speaker, it is upon no other terms that the people of England will part with their king, or with any patience think of the usage he has had upon that supposition. But it is objected, that some of those that were in arms are under apprehension lest their estates and lives should be at the mercy of the king, if he returns. I think the king will be so far from expecting, and the nation from yielding to it, that they must not only be all pardoned, but those lords and gentlemen, that have been the noble assertors of our English liberties at this juncture, must be posted in the greatest places of honour and trust. I hope the king himself will see it his interest to leave off little and parasitical favourites, and be willing that such be employed in all his affairs as his people can confide in, and as will use their preferment for the honour of their prince and the good of the subjects.

The objection against the king's return, upon the account of having deserted his kingdoms by going into France, I am astonished at; for if that kingdom be not his right, why is it a part of his title? and if it be, he may visit that as well as any other of his territories, if he has reason to apprehend himself in danger, without making a demise, forfeiture, surrender or abdication of the crown of England. Mr Speaker, I fear that if I have not tired your patience, I have been at least over long for some members of a contrary judgment who sit in this convention, and therefore I shall only add this humble caution, that our convention consider well their power, which I humbly conceive is too scanty to be able to make a new king, though it may call home that to whom we have most, if not all of us, sworn allegiance; nay, let me say *further*, that if our case was so desperate that no remedy would serve but creating a new king, our convention has not enough of our fellow-subjects for the rest to be concluded by. When things are transacted according to the known laws and ancient customs, the usual deputies may deliver and state the intentions of the people, but when so many and great alterations must be made in the building, that is to be for the common conveniency, every man thinks himself worthy to be consulted, as well as the greatest architect, when he is to dwell in the house: Parliaments, *that are called by kings*, cannot make kings, and a convention not called by a king, and as narrow bottomed as a parliament, is yet less than a parliament, because it wants the sanction that a parliament has. If then it seems a solecism that a meeting less than a parliament can make a king, without whom a parliament cannot be, what shall we think of this convention making a king of him *that makes the convention*? Can they act lawfully upon an unlawful call, or an unlawful convention make him a lawful king? We are taught, by an English proverb, That no stream rises higher than its fountain; how is it then possible for them to give him authority to govern, that have none but what they receive from him, who, by our law, can have none to give. Sir, this is neither more nor less than for his highness to make himself king by a medium of his own; a thing as much below him to do as it is above us to think of it. Therefore, if we must go to that work, let us call in more heads to our assistance; but I rather advise, and humbly move, that we pray the prince, who has been our deliverer, to be our arbitrator, to give due limits to the prerogative and our liberty, to secure us, that are the protestant subjects, in our religion, and to shew the king what sort of liberty he only ought to expect from his Roman catholic subjects. I *say, let* us beseech him to call back the king for those great ends, the accomplishing of which will make both king and kingdom happy, and the great Prince of Orange renowned in all the histories of Europe, as well as in our annals.

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF KING JAMES II.

THIRD CLASS.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

KING JAMES II.

THIRD CLASS.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS.

The solemn Oath which the Kings of Scotland are to take, by Virtue of an Act made in the first Parliament of King James the VI., at the Time of their Coronation, and Receipt of their Princely Authority. Anno 1567.

ITEM, because that the increase of vertew, and suppressing of idolatrie, craves that the prince and the people be of ane perfect religioun, quhilk of God's mercy is now presently professed within this realme; therefore it is statute and ordeined, be our soveraine lord my Lord Regent, and three estaites of this present parliament, That all kinges and princes, or magistrates whatsoever, halding their place, quhilkis hereafter in ony time sall happen to reigne and beare rule over this realme, at the time of their coronatioun, and receipt of their princely authority, make their faithful promise by aith, in presence of the eternal God, that induring the haill course of their lives they sall serve the samin eternal God to the uttermost of their power, according as he hes required in his maist holy word, reveiled and contained in the New and Auld Testaments. And, according to the samin worde, sall mainteine the true religioun of Christ Jesus, the preaching of his halie word, and dew and richt ministration of the sacraments now received and preached within this realm; and sall abolish and gainstand all fals religioun contrare to the samin: And sall rule the peopill committed to their charge according to the will and commaund of God reveiled in his foreseide word, and according to the loudable laws and constitutions received in the realm, na wise repugnant to the said word of the eternall God. And sall procure, to the uttermaist of their power, to the kirk of God, and hail Christain peopil, trew and perfite peace in all time coming. The richtis and rentes, with all just privileges of the crown of Scotland, to preserve and keip inviolated; nouther sall they transfer nor alienate the samin. They sall forbid and represse in all estaites and degrees, reife, oppression, and all kind of wrang. In all judgements they sall commaund, and procure that justice and equity be keiped to all creatures, without exception, as the Lord and Father of al Mercyes be merciful to them. And out of their landes and empyre they sall be carefull to rute out all hereticks and enemies to the trew worship of God, that sall be convicte be the true kirke of God of the foresaidis crimes. And that they sall faithfullie affirme the things above written be their solemn aith.

His Majesties most Gracious Letter to the Parliament of Scotland, together with the Parliament's dutiful Answer to his Majesty's Letter. Published by his Majesty's Command. 1686.

JAMES R.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE great testimonies we had of your loyalty and affection to our royal person and government at your last session, in which you not only made an humble offer of your duty in ample manner, and shewed your abhorrence of the rebellion then raised against us, and your readiness on that, and all other occasions, to stand by us with your lives and fortunes, but (wisely considering how much the forces which former parliaments had given us supplies to maintain, supported by your assistance, and, blessed be God, were instrumental in ending that unnatural rebellion) you gave us the occasion, by augmenting your supplies, to add to our forces, and consequently to your own security, for all which, as we then returned you our most hearty and royal thanks, and considered you the examples to our other subjects, of loyalty, duty, and affection to us, (as you had been in our former difficulties,) so it stirred up in us an ardent desire of making such returns unto you as might every way make you find the advantage of your faithfulness and duty to us.

It is for this end that we have again desired to meet you in this session.

We have considered your interest as much as our distance from you could bring into our prospect, and those things which we found proper for it, whether in relation to trade and commerce, or easing some things uneasie to you amongst yourselves, we have fully instructed our commissioner (with your advice and consent) to conclude so as may be most for the general good of that our antient kingdom.

We have made the opening of a free trade with England our particular care, and are proceeding in it with all imaginable application, and are hopeful in a short time to have considerable advances made in it. We have considered the trouble that many are put to daily by prosecutions before our judges, or the hazard that they lie under for their accession to the late rebellions: And to shew the world (even our greatest enemies themselves) that mercy is our inclination, and severity what is, by their wickedness, extorted from us, we have sent down, to be past in your presence, our full and ample indemnity for all crimes committed against our royal person or authority. And whilst we shew these acts of mercy to the enemies to our person, crown, and royal dignity, we cannot be unmindful of others our innocent subjects, those of the Roman catholick religion, who have, with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, been always assistant to the crown in the worst of rebellions and usurpations, though they lay under discouragements hardly to be named. Them we do heartily recommend to your care, to the end that, as they have given good experience of their true loyalty and peaceable behaviour, so, by your assistance, they may have the protection of our laws, and that security under our government which others of our subjects have, not suffering them to lie under obligations which their religion cannot admit of. By doing whereof you will give a demonstration of the duty and affection you have for us, and do us most acceptable service.

This love we expect you will shew to your brethren, as you see we are an indulgent father to you all.

For these, and such other matters as we conceive for our service, and the universal good of the nation, we have sent our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin and counsellor, Alexander Earl of Moray, secretary of state for that our ancient kingdom, our commissioner to you, believing that none will be more acceptable than one so immediately imployed and trusted about our person, of whose long and faithful services we have full experience in every one of the several imployments he has been in, and of whose loyalty and affection to our person and service we are fully convinced. To him we desire you to give entire credit, as one fully instructed and trusted by us, from whose experience and faithful endeavours, with your loyalty, love, and duty to us, we have good reason to expect a happy conclusion to this session: And you may assure yourselves in general, and every one of you in particular, that we shall have both the general concern of the nation and yours into our most particular regard, which we shall express by our royal favour upon all suitable occasions. So not only expecting your compliance with us, but that by the manner of it you will shew the world your readiness to meet our inclinations, we bid you most heartily farewel.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the 12th day of April, 1686, and of our reign the second year.

By his majesty's command,

MELFORT.

The Parliament of Scotland's Dutiful Answer to his Majesty's Letter.

May it please your sacred Majesty,

WE do return your majesty our most humble and hearty thanks for the frequent marks of your royal favour exprest to this your ancient kingdom upon all occasions, and particularly in your majesty's gracious letter dated the 12th of April last: And your majesty may, with full assurance, expect that your gracious acceptance of those services we did you in the last session of this parliament will encourage us to continue our zeal and firmness in this, for your majesty's service and the royal interest, upon which, under God, we acknowledge our happiness and preservation do intirely depend.

Your majesty's care of the trade of this kingdom (which is, at present, exceedingly decayed) and particularly your royal endeavours to procure us a free trade with your kingdom of England, will very much enable us to make these supplies effectual, which we have so heartily and willingly undertaken for the security of the crown and safety of the kingdom; nor shall the advantages that can arise thereby be more acceptable to us upon any other account than so far as they may be a testimony of your majesty's kindness, and conduce to those great ends.

Your majesty's clemency testified in the offer of an indemnity to these desperate rebels, who could have expected pardon from no monarch on earth but your sacred majesty, and the greatest aggravation of whose crimes lies in opposing such gracious and merciful princes, will (we hope) not only convince your other subjects how happy they are under your government, but reclaim them from bearing any further enmity to it; and to let them see how extravagant, as well as undutiful, their endeavours will be in opposing your majesty and your royal successors, we do again most sincerely and heartily offer you our lives and fortunes for suppressing all such as shall, upon any account or pretence whatsoever, attempt, either by private contrivances, or open rebellions, to disquiet your glorious reign.

As to that part of your majesty's letter relating to your subjects of the Roman catholick religion, we shall, in obedience to your majesty's commands, and with tenderness to their persons, take the same into our serious and dutiful consideration, and go as great lengths therein as our conscience will allow, not doubting that your majesty will be careful to secure the protestant religion established by law.

Your majesty's commissioner has, to our very great satisfaction, signified to us that he is fully instructed by your majesty to promote every thing which may tend to the improvement of the wealth and prosperity of this your ancient kingdom; and we hope, that, by his wise care and conduct, this session of parliament may be brought to a happy conclusion; and to him, seeing your majesty has well judged that none could be more acceptable, we shall give that intire credit and concurrence, and pay that respect which is due to the eminent character which your majesty has been pleased to give him; and to that constant loyalty and fidelity with which he has acquitted himself in all the former trusts and employments which he has borne under your majesty's royal brother, and yourself, hoping that we shall give him just reason to report at his return to your majesty with how much zeal, duty, and affection, we endeavour to deserve the being considered by your majesty as,

May it please your sacred majesty,
Your majesty's most humble, most faithful,
And most obedient subjects and servants,
PERTH CANC.
Edinburgh, May 6, 1686. *I. P. D. Parl.*

TRACTS

DURING

THE REIGN OF KING WILLIAM III.*

FIRST CLASS.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

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* ERRATUM.—*Owing to an oversight of the Printer, the head-lines of this Class bear William I. in place of William III.*

KING WILLIAM III.

FIRST CLASS.

ECCLESIASTICAL TRACTS.

A Representation of the threatening Dangers impending over Protestants in Great Britain, before the coming of his Highness the Prince of Orange.—By Mr Ferguson.—1689.

Robert Ferguson, a native of Scotland, and by profession an independent preacher, and teacher of an academy at Islington.—*Ath. Ox.* vol. II. p. 743. He was one of those dark, intriguing, subtle, and ferocious characters that emerge into notice in times of turmoil and civil dissention, and whose appearance as certainly bodes revolution as the gambols of a porpoise announce a tempest. Through the whole of his busy and desperate career he appears to have been guided less by any principle, moral or political, than by the mere pleasure of dealing in matters deep and dangerous, and exerting his ingenuity to shake the quiet of the kingdom at the risk of his own neck. In organizing dark and bloody intrigues; in maintaining the courage of the zealots, whom he engaged in them; in carrying on the mystic correspondence by which the different parts of the conspiracy were to be cemented and conjoined; in guarding against the risk of discovery; and, lastly, in effecting with nicety a hair-breadth escape when it had taken place,—all these perilous, dubious, and criminal manœuvres, at which the noble-minded revolt, and the peaceful are terrified, were the scenes in which the genius of Ferguson delighted to exert itself. When the magistracy of London was thrown into the hands of the crown, the charter annulled, and all means of accomplishing a revolution by the ancient existing authorities were annihilated, such a character as Ferguson became of inestimable value to Shaftesbury, considering the new plans which he had in agitation, and the persons by whom they were to be accomplished. Accordingly he shared much of that politician's confidence, while his influence as a popular and violent preacher in the city gave him every facility of selecting and training the persons fittest to assist in the meditated insurrection. His chapel in Moorfields was crowded by multitudes of fanatics, whom he fired by his political sermons, and occasionally stimulated by libels and pamphlets, from a private press of which he had the management, and of a purse that maintained it. He distributed most of the pamphlets written on the Whig party, and was by no means averse to father even the most dangerous of them. His style was of that diffuse, coarse, and periphrastic nature, best suited to the apprehensions of the vulgar. He wrote an "Appeal from the Country to the City," in which he plainly points out the Duke of Monmouth as successor to the crown, because he had a dubious, or rather no title at all, to claim it. "He that has the worst title ever makes the best king," is one of his maxims. Meanwhile other means were employed to effect the desired change of government. In the Rye-House Plot, and particularly with regard to the ten thousand London boys whom Shaftesbury was to head, Ferguson acted a distinguished part, and was entrusted with the secret of that statesman's place of retirement, in the environs of Wapping, while it was concealed from the noble-minded Russell and the generous Monmouth. By his intervention he encouraged the associates to break out into open insurrection, and, by his intimacy with the inferior conspirators, seems to have given life to the desperate plans of *lopping*, as the assassination of the royal brothers was called. He told West he would procure the Duke of Monmouth's written consent to his father's murder, although he afterwards confessed he durst not even mention such a plan to him. At length, when Shaftesbury, weary of the delays of the other conspirators, left England for ever, Ferguson and Walcot were the companions of his flight. But as by this means the line of communication between the higher order of malcontents and the city cabal was broken off, he was recalled, and, in an evil hour, returned from Holland. His arrival gave new life both to the upper and inferior conspiracy; in the former six of the leaders formed themselves into a regular committee, to extend their influence through the kingdom, and unite measures with the disaffected in Scotland. The lower band of assassins matured and prepared their plan for assassinating the king and duke as they returned from Newmarket. Ferguson, as their treaserer, paid for the arms; and, by his daring language, encouraged them to the enterprize. He offered, in mockery, to consecrate the blunderbuss with which Rumbold was to fire into the carriage; and, when Sunday was fixed for the day of action, he quoted the old Scottish proverb, "The better day the better deed." Even when the plot was discovered, and the conspirators retired in dismay and terror, Ferguson took leave of them with great gaiety, and, trusting to the plots of Argyle and Jerviswood, with which he was also acquainted, told them he hoped to meet them all at Dunbar. This indifference, at such a crisis, led to a supposition that he had some secret correspondence with government: it was even said that the messenger who arrested Ferguson suffered him to escape, but of this there seems no evidence. He retired to Holland, where he joined the unfortunate Monmouth, was a principal agent in pushing him on to his western invasion, and drew up the proclamation issued on his landing. He was always earnest with Monmouth to assume the title of king; and the latter told the king, at their last interview, that he had been the chief instigator of the whole affair. Ferguson was taken the third day after the battle of Sedgemore, and James freely pardoned and dismissed him, to council and assist the next conspiracy. He seems to have returned to Holland, and did not fail to take a share in the intrigues which preceded the Revolution. He managed the dissenters for the Prince of Orange, and endeavoured to press upon William a sense of their importance. But other and more important engines were now at work, and Ferguson seems to have enjoyed but a subaltern consideration. After the Revolution was accomplished, one would have thought Ferguson's machinations might have ended. He had seen his party triumphant; he enjoyed the post of house-keeper to the excise-office, worth 500l. a-year, with little trouble. But it was not in his nature to be in repose; and having spent all the former part of his life in caballing to drive James from the throne, he now engaged with the same fervour in his restoration. In the very year which succeeded that of the Revolution, we find him deeply engaged with Sir James Montgomery, and the other presbyterians, who, discontented with King William, had united with the Jacobites. The Marquis of Annandale having absconded, Ferguson secreted him for several weeks; a kindness which the marquis repaid by betraying him to government. With his usual good fortune he was dismissed; yet still continued to engage in every plot, and every year published one or two pamphlets, which put his ears, if not his neck, in peril. His last grand exhibition was an attack upon Trenchard, the secretary of state, for the use of blank and general warrants. Finally, Ferguson, who had in this remarkable manner kept his promise of being engaged in every conspiracy of the time, and had obtained the honourable epithet of "The Plotter," died quietly in peace, after having repeatedly seen the scaffold stream with the blood of the associates of his various machinations. One touch alone softens the character of this extraordinary incendiary,—in all his difficulties he is never charged with betraying his associates. His person is thus remarkably described in the proclamation for apprehending him, among the other Rye-House assassins, dated August 2, 1683: "Robert Ferguson, a tall lean man, dark-brown hair, a great Roman nose, thin-jawed, heat in his face, speaks in the Scotch tone, a sharp piercing eye, stoops a little in the shoulders. He has a shuffling gate that differs from all men; wears his periwig down almost over his eyes; about 45 or 46 years old."

The present pamphlet appears to have been written during Ferguson's residence in Holland, though it probably did not appear till after the Revolution.

They are great strangers to the transactions of the world, who know not how many and various the attempts of the papists have been, both to hinder all endeavours towards a reformation, and to overthrow and subvert it where it hath prevailed. For, beside the innumerable executions and murders committed by means of the inquisition, to crush and stifle the reformed religion in its rise and birth, and to prevent its succeeding and settlement in Spain, Italy, and many other territories, there is no kingdom or state where it has so far prevailed as to come to be universally received and legally established, but it hath been through strange and wonderful conflicts with the rage and malice of the church of Rome. The persecutions which the primitive Christians underwent, by virtue of the edicts of the pagan emperors, were not more sanguinary and cruel than what, through the laws and ordinances of popish princes, have been inflicted upon those who have testified against the heresies, superstitions, and idolatries, and have withdrawn from the communion of the papal church. Nor were the martyrs, that suffered for the testimony of Jesus against heathenism, either more numerous, or more worthy of esteem for virtue, justice, and piety, than they who have been slaughtered upon no other pretence but for endeavouring to restore the Christian religion to the simplicity and purity of its divine and first institution, and to recover it from the corruptions, wherewith it was become universally tainted in doctrine, worship, and discipline. How have all the nations in Europe been soaked with the blood of saints, through the barbarous rage of popish rulers, whom the Romish bishops and clergy stirred up and instigated, in order to support themselves in their secular grandeur, and in their tyranny over the consciences of men, and to keep the world in slavery under ignorance, errors, superstition and idolatry; which the reducing Christianity again to the rule of the gospel would have redeemed mankind from, and been an effectual means to have dissipated and subverted! They of the Roman communion, having strangely corrupted the Christian religion in its faith, worship, and discipline, and having prodigiously altered it from what it was in the doctrines and institutions of our Saviour and his apostles, found no other way whereby to sustain their errors and corruptions, and to preserve themselves in the possession of that empire which they had usurped over conscience, and in the enjoyment of the wealth and secular greatness which, by working upon the ignorance, superstition, lusts, and prophaneness of the people, they had screwed and wound themselves into, but by adjudging all who durst detect or oppose them to fire and sword, or to miseries to which death, in its worst shape, were preferable. Nor have they, for the better obstructing the growth, and compassing the extirpation of the reformed religion, omitted either the arts and subtilties of Julian, or the fury and violence of Galerius and Dioclesian. Whosoever hath not observed the craft and rage that have been employed and exerted against protestants for these 170 years, must have been very little conversant in history, and strangely overlooked the conduct of affairs in the world, and the transactions in church and state during their own time. And though the papists do not think it fit to put their maxims for preserving the catholic religion, and converting heretics, in execution at all times, and in every place, yet some of their writers are so ingenuous as to tell us the reason of it, and that they do not forbear it upon principles of Christianity or good nature, but upon motives of policy and fear, lest the cutting one of our throats might endanger two of their own. However, they have been careful not to suffer a period of twenty years to elapse, since the beginning of the Reformation, without affording us, in some place or another, renewed evidences of papal charity, and of the Roman method of hindering the growth of heresy, either by a massacre, war, or persecution, begun and executed upon no other account or provocation, but merely that of our religion, and because we cannot believe and practise in the matters of God as they do. And having obtained of late great advantages for the pursuing their malice against us, more boldly and avowedly than at another season, and that not only through a strange concurrence and conjunction of princes in the papal communion, who are more intoxicated with their superstitions and idolatries, or less wise, merciful, and humane, than some of their predecessors of that fellowship were, but through having obtained a prince entirely devoted unto them, and under the implicit guidance of their priests to be advanced unto a throne, where such sometime used to sit as were the terror of Rome, the safeguard of the reformed religion, and the sanctuary of oppressed protestants; they have thereupon both assumed a courage of stirring up new and unprecedented persecutions in divers places against the most useful, best, and most loyal of subjects, upon no other charge or allegation, but for dissenting from the Tridentine faith, and denying subjection to the triple crown; and are raised into a confidence of wholly extirpating protestancy, and of re-establishing the papal tyranny and superstition, in the several countries whence they had been expelled, or stood so pressed and discountenanced as that the votaries and partizans of their church had not the sway and domination. Nor need we any other conviction, both of their design, and of their confidence of succeeding in it, than what they have already done, and continue to pursue in France, Hungary, and Piedmont, where their prospering to such a degree in their cruel and barbarous attempts, not only gives them boldness of entertaining thoughts of taking the like methods, and acting by the same measures, in all places where they find rulers at their beck, and under their influence, but to unite and provoke all popish monarchs to enter into a holy war against protestants every where, that, by conquering and subduing those states and kingdoms where the reformed religion is received and established, they may extirpate it out of the world, under the notion of the northern heresy. If principles of humanity, maxims of interest, rules of policy, obligations of gratitude, ties of royal and princely faith, or the repeated promises, oaths, edicts, and declarations of sovereigns, could have been a security to protestants for the profession of their faith, and exercise of their worship, in the afore-mentioned territories and dominions, they had all that could be rationally desired for their safety and protection, in the free and open profession and practice of their religion; whereas by a violation of all that is sacred amongst men, of a binding virtue unto princes (except chains and fetters) or that confer a right, claim, and security unto subjects, the poor protestants in those places have been, and still are, persecuted with a rage and barbarity which no age can parallel, and for which it is difficult to find words proper and severe enough, whereby to stamp a character of infamy upon the treacherous, cruel, and savage authors, promoters, and instruments of it. Nor does it proceed from a malignancy of nature peculiar to the emperor, the French king, and the Duke of Savoy, above what is in other princes of the same communion, or that they are more regardless of fame, and less concerned how future generations will brand their memories, than other papal monarchs seem to be, that they have suffered themselves to be prevailed upon to violate the promises and oaths they were bound by to their protestant subjects; seeing the emperor is characterised for a person of a meek and gentle temper, and of the goodness of whose nature there remains some shadows interwoven with the bloody streaks of the Hungarian persecution. And the French king, though he stands not much commended for sweetness and benignity of disposition, is known to be unmeasurably ambitious of having his name transmitted to posterity in letters of greatness and honour, which his behaviour towards his subjects of the reformed religion is no ways adapted unto, but calculated to make him hereafter listed with Nero and Julian. As to the Duke of Savoy, there seems, by the whole course of his other actions, to be a certain greatness of mind in him, not easily consisting with that savage and brutal temper which the cruelties he hath exercised upon the protestants in Piedmont would intimate and denote; but it ariseth from the mischievousness and pestilency of their religion, their bigotry in it, and their having put themselves so entirely under the conduct of the clergy, particularly of the jesuits, who are for the most part a set of men (especially the latter) that, through acting in the prospect of no other ends but the grandeur, wealth, and domination of the church of Rome, do, with an unlimited rage, and a peculiar kind of malice, persecute all that have renounced fellowship with it, and care not if they sacrifice the honour, glory, and safety of monarchs, and bring their kingdoms into contempt and desolation, by rendering them weak, poor, and dispeopled, provided they may wreck their spleen and revenge upon those whose religion is not only dissonant from theirs, but, should it prevail to be the religion of the legislators and rulers of nations, those springs of wealth would be immediately dried up, by which their superior clergy and all their religious orders are enriched and fed up in idleness. And should the people come to be generally imbued with principles of the gospel, light, and liberty, they would immediately shake off a blind and slavish dependency upon pope and priests, and thereby subvert the foundation upon which the monarchic grandeur of the Romish church and their whole religion is superstructed, and destroy the engine by which they are enabled to lord it over the bodies, estates, and consciences of men. And if protestants everywhere, especially under popish rulers, were not under a strange infatuation, they would look for no fairer quarter from papists than what their brethren have met with in France and Piedmont; nor would they rely upon the faith of any king that styles himself a Roman Catholick, seeing sacred promises, tremendous oaths, and the most authentic declarations, are but papal arts and tricks sanctified at Rome, whereby to lull subjects into a security, and delude them into a neglect of all means for preserving themselves and their religion till their rulers can be in a condition of obeying the decrees of the fourth Lateran council, that enjoins "kings to destroy and extirpate hereticks, under pain of excommunication, and of having both their subjects absolved from allegiance to them, and their territories given away to others;" and till, without running any hazard, they may comply with the ordinance of the council of Constance, which not only releaseth them from all "obligation of keeping faith to hereticks, but requires them to violate it," and accordingly made Sigismund break his faith to John Hus, whom, in defiance of the security given him by that king, they caused to be condemned and burnt. Nor is the practice and late example of the great Louis designed for less than a pattern by which all popish princes are to act; and his proceedings are to be the copy and model which they who would merit the name of zealous Catholicks, and be esteemed dutiful sons of the church, are to transcribe and limn out in lines of force, violence, and blood; and, for the better corresponding with the original, to employ dragoons for missionaries.

And though I will not say but that there may be some popish princes who, through an extraordinary measure of good-nature, and from principles of compassion woven into their constitution previously to all notices of revelation, whether real or pretended, and who, through sentiments imbibed from a generous education, and their coming afterwards to be under the influence and management of wise and discreet counsellors, may be able to resist the malignant impressions of their religion, and so be preserved from the inhumanities towards those of different persuasions from them in the things of God, which their priests would lay them under obligations unto, by the doctrines of the Romish faith; yet there appears no reason why an understanding man should be induced to believe that the king of England is likely to prove a prince of that great and noble temper, there being more than enough both to raise a jealousy and beget a persuasion, that there is not a monarch among all those who are commonly stiled catholicks, from whom protestants may justly dread greater severities than from him, or look for worse and more barbarous treatment. I am not ignorant with what candour we ought, by the rules of charity and good manners, to speak of all men, whatsoever their religion is; nor am I unacquainted with what veneration and deference we are to discourse of crowned heads; but as I dare not give those flattering titles unto any, of which there are not a few in some of the late addresses presented to the king by an inconsiderable and foolish sort of dissenting preachers, so I should not know how to be accountable to God, my own conscience, or the world, should I not, in my station as a protestant, and as a lover of the laws and liberties of my country, offer something whereby both to undeceive that weak and short-sighted people, whom, their own being accommodated for a season by the declaration of indulgence, hath deluded into an opinion that his majesty cherisheth no thoughts of subverting our religion, and also further to enlighten and confirm others in the just apprehensions they are possessed with of the design carrying on in Great Britain and Ireland for the extirpation of protestancy, and that the late declaration for liberty of conscience is emitted in subserviency thereunto, and calculated by the court toward the paving and preparing the way for the more facile accomplishment of it. And while mercenary sycophants, by their flatteries, infect and corrupt princes, and, by their representing them to the world in colours disagreeable from their tempers and dispositions, and in milder and fairer characters than any thing observable in them either deserveth or correspondeth with, do delude subjects into such opinions of them as beget a neglect of means for preserving themselves, 'tis become a necessary duty, and an indispensable service to mankind, to deal plainly and above-board, that so, by describing kings as they are, and setting them in a true and just light, we may prevent the people being further imposed upon; or, if through suffering themselves to be still deceived, they come to fall under miseries and persecutions, they may lay all their distresses and desolations at the door of their own folly, in not having taken care how to avoid what they were not only threatened with, but whereof they were warned and advertised. For I am not of Sir Roger L'Estrange's mind,[1] that if we cannot avoid being distrustful of our safety, yet it is extremely vain, foolish, and extravagant to talk of it; so I am very sensible that many of the French ministers, by painting forth their king more like a god than a man, and by possessing their people with a belief of wisdom, justice, grace, and mercy in him, of which they knew him destitute, have both emboldened him to attempt what he hath perpetrated, and laid them under snares which they knew not how to disentangle themselves from, in order to escape it. Nor would the king of England have acted with that neglect of the future safety of the papists, nor have exposed them to the resentment and hereafter revenge of three nations, by the arbitrary and illegal steps he hath made in their favour, if he intended any thing less than the putting protestants for ever out of a capacity and condition of calling them to a reckoning, and exacting an account of them which neither he, nor they about him, can have the weakness to think they have sufficiently provided against, without compelling us, by an order of *a-la-mode* France missionaries, to turn catholicks, or, by adjudging us to mines and galleys, according to the Versailles precedent, for our heretical stubborness, or (which is the more expeditious way of converting three kingdoms) to cause to be murdered the protestant inhabitants, according to the pattern which his loyal Irish catholicks endeavoured to have set, *anno* 1641, for the conversion of that nation. Had his majesty been contented with the bare avowing and publishing himself to be of the communion of the church of Rome, and of challenging a liberty, though against law, for the exercise of his religion, it might have awakened our pity and compassion to see him embrace a religion where there are so many impediments of salvation, and

[1] History of the Times.

in doing whereof he was become obnoxious unto the imprecation of his grandfather, who wished the curse of God to fall upon such of his posterity as should at any time turn papist; but it would have raised no intemperate heats in the minds of any against him, much less have alienated them from the subjection and obedience which are due unto their sovereign by the laws of the several kingdoms, and the fundamental rules of the respective constitutions. Or could he have been contented with waving the rigorous execution of the laws against papists, of whatsoever quality, rank, or order they were, and with the bestowing personal and private favours upon those of his religion, it would have been so far from begetting rancour or discontent in his protestant subjects, that they would not only have connived at and approved such a procedure, and those little benignities and kindnesses; but, had the papists quietly acquiesced in them, and modestly improved them, it might have been a means of reconciling the nation to more lenity towards them for the future, and might have influenced our legislators, when God shall vouchsafe us a protestant on the throne, to moderate the severities to which, by the laws in being, they are obnoxious, and to render their condition as easy and safe as that of other subjects, and only to take care for precluding them such places of power and trust as should prevent their being able to hurt us, but could bring no damage or inconvenience upon themselves. But the king, instead of terminating here, and allowing only such graces and immunities to the papists as would have been enough for the placing them in the private exercise of their religion, with security to them, and without any threatening danger to us, hath not only suspended all the penal laws against Roman catholicks, but he hath, by an usurped prerogative, that is paramount to the rules of the constitution, and to all acts of parliament, dispensed with and disabled the laws that enjoin the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and which appoint and prescribe the tests that were the fences which the wisdom of the nation had erected for preserving the legislative authority, securing the government, and keeping places of power, magistracy, and office in the hands of protestants, and thereby of continuing the protestant religion, and English liberties, to ourselves and the generations that shall come after us. And as if this were not sufficient to awaken us to a consideration of the danger we are in of having our religion supplanted and overthrown, he hath not only advanced the most violent papists unto all places of military command, by sea and land, but hath established many of them in the chief trusts and offices of magistracy and civil judicature; so that there are scarce any continued in power and employment save they who have either promised to turn Roman catholicks, or who have engaged to concur and assist to the subverting our liberties and religion, under the mask and disguise of protestants. 'Tis already evident that it is beyond the help and relief of all peaceable and civil means to preserve and uphold the protestant religion in Ireland, and that nothing but force and an intestine war can retrieve it unto, and re-establish it there, in any degree of safety. Nor is it less apparent, from the arbitrary and tyrannical oath ordained to be required of his majesty's protestant subjects in Scotland, whereby they are to swear obedience to him without reserve, that our religion is held only precariously in that kingdom; and that, whensoever he shall please to command the establishment of popery, and to enjoin the people to enter into the communion of the church of Rome, he expects to have his will immediately conformed unto, and not to be disputed or controlled. But, lest what we are to expect from the king, as to the extirpation of the reformed religion, and the inflicting the utmost severities upon his protestant subjects that papal rage (armed with power) can enable him unto, may not so fully appear, from what hath been already intimated, as either to awaken the dissenters out of the lethargy into which the late declaration has cast them, or to quicken those of the church of England to that zealous care, vigilancy, and use of all lawful means for preserving themselves and the protestant religion, that the impending danger wherewith they are threatened requires at their hands, I shall give that farther confirmation of it, from topicks and motives of credibility, moral, political, and historical, as may serve to place it in the brightest light, and fullest evidence, that a matter future and yet to come, which is only the object of our prospect and dread, and not of our feeling and experience, is capable of.

It ought to be of weight upon the minds of all English protestants, that the king of Great Britain is not only an open and avowed papist, but, as most apostates use to be, a fiery bigot in the Romish religion, and who, as the Liege letter from a jesuit to a brother of the order tells us, is resolved either to convert England to popery, or to die a martyr. Nor were the Jewish zealots, of whose rageful transports Josephus gives us so ample an account, nor the dervises among the Turks and Indians, of whose mad attempts so many histories make mention, more brutal in their fanatical heats than a popish bigot useth to be when favoured with advantages of exerting his animosity against those who differ from him, if he be not carefully watched against and restrained. Beside the innumerable instances of the tragical effects of Romish bigotry that are to be met with in books of all kinds, we need go no further for an evidence of it, than to consult the Life of Dominick, the great instigator and promoter of the massacre of the Waldenses, and the founder of that order which hath the management of the bloody inquisition, together with the Life of Henry III. of France, who, contrary to the advice of Maximilian the emperor, and the repeated intreaties of the wisest of his own counsellors, the Chancellor de l'Hospital, and the President de Thou, not only revived the war and persecution against his reformed subjects, after he had seen what judgments the like proceedings had derived upon his predecessors, and how prejudicial they had proved to the strength, glory, and interest of his crown and kingdom, but he entered into a league with those that sought to depress, abdicate, and depose him, and became the head of a faction for the destroying that part of his subjects upon whom alone he could rely for the defence of his person and support of his dignity. Nor were the furies of the Duke d'Alva heretofore, or the present barbarities of Louis XIV., so much the effects of their haughty and furious tempers, as of their bigotry in their inhumane and sanguinary religion. That the King of England is second to none in a blind and rageful popish zeal, his behaviour, both while a subject, and since he arrived at the crown, doth not only place it beyond the limits of a bare suspicion, but affords us such evidences of it as that none, in consistency with principles of wisdom and discretion, can either question or contradict it. To what else can we ascribe it but to an excessive bigotry, that, when the frigate wherein he was sailing to Scotland, *anno* 1682, struck upon the sands, and was ready to sink, he should prefer the lives of one or two pitiful priests to those of men of the greatest quality, and receive those mushrooms into the boat in which himself escaped, while, at the same time, he refused to admit not only his own brother-in-law, but divers noblemen of the supremest rank and character, to the benefit of the same means of deliverance, and suffered them to perish, though they had undertaken the voyage out of pure respect to his person, and to put an honour upon him at a season when he wanted not enemies? Nor can it proceed from any thing but a violent and furious bigotry, that he should not only disoblige and disgust the two universities, of whose zeal to his service he hath received so many seasonable and effectual testimonies, but (to the violation of the laws of God and the kingdom) offer force to their consciences, as well as to their rights and franchises, and all this in favour of Father Francis, whom he would illegally thrust into a fellowship at Cambridge, and of Mr Farmer, whom he would arbitrarily obtrude into the headship of a college at Oxford, who, as they are too despicable to be owned, and stood for in competition against two famous universities, whose greatest crime hath been an excess of zeal for his person and interest when he was Duke of York, and a measure of loyalty and obedience to him since he came to the crown, beyond what either the rules of Christianity, or the laws of the kingdom, exact from them; so he hath ways enough of expressing kindness and bounty to those two little contemptible creatures, and that in methods as beneficial to them as the places into which he would thrust them can be supposed to amount unto; and, I am sure, with less scandal to himself, and less offence to any protestants, as well as without offering injury to the rights of the university, or of compelling those learned, grave, and venerable men, to perjure themselves, and act against their duties and consciences. The late proceedings towards Dr Burnet are not only contrary to all the measures of justice, law, and honour, but argue a strange and furious bigotry in his majesty for popery, there being nothing else into which a man can resolve the whole tenor of his present actings against him, seeing, setting aside the doctor's being a protestant, and a minister of the church of England, and his having vindicated the Reformation in England from the calumnies and slanders wherewith it was aspersed by Sanders, and others of the Roman communion, and the approving himself in some other writings worthy of the character of a reformed divine, and of that esteem which the world entertains of him for knowledge in history, and all other parts of good learning, there hath nothing occurred in the whole tenor and trace of his life, but what, instead of rebuke and censure, hath merited acknowledgments and the retributions of favour and preferment from the court. Whosoever considers his constant preaching up passive obedience to such a degree and height as he hath done, may very well be surprised at the whole method of their present actings towards him, and, at the same time that they find cause to justify the righteousness of God in making them the instruments of his persecution, whom, in so many ways, he had sought to oblige, they may justly conclude that none, save a bigoted papist, could be the author of so unsuitable as well as illegal and unrighteous returns. For, as to all whereof he is accused in the criminal letters against him, bearing date the 19th of April, 1687, I myself am both able to assert his innocence, and dare assure the world, that none of the persons with whom he is charged to have conspired against the king, would have been so far void of discretion (knowing his principles) as to have transacted with him in matters of that kind; but whether his letters since that to the Earl of Middleton, with the paper inclosed in one of them, have administered any legal ground for their second citation, I shall not take upon me to determine, and will only say, as I heartily wish he had not in those letters afforded them any probable pretence for proceeding against him, so there are excesses of loyalty in them to atone for the utmost indiscretions his words are capable of being wrested unto; nor can any thing but papal malice, and Romish chicanery, construe and pervert them so far contrary to his intentions, as to make crimes, and much less to make treasons of them. Now, as nothing can be of more portentous omen to British and Irish protestants than to have a popish bigot exalted to rule over them, so, through a concurrence of ill-nature, and a deficiency of intellectuals, met in him with his furious zeal and bigotry, they are the more to expect whatever his power enables him to inflict that is severe and dreadful. 'Tis possible that a ruler may be possessed with a fondness and valuation of popery, as the only religion wherein salvation is to be obtained, and thereupon, in his private judgment and opinion, sentence all to eternal flames who cannot herd with him in the same society, and yet he may, through a great measure of humanity, and from an extraordinary proportion of compassion and meekness woven into his nature, hate the imbruing his hands in their blood, or treating those with any harshness whose supposed misbelief is their only crime; and that, finding them in all other respects virtuous, peaceable, and industrious, he may leave them to the decretive sentence of the sovereign and infallible judge, without disturbing or meddling with them himself. Nor is it impossible but that there may be a prince so far bigoted in popery as to have inclination and propensity to force all under his authority to be of his religion, or else to destroy and extirpate them; yet, through being of that largeness of understanding and political wisdom as to be able to penetrate into the hazards of attempting it, and to foresee the consequences that may ensue upon it, in reference to the peace and safety of his government, as well as the wealth and power of his dominions, he may come to check and stifle his furious inclinations, and chuse rather to leave his subjects at quiet than to impoverish, weaken, and dispeople his country, either by destroying them, or by driving them to abandon his territories, in order to find a shelter and sanctuary in other places. But where (as in the king of England) a small measure of understanding, accompanied with a large share of a morose, fierce, and ill nature, and these, attended with insolency and pride, as they usually are in weak and froward people, come to have a bigotry in such a religion as popery, superadded to them, whose doctrines and principles instigate and oblige to cruelty towards all of other persuasions, there protestants find nothing that may encourage to hope for security and protection, under a prince of that temper and complexion; but all that does affect and impress their minds bids them prepare for persecution, and to look for the utmost rigours and severities that pride, malice, brutal zeal, backed and supported with force and power, can execute and inflict. And how much such a prince's religion proves too weak to restrain him from uncleannesses, and other immoralities, by so much the more is he to be dreaded, in that he thinks to compound for and expiate crimes of that nature by his cruelty to hereticks, and his offering them up in sacrifices of atonement to the triple crown. Nor are the priests either displeased with, or careful to dissuade princes from offences of that kind, though they know them to be great provocations to God, and of mischievous example to subjects, seeing they are masters of the art of improving them to the service of holy church, and the advantage of the catholick faith; for, instead of imposing upon those royal transgressors the little and slavish penances of pilgrimages, whippings, and going bare-foot, they require them to make satisfaction for those and the like crimes, by the pious and meritorious acts of murdering protestants, and of extirpating the Northern heresy. And as one of the French whores of state is reported to have been a person that hath principally instigated to all the cruelties against the reformed in France, so, no doubt, but as she did it under the influence and conduct of her confessors, to compensate for her adulteries, she advised and persuaded Louis to it upon motives of the same nature. Nor do they who have the guidance of consciences at Whitehall want matter of the same kind to improve and work upon; and, as there are of the licentious females that will be glad of atoning for their filthy pollutions by acts so agreeable to the articles of their religion, so there are some who, as they have influence enough upon the king to counsel him to the like methods, so they will find him sufficiently disposed to compound for his loathsome and promiscuous scatterings, at a rate so suitable to his temper, as well as to the doctrines of the papal faith.

If any be deluded into a good opinion of his majesty, and brought to flatter themselves with expectations of their being protected in the profession of the protestant religion, they may be easily undeceived, and prevailed upon to change their sentiments, if they will but consider his behaviour towards protestants in the post wherein he formerly stood, and what his carriage was to them while he was fixed in a meaner and more subordinate station than now he is. Though there have been many whose behaviour in their private condition would have rendered them thought worthy to rule, if their actions, after their advancement to governing power, had not confuted the opinion entertained concerning them, yet there have been very few that have approved themselves just and merciful after their attaining to sovereignty, whose carriage in an inferior station had been to the damage and general hurt of mankind, as far as their narrow power and interest would extend. It ought, therefore, to lay us under a conviction, what we are to expect from his majesty on the throne, when we find the whole thread and series of his conduct, while a subject, to have been a continued design against our religion, and an uninterrupted plot for the subversion of our laws and liberties. 'Tis sufficiently known how active he always was, to keep up and inflame the differences among protestants, and how he was both a great promoter of all the severe laws made against dissenters, and a continual instigator to the rigorous execution of them: So that his affirming it to have been ever his judgment, that none ought to be oppressed and persecuted for matters of religion, nor to be hindered in worshipping God according to their several persuasions, serves only to inform us, either with what little honesty, honour, and conscience he acted, in concurring to the making of the aforesaid laws, or what small faith and credit is now to be given to his declaration, and to what he hath since the emission of it repeated, both in his speech to Mr Penn, and in his letter to Mr Alsop: And, to omit many other instances of his kindness and benignity to the fanaticks, whom he now so much hugs and caresses, it may not be amiss to remember them and all other protestants, of that barbarous and illegal commission issued forth by the council of Scotland, while he, as the late king's high commissioner, had the management of the affairs of that kingdom; by which every military officer that had command over twelve men, was impowered to impannel juries, try, condemn, and cause to be put to death, not only those who should be found to disclaim the king's authority, but such as should refuse to acknowledge the king's new-modelled supremacy over that church; in the pursuance and execution of which commission some were shot to death, others were hanged or drowned, and this not only during the continuance of the reign of his late majesty, but for above a year and a half after the present king came to the crown. But what need is there of insisting upon such little particulars, wherein he was at all times ready to express his malice to protestants, seeing we have not only Dr Oates's testimony, and that of divers others, but most authentic proofs from Mr Coleman's Letters, of his having been in a conspiracy several years for the subversion of our religion, upon the meritorious and sanctified motive of extirpating the northern heresy? Of which, beside all the evidence that four successive parliaments arrived at, I know several who (since the Duke of York ascended the throne,) have had it confirmed unto them by divers foreign papists, that were less reserved, or more ingenuous, than many of that communion use to be. To question the existence of that plot, and his present majesty's having been accessory unto, and at the head of it, argues a strange effrontery and impudence, in casting an aspersion of weakness, folly, and injustice, not only upon those three parliaments that seemed to have retained some zeal for English liberties, but, by fastening the same imputations upon the Long Parliament, which had shewed itself at all times more obsequious to the will of the court than was either for their own honour, or the safety and interest of the kingdom, and who had expressed a veneration for the royal family that approached too much unto a degree of idolatry. Whosoever considers that train of counsels wherein the king was many years engaged, and whereof we felt the woeful effects in the burning of London, the frequent prorogation and dissolution of parliaments, the widening and exasperating differences among protestants, the stirring up and provoking civil magistrates and ecclesiastical courts to persecute dissenters, and the maintaining correspondencies with the pope and catholick princes abroad, to the dishonour of the nation, and danger of our laws and religion, cannot avoid being apprehensive what we are now to look for at his hands; nor can we escape thinking that he esteems his advancement to the crown, both a reward from Heaven for what he hath done and plotted against these three kingdoms, and an opportunity and advantage administered unto him for the perfecting and accomplishment of all those designs with which he hath been so long big and in travail, for the destruction of our religion, the subversion of our laws, and the re-establishment of popery in these dominions.

The conduct and guidance under which his majesty hath put himself, and the fiery temper of that order to whose government he hath resigned his conscience, may greatly add to our fears, and give us all the jealousy and dread that we are capable of being impressed with in reference to matters to come, that there is nothing which can be fatal to our religion or persons, that we may not expect the being called to conflict with and suffer. For though most of the popish ecclesiastics, especially the regulars, bear an inveterate malice to protestants, and hold themselves under indispensable obligations of eradicating whatsoever their church stiles heresy, and have accordingly been always forward to stir up and provoke rulers to the use and application of force, for the destruction of protestants, as a company of perverse and obstinate hereticks, adjudged and condemned to the stake and gibbet by the infallible chair; yet of all men in the communion of the Romish church, and of their religious orders, the jesuits are they who do most hate us, and whose counsels have been the most sanguinary, and always tending to influence those monarchs whose consciences they have had the guiding and conducting of, to the utmost cruelties and barbarities towards us. What our brethren have had measured out to them in France through Father de la Chaise's influence upon that king, and through the bewitching power and domination he hath over him in the quality of his confessor, and as having the direction of his conscience, may very well alarm and inform us what we ought to expect from his majesty of Great Britain, who hath surrendered his conscience to the guidance of Father Peters, a person of the same order, and of the like mischievous and bloody disposition that the former is. 'Tis well observed by the author of the Reasons against repealing the Acts of Parliament concerning the Test, that Cardinal Howard's being of such a meek and gentle temper, that is able to withstand the malignity of his religion, and to preserve him from concurring in those mischievous counsels which his purple might seem to oblige him unto, is the reason of his being shut out from acquaintance with, and interest in the English affairs transacted at Rome; and that whatsoever his majesty hath to do in that court is managed by his ambassador, under the sole direction of the jesuits: So that it is not without cause that the Jesuit of Liege, in his intercepted and lately printed letter, tells a brother of that order, what a wonderful veneration the king hath for the society, and with what profound submission he receives those reverend fathers, and hearkens to whatsoever they represent. Nor is his majesty's being under the influence of the jesuits, through having one of them for his confessor, and several of them for his chief counsellors and principal confidants, the only thing in this matter that awakens our fear in what we are to expect from his armed power, excited and stirred by that fiery tribe; but there is another ground why we ought more especially to dread him, and that is, his being entered and enrolled into the order, and become a member of the society, whereby he is brought into a greater subjection and dependence upon them, and stands bound by ties and engagements of being obedient to the commands of the general of the jesuits, and that not only in spirituals, but in whatsoever they shall pretend to be subservient to the exaltation of the church, and for upholding the glory of the triple crown. This is a mystery which few are yet acquainted with, and which both his majesty and the order judged it their interest to have industriously concealed, but whereof the world may ere long receive that convictive intelligence, that there will be no room left for suspecting the truth of it, and whereof a jesuit, in the late printed letter from Liege, hath given us already sufficient intimation, both in telling us, " That the King of England stiles himself a son of the society," and how that he wrote to Father de la Chaise, " that he would account every injury done to the jesuits to be a wrong committed against himself." Neither is it so surprising as it may seem at first view, that the king should list himself a member of the order, seeing there have been four other crowned heads, of whose entrance and matriculation into the society there is all the evidence and assurance imaginable. And though one of them is acknowledged to have been in the classis of the directors, while the other three are generally believed to have been in the form of the directed, yet such was the power of the society over them all, that a great part of the cruelty exercised towards protestants, both in the last age and in this, is to be ascribed to that implicit and blind obedience which they were bound to yield to the injunctions of the order, and to the commands of the general, Philip the Second of Spain, who was the first king that entered into the order, and who did it upon motives of policy, in hopes by their means to have compassed universal monarchy, which he was aspiring after; and who, by being in the classis of directors, had advantages of using and improving, and not of being in that degree of servitude unto them, which the others have been; yet to what barbarous cruelties did they over rule and instigate him, not only to the destruction of inconceivable numbers of his subjects, whose only crime was, that they could not believe as the church of Rome doth, (which issued in the depopulating some of his dominions, and his being deposed from the sovereignty in others,) but to the sacrificing his son and heir, Prince Charles, whom, to gratify the society, he caused, upon an accusation of favouring the Low Country hereticks, and the being himself tainted with Lutheranism, to be murdered in his own court and palace. Sigismond of Poland, who was the second crowned head admitted into the order, thro' complying with the counsels, and serving the wrath, rage, and passions of the jesuits, in endeavouring to suppress the protestant religion in Sweden, to which he was heir, and striving to subvert their civil rights, drew upon himself the resentment and wrath of that nation to such a degree, that they abdicated him and his heirs from the government, and advanced another to the throne. Casimire, who was also King of Poland, is reckoned to be the third sovereign prince that entered into the society, and he, by coming under the domination of the jesuits, and being bound to follow their directions, and to execute whatsoever the general of the order thought fit to enjoin for the promotion and benefit of the church, became not only an instrument of a severe persecution against all sort of dissenters from the Romish faith, so that many were put to death, and more driven to abandon their country, but through committing many things in the course of his government that were prejudicial to the rights, and thereupon disgustful to the Polish nobility, they conceived such an aversion and hatred for him, that, to avoid the effects of their resentment and indignation, he was forced to lay down his crown, and to chuse to end his days in France, in no higher a character than that of Abbot of St Germains. There is a fourth prince, and who is yet in being, that is generally believed to be enrolled into the order; and the persecution he hath carried on in Hungary, contrary to his natural temper, and to all the rules of interest and policy, and in violation of his promises and oaths for continuing unto them the liberty of their religion, is both too probable an evidence of it, and a strong confirmation of the cruelties which the jesuits instigate princes unto, over whom they have influence, and whom they have wheedled into engagements of obeying their commands, and pursuing their injunctions. And as the desolating of Hungary, through a long and bloody war, and the tempting the Turks to invade the Austrian territories, are some of the effects that have ensued upon the emperor's complying with the fierce and heady counsels of the jesuits, so we have not seen all the mischiefs that the persecution which they have engaged him in against the protestants is like to issue in; though, beside the disgusting several electoral princes and states in Germany, and the furnishing the Ottoman potentate with encouragements of continuing the war, there are wonderful advantages afforded by it, to embolden the French king in his encroachments upon the empire, which otherwise he would not have dared to attempt, and whereof the result at last may prove fatal to the imperial dignity, and to the whole house of Austria. Now, what the protestants in Great-Britain and Ireland ought to dread from the king, upon his being entered into a society that hath breathed nothing but fire and blood since its first institution, I leave to the serious consideration of all men who value their lives, liberties, and estates, and that do not think of renouncing their religion and turning papists. Nor is it to be imagined that the king, before he can be supposed well settled on the throne, and while under a declining state of body, as well as in an advanced age, having the weight of four-and-fifty upon his shoulders, beside something else that he is obliged to the Earl of Southesk for, which I shall not mention, would have taken so many bold, wide, and illegal steps, for the supplanting our religion and laws, and for the introducing and establishing of popery and tyranny, (and this not only to the losing and disobliging his former votaries and partizans, but to the strange alarming and disgusting most persons of honour, quality, and interest, in the three kingdoms,) were he not, beside the being under the sway of his own bigotry, and the strong balance of a large measure of ill-nature, bound by ties of implicit obedience to the commands of that extravagant and furious society, to the promoting of whose passions and malice, rather than his own safety and glory, or the lasting benefit of the Roman catholicks themselves, the whole course of his government hitherto seems to have been shapen and adapted. The occasion and subject of the late contest between him and the pope, which hath made so great a noise not only at Rome, but through all Europe, may serve to convince us both of the extraordinary zeal he hath for the society, and of the transcendent power they have over him, and that it is no wonder he should exact an obedience without reserve from his subjects in Scotland, seeing he himself yields an obedience without reserve to the jesuits. It is known, that by the rules of their institution no jesuit is capable of the mitre, and that if the ambition of any of them should tempt him to seek or accept the dignity of a prelate, he must, for being capacitated thereunto, renounce his membership in the order: Yet so great is his majesty's passion for the honour and grandeur of the society, and such is their domination and absolute power over him, that no less will serve him (neither would they allow him to insist upon less,) than that the pope should dispense with Father Peters being made a bishop, without his ceasing to be a jesuit, or the being transplanted into another order. And this the old gentleman at Rome hath been forced at last to comply with, and to grant a dispensation whereby Father Peters shall be capable of the prelature, notwithstanding his remaining in the Ignatian order; the jesuits, through their authority over the king, not suffering him to recede from his demand, and his majesty's zeal for the society not permitting him to comply either with the prayers or the conscience and honour of the supreme pontiff.

Not only the king's unthankfulness unto, but his illegal proceedings against, and his arbitrary invading the rights of those who stood by him in all his dangers and difficulties, and who were the instruments of preventing his exclusion from the crown, and the chief means both of his advancement to the throne, and his being kept in it, are so many new evidences of the ill-will he bears to all protestants, and what they are to dread from him as occasions are administered of injuring and oppressing them; and may serve to convince all impartial and thinking people, that his popish malice to our religion is too strong for all principles of honour and gratitude, and able to cancel the obligations which friendship for his person, and service to his interest, may be supposed to have laid him under to any heretofore. Had it not been for many of the church of England, who stood up with a zeal and vigour for preserving the succession in the right line, beyond what religion, conscience, reason, or interest could conduct them unto, he had never been able to have out-wrestled the endeavours of three parliaments for excluding him from the imperial crown of England: And had it not been for their abetting and standing by him with their swords in their hands, upon the Duke of Monmouth's descent into the kingdom, *anno* 1685, he could not have avoided the being driven from the throne, and the having the scepter wrested out of his hand. Whosoever had the advantage of knowing the temper and genius of the late king, and how afraid he was of embarking into any thing that might import a visible hazard to the peace of the government, and draw after it a general disgust of his person, will be soon satisfied that if all his protestant subjects had united in their desires, and concurred in their endeavours, to have had the Duke of York debarred from the crown, that his late majesty would not have once scrupled the complying with it, and that his love to his dear brother would have given way to the apprehension and fear of forfeiting a love for himself in the hearts of his people, especially when what was required of him was not an invasion upon the fundamentals of the constitution of the English monarchy, nor dissonant from the practice of the nation in many repeated instances. Nor can there be a greater evidence of the present king's ill nature, Romish bigotry, and prodigious ingratitude, as well as of the design he is carrying on against our religion and laws, than his carriage and behaviour towards the church of England; though I cannot but acknowledge it a righteous judgment upon them from God, and a just punishment for their being not only so unconcerned for the preservation of our religion and liberties, in avoiding to close with the only methods that were adapted thereunto, but for being so passionate and industrious to hasten the loss of them, by putting the government into the hands of one who (as they might have foreseen) would be sure to make a sacrifice of them to his beloved popery, and to his inordinate lust after despotical and arbitrary power. And as the only example, bearing any affinity to it, is that of Lewis XIV., who, in recompence to his protestant subjects for maintaining him on the throne, when the late Prince of Conde, assisted by papists, would have wrested the crown from him, hath treated them with a barbarity, whereof that of Antiochus towards the Jews, and that of Dioclesian and Maximian towards the primitive Christians, were but scanty and imperfect draughts; so there wants nothing for compleating the parallel between England and France but a little more time and fortunate opportunity, and then the deluded churchmen will find that Father Peters is no less skilful at Whitehall, for transforming their acts of loyalty and merit towards the king into crimes and motives of their ruin, than Pere de la Chaise hath shewn himself at Versailles, where, by an art peculiar to the jesuits, he hath improved the loyalty and zeal of the reformed in France, for the house of Bourbon, into a reason of alienating that monarch from them, and into a ground of his destroying that dutiful and obedient people. It will not be amiss to call over some of his majesty's proceedings towards the church of England, that, from what hath been already seen and felt, both they and all English protestants may the better know what they are to expect and look for hereafter. And as it is a method very unbecoming a prince, so it shews a great deal of spleen, to turn the former persecution of the dissenters so maliciously upon the prelatical and conforming clergy, as his majesty doth in his letter to Mr Alsop, styling them "A party of protestants who think the only way to advance their church is by undoing those churches of Christians that differ from them in similar matters." Whereas the severity that the fanaticks met with had much of its original at court, where it was formed and designed upon motives of popery and arbitrariness; and the resentment and revengeful humour of some of the old prelates, and other churchmen that had suffered in the late times, was only laid hold of, the better to justify and improve it. And though it be too true, that many of the dignified rank, as well as of the little Levites, were both extremely fond of it, and contentiously pleaded for it, yet it is as true that most of them did it not upon principles of judgment and conscience, but upon inducements of retaliation for conceived injuries, and upon a belief of its being the most compendious method to the next preferment and benefice, and the fairest way of standing recommended to the favour of the two royal brothers.

Nor is it unworthy of observation, that some of the most virulent writers against liberty of conscience, and others of the most fierce instigators to the persecuting dissenters, among whom we may reckon Parker, Bishop of Oxford, and Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, are since addressing for the declaration of indulgence became the means of being graciously looked upon at Whitehall, turned forward promoters of it, though their success in their dioceses with their clergy hath not answered their expectations and endeavours: For as these two mitred gentlemen will fall in with and justify whatsoever the king hath a mind to do, if they may but keep their sees, and enjoy their revenues, which I dare say that, rather than lose, they will subscribe not only to the Tridentine faith, but to the Alcoran; so it is most certain that they two, as well as the Bishop of Durham, have promised to turn Roman catholicks; and that as Crew hath been several times seen assisting at the celebration of the mass, and that as Cartwright paid a particular respect to the nuncio at his solemn entrance at Windsor, which some temporal lords had so much conscience and honour as to scorn to do, so the author of the Liege Letter tells us, that Parker not only extremely favours popery, but that he brands in a manner all such for atheists who continue to plead for the protestant religion. 'Tis an act of the same candour and good-nature in the king with the former, and another royal effect of his princely breeding, as well as of his gratitude, when he endeavours to cast a further odium upon the church of England, and to exasperate the dissenters against her, by saying, in the aforementioned letter to Mr Alsop, that the reason why the dissenters enjoyed not liberty sooner, is wholly owing to the solicitation of the conforming clergy; whereas many of the learned and sober men of the church of England could have been contented that the nonconforming protestants should have had liberty long ago, provided it had been granted in a legal way, and the chief executioners of severity upon them were such of all ranks, orders, and stations as the court both set on and rewarded for it. 'Tis not their brethren having liberty that displeaseth modest and good men of the church of England; but 'tis the having it in the virtue of an usurped prerogative over the laws of the land, and to the shaking all the legal foundations of the protestant religion itself in the kingdom. And had the declaration of indulgence imported only an exemption of dissenters and papists from rigours and penalties, I know very few that would have been displeased at it; but the extending it to the removing all the fences about the reformed doctrine and worship, and laying us open both to the tyranny of papists, and the being overflowed with a deluge of their superstitions and idolatries, as well as the designing it for a means to overthrow the established church, is that which no wise dissenter, no more than a conformable man, knows how to digest: for I am not of Sir Roger L'Estrange's mind, who, after he had been writing for many years against dissenters, with all the venom and malice imaginable, and to disprove the wisdom, justice, and convenience of granting them liberty, hath now the impudence to publish, 'That whatsoever he formerly wrote bears an exact conformity to the present resolutions of state, in that the liberty now vouchsafed is an act of grace issuing from the supreme magistrate, and not a claim of right in the people.[2] And as to recited expressions of the king, they are only a papal trick, whereby to keep up heats and animosities among protestants, when both the inward heats of men are much allayed, and the external provocations to them are wholly removed; and they are merely jesuitical methods, by which our hatred of one another may be maintained, though the laws enabling one party to persecute the other, which was the chief spring of all our mutual rancour and bitterness, be suspended. It would be the sport and glory of the Ignatian order to be able to make the disabling of penal laws as effectual to the supporting differences among protestants, as the enacting and rigorous execution of them was to the first raising and the continuing them afterwards for many years. And if the foregoing topicks can furnish the king with arguments whereby to reproach the church of England, when he thinks it seasonable, and for the interest of Rome to be angry with them, I dare affirm he will never want pretences of

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[1] Preface to his History of the Times, p. 8.

[2] Sir Roger L'Estrange, following the policy of his master, James II., became suddenly an advocate for universal toleration, though his whole life had been spent in attacking the nonconformists.

being discontented with, and of aspersing fanaticks, when he finds the doing so to be for the service of the papal cause. And if the aforementioned instances of his majesty's behaviour to the church of England, to which he stands so superlatively obliged, be neither testimonies of his ingenuity, evidences of his gratitude, nor effects of common, much less royal justice, yet what remains to be intimated does carry more visible marks of his malice and design, both against the legally established church and our religion: For not being satisfied with the suspension of all those laws, by which protestants, and they of the national communion, might seem to be injurious to papists in their persons and estates, such as the laws which make those, who shall be found to have taken orders in the church of Rome, obnoxious to death, or those other statutes by which the king hath power and authority for levying two-thirds of their estates who shall be convicted of recusancy, but by an usurped prerogative, and an absolute power, he is pleased to suspend all the laws by which they were only disabled from hurting us, as standing precluded from places of power and trust in the government. So that the whole security we have in time to come for our religion depends upon the temperate disposition and good-nature of those Roman catholicks that shall be advanced to offices and employments, and does no longer bear upon the protection and support of the law; and I think we have not had that experience of grace and favour from papists as may give us just confidence of fair and candid treatment from them for the future. Now, that we may be the better convinced how little security we have from his majesty's promise in his declaration, of his protecting the archbishops, bishops, and clergy, and all other his subjects of the church of England, in the free exercise of their religion as by law established, and in the quiet and full enjoyment of their possessions, without any molestation or disturbance whatever, which is all the tenour that is left us, it is not unworthy of observation how that, beside the suspending the Bishop of London *ab officio*, and the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge both *ab officio* and *beneficio*, and this not only for actions which the laws of God and the kingdom make their duty, but by a sentence inflicted upon them by no legal court of judicature, but of five or six mercenary persons, supported by a tyrannous and arbitrary commission, his majesty in his proclamation for toleration in Scotland, bearing date the 12th of February, doth, among many other laws, cass, disable, and dispense with the law enjoining the Scots test, though it was not only enacted by himself while he represented his brother as his high commissioner, but hath been confirmed by him in parliament since he came to the crown. Surely it is as easy to depart from a promise made in a declaration, as it is to absolve and discharge himself from the obligation of a law which he first concurred to the enacting of, and gave the creating fiat unto, as the late king's commissioner, and hath since ratified in parliament, after he came to the throne. As there is no more infidelity, dishonour, and injustice, so there is less of absolute power and illegality in doing the one than the other. Nor is it possible for a rational man to place a confidence in his majesty's royal word, for the protection of our religion, and those of the church of England enjoying their possessions, seeing he hath not only departed from his promise made to the council immediately after his brother's death, but hath violated his faith given to the parliament of England at their first session, which, we might have thought, would have been the more sacred and binding, by reason of the grandeur, state, and quality of the assembly to which it was pledged.

If we consider how much protestants suffered, what numbers of them were burnt at the stake, as well as murdered in gaols, beside the vast multitudes who, to avoid the rage and power of their enemies, were forced to abandon their country, and seek for shelter in foreign parts, and what endeavours of all kinds were used for the extirpation of our religion under Queen Mary, we may gather and learn from thence what is to be dreaded from James II., who is the next popish prince to her that, since the Reformation, hath sat on the throne of England. For though there be many things that administer grounds of hope, that the papists will not find it so easy a matter to bring us in shoals to the stake, nor of that quick and easy dispatch to suppress the protestant religion, and set up popery at this time, as they found it then, yet every thing that occurs to our thoughts, or that can affect our understandings, serves not only to persuade us into a belief that they will set upon and endeavour it, but to work us up to an assurance that his majesty would take it for a diminution of his glory, as well as reflection upon his zeal for the church of Rome, not to attempt what a woman had both the courage to undertake and the fortune to go through with. And there is withal a concurrence of so many things, both abroad and at home, at this juncture, which, if laid in the balance with the motives to our hope of the papists miscarrying, may justly raise our fears of their prospering to a very sad uncomfortable height. Whosoever shall compare these two princes together will find, that there was less danger to be apprehended from Mary (and that not only upon the score of her sex, but by reason of a certain gentleness and goodness of nature, which all historians of judgment and credit ascribe unto her) than is to be expected from the present king, in whom a sourness of temper, fierceness of disposition, and pride, joined with a peevishness of humour not to bear the having his will disputed or controlled, are the principal ingredients in his constitution, and which are all strangely heightened and inflamed by contracted distempers of body, and by furious principles of mind, which he hath imbibed from the jesuits, who of all men carry the obligations arising from the doctrines of the popish religion to the most outrageous and inhumane excesses. Nor can I forbear to add, that whereas the cruelty which that princess was hurried into, even to the making her cities common shambles, and her streets theatres of murder for innocent persons, (for which she became hated while she lived, and her memory is rendered infamous to all generations that come after,) was wholly and entirely owing to her religion, which not only proclaims it lawful, but a necessery duty of Christianity, and an act meriting a peculiar crown of glory in heaven, to destroy hereticks; it is to be feared there will be found in the present king a spice of revenge against us as we are Englishmen, as well as a measure heaped up and running over of furious papal zeal against us as we are protestants. Beside the wrath he bears unto us for our departure from the communion of the Romish church, and our rebellion against the triple crown, the war wherein many of the kingdom were engaged against his father, and the issue of it in the execution of that monarch, is what he hath been heard to say, That he hopes to revenge upon the nation; and all that the city of London underwent through that dreadful conflagration in 1666, of which he was the great author and promoter, as well as the rescuer and protector of the varlets that were apprehended in their spreading and carrying on the fire, is but earnest in respect of what is designed further to be paid them, for the having been the great supporters of that war, both by continued recruits of men and repeated supplies of treasure.

Though it was Queen Mary's misfortune, and proved the misery of protestants, that she was under the influence of popish bishops, and of religious of several orders, by whom she was whetted on and provoked to those barbarities wherewith her reign is stained and reproached, yet she had no jesuits about her, to whom all the other orders are but punies in the arts of wheedling and frightening princes forward to cruelty; the society being then but in its infancy, and the distance between its institution, which was in the year 1540, and the time of her coming to the crown, which was *anno* 1553, not affording season enough for their spreading so far abroad as they have since done, nor for the perfecting themselves to that degree in the methods of butchery, and in the topicks whereby to delude monarchs to serve and promote their sanguinary passions, as they have in process of time attained unto. Nor have the protestants now any security for their religion, whereby it or themselves may be preserved from the attempts of his majesty for the extirpation of both, but what our predecessors in the same faith.

had in the like kind, though not to the same measure and degree, when Queen Mary arrived at the throne: For though our religion was of late fenced about with more laws, and we had royal promises oftener repeated for the having it preserved, and ourselves protected in the profession of it, yet it is certain, that it had not only received a legal establishment under King Edward the VIth, but had the royal faith of Queen Mary laid to pledge in a promise made to the men of Suffolk, that nothing should be done towards its subversion, or whereby they might be hindered in the free exercise of it. But as neither law nor promise could prove restraints upon Mary, to hinder her from subverting religion and burning protestants, so the obligation of gratitude that she was under to the men of Suffolk, for their coming in so seasonably to her assistance against the Duke of Northumberland, who was in the field with an army in the name of the Lady Jane Grey, whom the council had proclaimed queen, could not excuse them from sharing in the severity that others met with, it being observed that more of that county were burnt for religion than of any other shire in England. And it is greatly to be feared, that this piece of her example will not escape being conformed unto by the king, in his carriage towards those that eminently served him, as well as all the rest of it in his behaviour towards protestants in general. Nor is it possible to conceive that the papists, living at that ease and quietness which they did under his late majesty, of whose being of their religion they were not ignorant, as appears by the proofs they have vouchsafed the world of it since his death, would have been in so many plots for destroying him, and at last have hastened him to his fathers, as can be demonstrated whensoever it is seasonable, had they not been assured of more to be attempted by his successor for the extirpation of protestants, than Charles could be wrought up unto, or prevailed upon to expose his person and crown to the danger and hazard of. For as it is not merely a prince's being a papist, mild, gentle, and favourable to catholicks, that will content the fiery zealots of the Roman clergy and the regular orders, but he must both gratify their ambition in exalting them to a condition above all others, and serve their inhuman lusts and brutal passions, in not suffering any to live in his dominions that will not renounce the northern heresy, so it is not more incredible that they should dispatch a prince by an infusion in a cup of tea or chocolate, whom though they knew to be a papist, yet they found too cold and slow in promoting their designs, than that they should have murdered another by a consecrated dagger in the hand of Ravilliac; the one being both more easy to be detected, and likelier to derive an universal hatred and revenge upon them than the other. And as the king, being conscious of that parricide committed upon his brother, plainly tell us, that there is nothing so abominable and barbarous which he hath not a conscience that will swallow and digest, so the promotion of the catholick cause being the motive to that horrid crime, we may be sure that what is hitherto done in favour of papists falls much short of what is intended, there being something more meritorious than all this amounts unto needful to atone for so barbarous a villainy, which can be nothing else but the extirpating the protestant religion out of the three kingdoms: Nor is it probable that the present king, who is represented for a person ambitious of glory, would lose the opportunities, wherewith the present posture of affairs in the world presents him, of being the umpire and arbiter of Christendom, and of giving check to the grandeur and usurpations of a neighbouring monarch, to whom all Europe is in danger of becoming enslaved; if he were not swallowed up in the thoughts of a conquest over the consciences, laws, and liberties of his own people, and of subjugating his dominions to the see of Rome, and had he not hopes and assurances of aid and assistance therein from that monarch, as he is emboldened and encouraged thereunto by his pattern and example.

What the papists have all along been endeavouring for the subversion of our religion, during and under the reign of protestant princes, may yet farther inform and confirm us what they will infallibly attempt upon their having gotten one into the throne, who is not only in all things of their own faith, but of an humour agreeable unto their desires, and of a temper every way suited and adapted to their designs. Though the protestant religion had obtained some entrance into several states and kingdoms, and had made some considerable spread in Europe, before it came to be generally received and established upon foundations of law in England, yet they of other countries were little able to defend themselves from the power and malice of the church of Rome, and of popish princes, and many of them were very unsuccessful in endeavours of that nature, till England, in Queen Elizabeth's time, by espousing their cause and undertaking their quarrel, not only wrought out their safety, but made them flourish. This the court of Rome and the priests grew immediately sensible of, and have therefore moulded all their counsels ever since against England, as being both the bulwark of the protestant religion, and the balance of Europe. All the late attempts for the extirpation of the protestant religion in France, and elsewhere, are much to be ascribed to the confidence the papists had in the late king and his brother, of their giving no discouragement nor obstruction to so holy a design; and thereupon, as the first edicts for infringing the liberty, and weakening and oppressing protestants in France, and the persecution in Hungary, commenced and bore date with the restoration of the royal family, and multiplied and increased from year to year, as they grew into farther assurance of the royal brothers approving as well as conniving at what was done, so that for the abolition of the edict of Nantz, and the total suppression of the reformed religion in France, was emitted upon his present majesty's being exalted to the throne, and the encouragement he gave them to a procedure which, as he now justifies, he will hereafter imitate. It were to suppose English protestants exceedingly unacquainted with the history of their own nation, to give a long deduction of what the papists have attempted for the extirpation of our religion, while we had princes on the throne whose belief and principles in Christianity led them to assert and defend the reformation, and who had courage, as well as integrity, to punish those that conspired against it. Their many conjurations against Queen Elizabeth's person, and their repeated endeavours of bringing in foreigners, and of betraying the nation to the Spaniards, who were to convert the kingdom, as they had done the West Indies, by killing the inhabitants, are sufficiently known to all who have allowed themselves leisure to read, or who have been careful to remember what they have been often told by those that have inspected the memoirs of those times. The Gunpowder Plot, with the motives unto it, and the extent of the mischief it was shapen for, together with the insurrection they were prepared for in case it had succeeded, and the foreign aid they had been soliciting and were promised, and all for the extirpation of English hereticks, are things so modern, and which we have had so many times related to us by our fathers, that it is enough barely to intimate them. The Irish massacre, in which above two hundred thousand were murdered in cold blood, and to which there was no provocation but that of hatred to our religion, and furious zeal to extirpate hereticks, ought at this time to be more particularly reflected upon, as that which gives us a true scheme of the manner of the church of Rome's converting protestant kingdoms, and being the copy they have a mind to write after, and that in such characters and lines of blood as may be sure to answer the original. At the season when they both entered upon and executed that hellish conjuration, they were in a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the private exercise of their religion; yea, had many publick meeting-places, through the means of the queen and many great friends which they had at court, and were neither disturbed for not coming to church, nor suffered any severities upon the account of their profession; but that would not satisfy, nor will any thing else, unless they may be allowed to cut the throats or make bonfires of all that will not join with them in a blind obedience to the see of Rome, and of worshipping St Patrick. The little harsh usages which the papists at any time meet with there or in England, they derived upon themselves by their crimes against the state, and for their conspiracies against our princes and their protestant subjects. For till the pope had taken upon him to depose Queen Elizabeth, and absolve her subjects from their allegiance, and till the papists had so far approved that act of his holiness, as to raise rebellions at home, and to enter into treasonable confederacies abroad, there were no laws (that could be stiled severe) enacted in England against papists, and the making of them was the result of necessity, in order to preserve ourselves, and not from an inclination to hurt any for matters of mere religion. Such hath always been the moderation of our rulers, and so powerful are the incitements to lenity, which the generality of protestants, through the influence and impression of their religion, especially those of a more generous education, have been under towards those of the Roman communion, that nothing but their unwearied restlessness to disturb the government and destroy protestants, hath been the cause either of enacting those laws against them that are stiled rigorous, or of their having been at any time put into execution. And, notwithstanding that some such laws were enacted as might appear to savour of severity, yet could they have but submitted to have dwelt peaceably in the land, they would have found that their mere belief, and the private practice of their worship, would not have much prejudiced or endangered them, and that though the laws had been continued unrepealed, yet it was only as a hedge about us for our protection, and as bonds of obligation upon them to their good behaviour; to which may be added, that more protestants have suffered in one year by the laws made against dissenters, and to the utmost height of the penalties which the violation of them imported, (and that by the instigation of papists, and their influence over the late king and his present majesty,) than there have papists from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign to this very day, though there was a difference in the punishments they underwent. However, we may, from their many and repeated attempts against us, while we had princes that both would and could chasten their insolencies, and inflict upon them what the law made them obnoxious unto for their outrages, gather and conclude what we are now to expect, upon their having obtained a king imbued with all the persecuting and bloody principles of popery, and perfectly baptized into all the doctrines of the council of Lateran and Constance. And it may strengthen our faith, as well as increase our fear, of what is proposed against and impends over us, in that they cannot but think that the suffering our religion to remain in a condition to be at any time hereafter the religion of the state, and of the universality of the people, may not only prove a means of retrieving protestants in France, and of assisting to revenge the barbarities perpetrated there upon a great and innocent people, but may leave the Roman catholicks in England exposed to the resentment of the kingdom, for what they have so foolishly and impudently acted, both against our civil rights and established religion since James the Second came to the crown; and may also, upon the government falling into good hands, and magistrates coming to understand their true interest, which is for an English prince to make himself the head of the protestant cause, and to espouse their quarrel in all places, give such a revolution in Europe, as will not only check the present career of Rome, but cause them to repent the methods in which they have been engaged. These things we may be sure the papists are aware of, and that having proceeded so far, they have nothing left for their security from punishments because of crimes committed, but to put us out of all capacity of doing ourselves right and them justice; and he must be dull who does not know into what that must necessarily hurry them.

It being then as evident as a matter of this nature is capable of, What are we to expect and dread from the king, both as to our religion and laws? We may do more than presume, that the late Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and the Proclamation for a Toleration, are not intended or designed for the benefit and advantage of the reformed religion; and that whatsoever motives have influenced to the granting and emitting of them, they do not in the least flow or proceed from any kindness and good-will to protestant dissenters. And though many of those weak and easy people may flatter themselves with a belief of an interest in the king's favour, and suffer others to delude them into a persuasion of his bearing a gracious respect towards them, yet it is certain, that they are the people in the world whom he most hates, and who, when things are ripe for it, and that he hath abused their credulity into serving his ends, as far as they can be prevailed upon, and as long as the present juggle can be of any advantage for promoting the papal cause, will be sure not only to have an equal share in his displeasure with their brethren of the church of England, but will be made to drink deepest in the cup of fury and wrath that is mingling and preparing for all protestants. No provocation from their present behaviour, though it is such as might warm a person of a very cool temper, much less offences of another complexion administered by any of them, shall ever tempt me to say they deserve it, or cause me to ravel into their former and past carriages, so as to fasten a blot or imputation on the party or body of them, whatsoever I may be forced to do as to particular persons among them. For as to the generality, I do believe them to be as honest, industrious, useful, and virtuous a people (though many of them be none of the wisest, nor of the greatest prospect) as any party of men in the kingdom, and that wherein soever their carriage (even abstracting from their differences with their fellow protestants in matters of religion) hath varied from that of other subjects, they have been in the right, and have acted most agreeably to the interest and safety of the kingdom. But it can be no reflection upon them, to recall into their memories that the whole tenour of the king's actings towards them, both when Duke of York, and since he came to the crown, hath been such as might render it beyond dispute, that they are so far from having any singular room in his favour, that he bears them neither pity nor compassion, but that they are the objects of his unchangeable indignation. For not to mention how the persecutions that were observed always to relent both upon his being at any distance from the late king, and upon the abatement of his influence at any time in the councils, were constantly revived upon his return to court, and were carried on in degrees of severity proportionable to the figure he made at Whitehall, and his brother's disposedness and inclination to hearken to him, surely their memories cannot be so weak and untenacious, but they must remember how their sufferings were never greater, nor the laws executed with more severity upon them, than since his majesty came to ascend the throne. As it is not many years since he said publickly in Scotland, That it were well if all that part of the kingdom (which is above half of the nation) where the dissenters were known to be most numerous, were turned into a hunting field;[1] so none were favoured and promoted either there or in England, but such as were taken to be the most fierce and violent against fanaticks; nor were men preferred either in church or state for their learning, virtue, or merit, but for their passionate heats and brutal rigour to dissenters. And whereas the papists, from the very first day of his arrival at the government, had, besides many other marks of his grace, this special testimony of it, of not having the penal statutes to which they stood liable put in execution against them; all the laws to which the dissenters were obnoxious were, by his majesty's orders to the judges, justices of peace, and all other officers, civil and ecclesiastical, most unmercifully executed. Nor was there the least talk of lenity to dissenters till the king found that he could not compass his ends by the church of England, and prevail upon the parliament for repealing the tests, and cancelling the other laws in force against papists; which if they could have been wrought over unto, the fanaticks would not only have been left pitiless, and continued in the hands of the furious churchmen to exercise their spleen upon, but would have been surrendered as a sacrifice to new flames of wrath, if they of the prelatical communion had retained their wonted animosity, and thought it for their interest to exert it, either in the old or in fresh methods. But that project not succeeding, his majesty is forced to shift hands, and to use the pretence of extending compassion to dissenting protestants, that he may the more plausibly, and with less hazard, suspend and disable the laws against papists, and make way for their admission into all offices, civil and military, which is the first step, and all that he is in a condition to take, for the subversion of our religion. And all the celebrated kindness to fanaticks is only to use them as the cat's paw for pulling the chesnut out of the fire to the monkey, and to make them stales under whose shroud and covert the church of Rome may undermine and subvert all the legal foundations of our religion; which, to suffer themselves to be instrumental in, will not in the issue turn to the commendation of the dissenters' wisdom or their honesty. Nor is there more truth in the king's declaring it to "have been his constant opinion, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion," than there is of justice in that malicious insinuation (in his letter to Mr Alsop) against the church of England, "That should he see cause to change his religion, he should never be of that party of protestants who think the only way to advance their church is by undoing those churches of Christians that differ from them in smaller matters;" forasmuch as he is in the mean time a member of the most persecuting and bloody society that ever was cloathed with the name of a church, and whose cruelty towards protestants he is careful not to arraign, by fastening his offence at severity upon indifferences in smaller matters, which he knows that those between Rome and us are not, nor so accounted by any of the papal fellowship. It were to be wished, that the dissenters would reflect and consider that when the late king had emitted a declaration of indulgence, *anno* 1672, upon pretended motives of tenderness and compassion to his protestant subjects, but in truth to keep all quiet at home, when, in conjunction with France, he was engaging in an unjust war against a reformed state abroad, and in order to steal liberty for the papists to practise their idolatries, without incurring a suspicion himself of being of the Romish religion, and in hope to wind up the prerogative to a paramount power of the law; and that when the parliament condemned the illegality of it, and would have the declaration recalled, all his kindness to dissenters not only immediately vanished, but turned into that rage and fury, that though both that parliament addressed for some favour to be shewed them, and another voted it a betraying of the protestant religion to continue the execution of the penal laws upon them, yet, instead of their having any mercy or moderation exercised towards them, they were thrown into a furnace made seven times hotter than that wherein they had been scorched before. And, without pretending to be a prophet, I dare prognosticate and foretell, that whensoever the present king hath compassed the ends, unto which this declaration is designed to be subservient, namely, the placing the papists both in the open exercise of their religion, and in all publick offices and trusts, and the getting a power to be acknowledged vested in him over the laws; that then, instead of the still voice calmly whispered from Whitehall, they will both hear and feel the blasts of a mighty rushing wind, and that upon pretended occasions arising from the abuse of this indulgence, or for some alledged crimes wherein they and all other protestants are to be involved, (though their supineness and excess of loyalty continue to be their greatest offences,) this liberty will not only be withdrawn, and the old church of England severities revived, but some of the new *a la mode a France* treatments come upon the stage, and be pursued against them and all other perverse and obstinate British hereticks.

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[1] The Duke of Lauderdale is said to have expressed himself to the same purpose: "It were better," said he, "that the whole west of Scotland bore windle-straws and sand-larks, (*i. e.* was reduced to waste-land,) than that it bore rebels against the king."

The declaration for liberty of conscience being injurious to the church of England, and not proceeding from any inward and real good-will to the dissenters, it will be worth our pains to inquire into, and make a more ample deduction of the reasons upon which it was granted, that the grounds of emitting it being laid under every man's view, they who have addressed may come to be ashamed of their simplicity and folly, they who have not may be farther confirmed both of the unlawfulness and inconveniency of doing it; and that all, who preserve any regard to the protestant religion, and the laws of England, may be quickened to the use of all legal and due means for preventing the mischievous effects which it is shapen for, and which the papists do promise themselves from it. The motives upon which his majesty published the declaration may be reduced to three, of which as I have already made some mention, so I shall now place every one of them in its several and proper light, and give such proofs and evidence of their being the great and sole inducements for the emitting of it, that no rational man shall be able henceforth to make a doubt of it. The first is, the king's winding himself into a supremacy and absoluteness over the law, and the getting it acknowledged, and calmly submitted unto and acquiesced in by the subjects. For the monarchy's being legal and not despotical, bounded and regulated by laws, and not to be exercised according to mere will and pleasure, was that which he could not digest the thoughts of when a subject, and had been heard to say, "That he had rather reign a day in that absoluteness that the French king doth, than an age tied up and restrained by rules as his brother did:" And, therefore, to persuade the Prince of Orange to approve what he had done in dispensing with the laws, and to obtain him and the princess to join with his majesty, and to employ their interest in the kingdom for the repealing the test acts, and the many other statutes made against Roman catholicks, he used this argument in a message he sent to their royal highnesses upon that errand, that the getting it done would be greatly to the advantage, and for the increase of the prerogative; but this these two noble princes, of whose ascent to the throne all protestants have so near and comfortable a prospect, were too generous, as well as wise, to be wheedled with, as knowing that the authority of the Kings and Queens of England is great enough by the rules of the constitution, without grasping at a new prerogative power, which, as the laws have not vested in them, so it would be of no use but to enable them to do hurt. And indeed it is more necessary, both for the honour and safety of the monarch, and for the freedom and security of the people, that the prerogative should be confined within its ancient and legal channels than be left to that illimited and unbounded latitude, which the late king and his present majesty have endeavoured to advance and screw it up unto. That both the declaration for liberty of conscience in England, and the proclamation for a toleration in Scotland, are calculated for raising the sovereign authority to a transcendent power over the laws of the two kingdoms, may be demonstrated from the papers themselves, which lay the dispensing power before us in terms that import no less than his majesty's standing free and absolved from all ties and restraints, and his being cloathed with a right of doing whatsoever he will: For if the stile of *royal pleasure* to suspend the execution of such and such laws, and to forbid such and such oaths to be required to be taken, and this in the virtue of no authority declared by the laws to be resident in his majesty, but in the virtue of a certain vagrant and indeterminate thing called *royal prerogative,* as the power exercised in the English declaration is worded and expressed, be not enough to enlighten us sufficiently in the matter before us, the stile of *absolute power*, which all the subjects are to obey without reserve, whereby the king is pleased to chalk before us the authority exerted in the Scots proclamation for the stopping, disabling, and dispensing with such and such laws as are there referred unto, and for the granting the toleration, with the other liberties, immunities, and rights there mentioned, is more than sufficient to set the point we are discoursing beyond all possibility of rational controul. As it is one and the same kind of authority that is claimed over the laws and the subjects of both kingdoms, though, for some certain reasons, it be more modestly designed and expressed in the declaration for a liberty in England, than it is in the proclamation for a toleration in Scotland, so the utmost the Czar of Muscovy, the Great Mogul, or the Turkish Sultan, ever challenged over their respective dominions, amounts only to an absolute power, which the king both owns the exertion of, and makes it the fountain of all the royal acts exercised in the forementioned papers. And as the improving this challenged absolute power into an obligation upon the subjects to obey his majesty without reserve, is a paraphrase upon despotical dominion, and an advancing it to a pitch above what any of the ancient or modern tyrants ever dreamt of, and beyond what the most servile part of mankind was ever acquainted with, till the present French king gave an instance of it, in making his mere will and pleasure to be the ground and argument upon which his reformed subjects were to renounce their religion and to turn Roman catholicks, so it is worth considering whether his majesty, who glories to imitate that foreign monarch, may not in a little time make the like application of his absolute power, which his subjects are bound to obey without reserve; and whether, in that case, they who have addressed to thank him for his declaration, and thereby justified the claim of this absolute power, being that upon which the declaration is superstructed, and from which it emergeth, can avoid paying the obedience that is demanded as a duty in the subject inseparably annexed thereunto. That which more confirms us that the English declaration, and the Scots proclamation, are not only designed for the obtaining from the subjects an acknowledgement of an absolute power vested in the king, but that no less than the usurpation and exercise of such a power can warrant and support them, are the many laws and rights which a jurisdiction is challenged over and exerted in reference unto, in papers stiled by the aforementioned names.

All confess a royal prerogative settled on the crown, and appertaining to the royal office; nor can the supreme magistrature be executed and discharged to the advantage and safety of the community, without a power affixed unto it of superseding the execution of some laws at certain junctures, nor without having an authority over the rights of particular men in some incident cases, but then the received customs of the respective nations, and the universal good, preservation, and safety of the people in general, are the measures by which this prerogative in the crown is to be regulated, and beyond which to apply or exert it is an usurpation and tyranny in the ruler. All the power belonging to the kings and queens of England and Scotland ariseth from an agreement and concession of the people, wherein it is stipulated what rights, liberties, and privileges they reserved unto themselves, and what authority and jurisdiction they delegated and made over unto the sovereign, in order to his being in a condition to protect and defend them, and that they may the better live in peace, freedom, and safety, which are the ends for which they have chosen kings to be over them, and for the compassing whereof they originally submitted unto, and pitched upon such a form of civil administration. Nor are the opinions of particular men, of what rank or order soever they be, to be admitted as an exposition of the extent of this prerogative, seeing they, through their dependencies upon the king, and their obnoxiousness to be influenced by selfish and personal ends, may enlarge it beyond what is for the benefit of the community; but the immemorial course of administration, with the sense of the whole society, signified by their representatives in parliament, upon emergent occasions, are to be taken for the sense, paraphrase, and declaration of the limits of this royal and prerogative power; and for any to determine the bounds of it from the testimonies of mercenary lawyers, or sycophant clergymen, in cases wherein the parliament have by their votes and resolutions settled its boundaries, is a crime that deserves the severest animadversion, and which, it is to be hoped, a true English parliament will not let pass unpunished. Now, a power arising from royal prerogative, to suspend and disable a great number of laws at once, and they of such a nature and tendency, that the great security of the people consists in their being maintained, and which the whole community represented in parliaments have often disallowed and made void princes meddling with, so as to interrupt their execution and course, is so far from being a right inherent in the crown, that the very pretending unto it is a changing of the government, and an overthrowing of the constitution. Fortescue says, that [1] *Rex Angliæ populum gubernat non mera potestate regia, sed politica; quia populus iis legibus gubernatur quas ipse fert:* The King of England doth not so properly govern by a power that is regal, as by a power that is political, in that he is bound to rule by the laws which the people themselves chuse and enact. And both Bracton and Fleta tell us, that, [2] *Rex Angliæ habet superiores, viz. legem per quam factus est Rex, ac comites et barones qui debent ei frænum ponere:* The King of England hath for superiors both the laws by which he is constituted king, and which is the measure of his governing power, and the parliament which is to restrain him, if he do amiss; and thereupon we have not only that other saying of Bracton, that, [3] *Nihil aliud potest Rex, nisi id solum quod jure potest:* The king can do nothing but what he can do by law; but we have that famous passage in our parliaments roll, [4] *Non est ulla regis prerogativa, quæ ex justitia et æquitate quicquam derogat:* That there is no prerogative belongs to the king, by which he can decline from acting according to law and justice. So careful were our ancestors, both in England and Scotland, to preserve our laws from being invaded and superseded by their kings, that they have not only, by divers parliamentary votes and resolutions, and by several statutes, declared all dispensations by the king, from laws and enjoined oaths, to be null and void, and not admittable by the judges or other executors of law and justice, but they have often impeached, arraigned, and condemned those to one penalty or another, that have been found to have counselled and advised kings to an usurpation of power over the laws, and to a violation of established and enacted rules. It would draw this discourse to a length beyond what is intended, should I mention the several laws against papists, as well as against dissenters that are suspended, stopt, disabled, and dispensed with, in the two fore-mentioned royal papers; and it would be an extending it much more, should I make the several reflections that the matter is capable of, and which a person of a very ordinary understanding cannot be greatly to seek for; I shall, therefore, only take notice of two or three efforts which occur there of this royal prerogative and absolute power, which, as they are very bold and ample exertions of them for the first time, so (should the next exercises of them be proportionable) there will be nothing left us of the protestant religion, or of English liberties, and we must be contented to be papists and slaves, or else to stand adjudged to Tyburn and Smithfield. One is the suspending the laws which enjoin the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the prohibiting that these oaths be at any time hereafter required to be taken; by which single exercise of royal prerogative and absolute power, the two kingdoms are not only again subjected to a foreign jurisdiction, the miseries whereof they groaned under for several ages, but as the king is hereby deprived of the greatest security he had from his subjects, both to himself and the government, so the crown is robbed of one of its chiefest jewels, namely, an authority over all the subjects, which was thought so essential to sovereignty and royal dignity, that it was annex'd to the imperial crown of England, and judged inherent in the monarch before the reformed religion came to be received and established. And it concerns their royal highnesses of Orange, to whom the right of succeeding to the crown of Great Britain unquestionably belongs, to consider whether his majesty may not, by the same authority whereby he alienates and gives away so considerable and inherent a branch of the royal jurisdiction, transfer the succession itself, and dispose the inheritance of the crown to whom he pleaseth. Nor will they about him, who thrust the late king out of the throne, to make room for his present majesty, much scruple to put a protestant successor by it, if they can find another papist as bigoted as this to advance unto it. However, were they on the throne to-morrow, here is both a foreign jurisdiction brought in and set up to rival and control theirs, and they are deprived of all means of being secured of the loyalty and fealty of a great number of their subjects: Nor will his majesty's certain knowledge and long experience (whereof he boasts in the Scots proclamation,) that the catholicks, as it is their principle to be good Christians, so it is to be dutiful subjects, be enough for their royal highnesses to rely upon, their religion obliging them to the contrary towards princes, whom the church of Rome hath adjudged to be hereticks. A second instance wherein this pretended royal prerogative is exercised paramount to all laws, and which nothing but a claim of absolute power in his majesty can support, and an acknowledgement of it by the subjects make them approve the declaration for liberty of conscience, and the proclamation for toleration, is the stopping, disabling, and suspending the statutes whereby the tests were enacted, and thereby letting the papists in to all benefices, offices, and places of trust, whether civil, military, or ecclesiastic. I do not speak of suspending the execution of those laws, whereby the being priests or taking orders in the church of Rome, or the being reconciled to that church, or the papists meeting to celebrate mass, were in one degree or another made punishable, (though the king's dispensing with them by a challenged claim in the crown be altogether illegal,) for, as divers of these laws were never approved by many protestants, so nothing would have justified the making of them, but the many treasons and conspiracies that they were from time to time found guilty of against the state. And as the papists of all men have the least cause to complain of the injustice, rigour, and severity of them, considering the many laws more cruel and sanguinary that are in force in most popish countries against protestants, and these enacted and executed merely for their opinions and practices in the matters of God, without their being chargeable with crimes and offences against the civil government under which they live, so were it necessary, from principles of religion and policy, to relieve the Roman catholicks from the afore-mentioned laws, yet it ought not to be done but by the legislative authority of the kingdom; and for the king to assume a power of doing it in the virtue of a pretended prerogative, is both a high usurpation over the laws, and a violation of his coronation oath. Nor is it any commendation either of the humanity of the papists, or of the meekness and truth of their religion, that while they elsewhere treat those who differ from them in faith and worship with that barbarity, they should so clamorously inveigh against the severities which in some reformed states they are liable unto, and which their treasons gave the rise and provocation unto at first, and have been at all times the motives to the infliction of. But they alone would have the allowance to be cruel, wherein they act consonantly to their own tenets; and I wish that some provision might be made for the future for the security of our religion, and our safety in the profession of it, without the doing any thing that may unbecome the merciful principles of Christianity, or be unsuitable to the meek and generous temper of the English nation, and that the property of being sanguinary may be left to the church of Rome, as its peculiar privilege and glory, and as a more distinguishing character than all the other marks which she pretends unto: That which I am speaking of is, the suspending the execution of those laws by which the government was secured of the fidelity of its subjects, and by which they in whom it could not confide were merely shut out from places of power and trust, and were made liable to very small damages themselves, and only hindered from getting into condition of doing mischief to us. All governments have a right to use means for their own preservation, provided they be not such as are inconsistent with the ends of government, and repugnant to the will and pleasure of the supreme sovereign of mankind; and it is in the power of every legislative assembly to declare, who of the community shall be capable or incapable of publick employs, and of possessing offices, upon which the peace, welfare, and security of the whole political body does depend. Without this no government could subsist, nor the people be in safety under it; but the constitution would be in constant danger of being subverted, and the privileges, liberties, and religion of the subjects laid open to be overthrown. And should such a power in legislators be, upon weak suspicions and ill-grounded jealousies, carried at any time too far, and some prove to be debarred by trusts, whose being employed would import no hazard; yet the worst of that would be only a disrespect shewn to individual persons who might deserve more favour and esteem, but could be of no prejudice to the society, there being always a sufficient number of others fit for the discharge of all offices in whom an entire confidence may be reposed. And it is remarkable that the states-general of the United Provinces, who afford the greatest liberty to all religions that any known state in Europe giveth, suffer no papists to come into places of authority and judicature, nor to bear any office in the republic that may either put them into a condition, or lay them under a temptation of attempting any thing to the prejudice of religion, or for the betraying the liberty of the provinces. And as it is lawful for any government to preclude all such persons from public trusts, of whose enmity and ill-will to the establishment in church and state they have either a moral certainty or just grounds of suspicion, so it is no less lawful to provide tests for their discovery and detection, that they may not be able to mask or vizor themselves in order to getting into offices, and thereupon of promoting and accomplishing their mischievous and malicious intentions. Nor is it possible in such a case, but that the tests they are to be tried by must relate to some of those principles by which they are most eminently distinguished from those of the national settlement, and in reference whereunto they think it most piacular to dissemble their opinion. Nor have the papists cause to be offended that the renouncing the belief of transubstantiation should be required as the distinguishing mark, whereby upon their refusal they may be discerned, when all the penalty upon their being known is only to be excluded from a share in the legislation, and not to be admitted to employments of trust and profit; seeing it hath been and still is their custom to require the belief of the corporal presence in the sacrament, as that upon the not acknowledging whereof we are to be accounted hereticks, and to stand condemned to be burnt; which is somewhat worse than the not being allowed to sit in the two houses of parliament, or to be shut out from a civil or military office: Neither are they required to declare, much less to swear, that the doctrine of transubstantiation is false, or that there is no such thing as transubstantiation, (as is affirmed in a scurrilous paper written against the loyalty of the church of England,) but all that is enjoined in the test acts is, that, "I, A. B. do declare that I do believe that there is not any transubstantiation in the sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, or the elements of bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever." Tho' the parliament was willing to use all the care they could for the discovering papists, that the provision for our security unto which those acts were designed might be the more effectual, yet they were not so void of understanding as to prescribe a method for it, which would have exposed them to the world for their folly: 'Tis much different to say, swear, or declare, that "I do believe there is not any transubstantiation," and the saying or declaring that "there is not a transubstantiation," the former being only expressive of what my sentiment or opinion is, and not at all affecting the doctrine itself, to make or unmake it other than what it is independently upon my judgment of it; whereas the latter does primarily affect the object and the determination of its existence to such a mode as I conceive it; and there are a thousand things which I can say that I do not believe, but I dare not say that they are not. Now, as 'tis the dispensing with these laws that argues the king's assuming an absolute power, so the addressing by way of thanks for the declaration wherein this power is exerted, is no less than an owning and acknowledging of it, and that it rightfully belongs to him. There is a third thing which shame or fear would not suffer them to put into the declaration for liberty of conscience in England, but which they have had the impudence to insert into the proclamation for a toleration in Scotland, which as it carries absolute power written in the forehead of it, so it is such an unprecedented exercise of despotickness, as hardly any of the oriental tyrants, or even the French leviathan, would have ventured upon: For having stopt, disabled, and suspended all laws enjoining any oaths whereby our religion was secured, and the preservation of it to us and our posterity was provided for, he imposeth a new oath upon his Scots subjects, whereby they are to be bound "to defend and maintain him, his heirs and lawful successors, in the exercise of their absolute power and authority against all deadly." The imposing an oath upon subjects hath been always looked upon as the highest act of legislative authority, in that it affects their consciences, and requires the approbation or disapprobation of their minds and judgments, in reference to whatsoever it is enjoined for; whereas a law that affects only men's estates may be submitted unto, though in the mean time they think that which is exacted of them to be unreasonable and unjust: And as it concerns both the wisdom and justice of lawgivers to be very tender in ordaining oaths that are to be taken by subjects, (and that not only from a care that they may not prostitute the name of God to prophanation, when the matter about which they are imposed is either light and trivial, or dubious and uncertain, but because it is an exercise of jurisdiction over the souls of men, which is more than if it were only exercised over their goods, bodies, and privileges,) so never any of our kings pretended to a right of enjoining and requiring an oath that was not first enacted and specified in some law; and it would have been heretofore accounted a good plea for refusing such or such an oath, to say there was no statute that had required it. It was one of the articles of high-treason, (and the most material,) charged upon the Earl of Strafford, that, being lord-deputy of Ireland, he required an oath of the Scots who inhabited there, which no law had ordained or prescribed; which may make those counsellors who have advised the king to impose this new oath, as well as all others that shall require it to be taken upon his majesty's bare authority, to be a little apprehensive whether it may not at some time rise in judgment against them, and prove a forfeiture of their lives to justice. And as the imposing an oath not warranted by law is an high act of absolute power, and in the king an altering of the constitution, so, if we look into the oath itself, we shall find this absolute power strangely manifested and displayed in all the parts and branches of it, and the people required to swear themselves his majesty's most obedient slaves and vassals. By one paragraph of it they are required to "swear that it is unlawful for subjects on any pretence, or for any cause whatsoever, to rise in arms against him, or any commissioned by him, and that they shall never resist his power or authority;" which, as it may be intended for a foundation and means of keeping men quiet, when he shall break in upon their estates and overthrow their religion, so it may be designed as an encouragement to his catholic subjects to set upon the cutting of protestants throats, when by this oath their hands are tied up from hindering them. It is but for the papists to come authorised with his majesty's commission, which will not be denied them for so meritorious a work, and then there is no help nor remedy, but we must stretch out our necks and open our breasts to their consecrated swords and sanctified daggers. Nay, if the king should transfer the succession to the crown from the rightful heir to some zealous Romanist, or alienate and dispose his kingdoms in way of donation and gift to the pope, or to the society of the jesuits, and, for the better securing them in the possession hereafter, should invest and place them in the enjoyment of them while he lives, the Scots are bound in the virtue of this oath tamely to look on, and calmly to acquiesce in it. Or should his physicians advise him to a nightly variety of matrons and maids, as the best remedy against his malignant and venomous heats, all of that kingdom are bound to surrender their wives and daughters unto him, with a dutiful silence and a profound veneration. And, if by this oath he can secure himself from the opposition of his dissenting subjects, in case through recovery of their reason a fit of ancient zeal should surprise them, he is otherways secured of an Asiatick tameness in his prelatical people by a principle which they have lately imbibed, but neither learned from their bibles nor the statutes of the land: For the clergy, upon thinking that the wind would always blow out of one quarter, and being resolved to make that a duty by their learning, which their interest at that season made convenient, have preached up the doctrine of passive obedience to such a boundless height, that they have done what in them lies to give up themselves and all that had the weakness to believe them, fetter'd and bound for sacrifices to popish rage and despotical tyranny. But for myself, (and I hope the like of many others,) I thank God I am not tainted with that slavish and adulatory doctrine, as having always thought that the first duty of every member of a body politic is to the community, for whose safety good governors are instituted, and that it is only to rulers as they are found to answer the main ends they are appointed for, and to act by the legal rules that are chalked out unto them. Whether it be from my dulness, or that my understanding is of a perverser make than other men's, I cannot tell; but I could never yet be otherways minded than that the rules of the constitution, and the laws of the republic or kingdom, are to be the measures both of the sovereign's commands and of the subjects obedience, and that as we are not to invade what by concessions and stipulations belongs unto the ruler, so we not only lawfully may, but we ought to defend what is reserved to ourselves, if it be invaded and broken in upon. And as, without such a right in the subjects, all legal governments and mixed monarchies were but empty names and ridiculous things, so wheresoever the constitution of a nation is such, there the prince, who strives to subvert the laws of the society is the traitor and rebel, and not the people who endeavour to preserve and defend them. There is yet another branch of the aforesaid oath, that is of a much more unreasonable strain than the former, which is, "That they shall to the utmost of their power assist, defend, and maintain him in the exercise of this absolute power and authority," which being tacked "to our obeying without reserve," makes us the greatest slaves that either are, or ever were, in the universe. Our kings were heretofore bound to govern according to law (and so is his present majesty, if a coronation oath and faith to hereticks were not weaker than Samson's cords proved to be), but instead of that, here is a new oath imposed upon the subjects, by which they are bound to protect and defend the king in his ruling arbitrarily. It had been more than enough to have required only a calm submitting to the exercise of absolute power; but to be enjoined to swear to assist and defend his majesty and successors in all things wherein they shall exert it, is a plain destroying of all natural as well as civil liberty, and a robbing us of that freedom that belongs unto us, both as we are men and as we are born under a free and legal government; for by this we become bound to drag our brethren to the stake, to cut their throats, plunder their houses, embrue our hands in the blood of our wives and children, if his majesty please to make these the instances wherein he will exert his absolute power, and require us to assist him in the exercise of it. As it was necessary to cancel all other oaths and tests, as being directly inconsistent with this, so the requiring the Scots to swear this oath is the highest revenge he could take for their solemn league and covenant, and for all other oaths, that lust after arbitrariness and popish bigotry will pronounce to have been injurious to the crown. But no words are sufficient to express the mischiefs wrapt up in that new oath, or to declare the abhorrency that all who value the rights and liberties of mankind ought to entertain for it, nor to proclaim the villainy of those who shall by addresses, give thanks for the proclamation. There may a fourth thing be added, whereby it will appear that his majesty's assuming absolute power stands recorded in capital letters in his declaration for liberty of conscience; for, not being contented to omit the requiring the oaths of allegiance and supremacy and the test oaths to be taken, nor being satisfied to suspend for a season the enjoining any to be demanded to take them, he tells us, that it is his royal will and pleasure that the aforesaid oaths "shall not at any time hereafter be required to be taken;" which is a full and direct repealing of the laws in which they are enacted. It hath hitherto passed for an undoubted maxim, That *eorum est tollere quorum est condere*, "They can only abrogate laws who have power and authority to make them;" and we have heretofore been made to believe, that the legislative power was not in the king alone, but that the two houses of parliament had at least a share in it; whereas here, by disabling and suspending laws for ever, the whole legislative power is challenged to be vested in the king, and at one dash the government of England is subverted and changed. Though it hath been much disputed whether the king had a liberty of refusing to assent to bills relating to the benefit of the public that had passed the two houses, (and if there be any sense in those words of the coronation oath, of his being bound to govern according to the laws *quas vulgus elegerit*, he had not,) yet none till now, that his majesty doth it, had the impudence to affirm that he might abrogate laws without the concurrence and assent of the lords and commons: for to say that oaths enjoined by laws to be required to be taken, "shall not at any time hereafter be required to be taken," is a plain cancelling and repealing of these laws, or nothing of this world ever was or is; nor can the wisdom of the nation in parliament assembled find words more emphatical to declare their abrogation, without saying so, which at this time was necessary to forbear, for fear of alarming the kingdom too far, before his majesty be sufficiently provided against it. For admitting them to continue still in being and force, though the king may promise for the non-execution of them during his own time (which is even a pretty bold undertaking), yet he cannot assure us that the "oaths shall not be required to be taken at any time hereafter, unless he hath provided for an eternal line of popish successors, which God will not be so unmerciful as to plague us with, or hath gotten a lease of a longer life than Methuselah's, which is much more than the full century of years wished him in a late dedication, by one that styles himself an Irishman; a thing he might have forborne telling us, because the size of his understanding fully declares it. However, here is such a stroke and exercise of absolute power as dissolves the government, and brings us all into a state of nature, by discharging us from the ties which, by virtue of fundamental stipulations and statute laws, we formerly lay under; forasmuch as we know no king but a king by law, nor no power he has but a legal power: Which through disclaiming by a challenge that the whole legislative authority does reside in himself, he hath thrown the gauntlet to three kingdoms, and provokes them to a trial, whether he be ablest to maintain his absoluteness, or they to justify their being a free people. And by virtue of the same royal will and pleasure that he annuls (which he calls suspending) the laws enjoining the tests, and the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and commands that none of these oaths and declarations shall at any time hereafter be required to be taken, he may, in some following royal papers, give us Whitehall or Hampton-Court edicts, conformable to those at Versailles, "which at all times hereafter" we shall be bound to submit unto, and stand obliged to be ruled by, instead of the common law and statute-book. Nor is the taking upon him to stamp us new laws, exclusively of parliamentary concurrence, in the virtue of his royal prerogative, any thing more uncouth in itself, or more disagreeable to the rules of the constitution, and what we have been constantly accustomed unto, than the cassing, disabling, and abrogating so many old ones, which that obsolete, out of date, as well as ill-favoured thing upon monarchs, called a parliament, had a share in the enacting of. I will not say that our addressors were conscious that the getting an absolute power in his majesty to be owned and acknowledged was one of the ends for which the declaration was calculated and emitted, but I think I have sufficiently demonstrated both that such a power it issues and flows from, and that such a power is plainly exercised in it: which, whether their coming now to be told, and made acquainted with it, may make them repent what they have done, or at least prevent their being accessary to the support of this power in other mischievous effects that are to be dreaded from it, I must leave to time to make the discovery, it being impossible to foretell what a people fallen into a frenzy may do in their paroxysms of distraction and madness.

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[1] De Laudib. Leg. Ang. c. 9.

[2] Bract. l. 2. c. 16. Flet. l. 1. c. 17.

[3] Lib. 3. c. 9.

[4] Rol. Parl. 7. Hist. 4. n. 59.

Nor was the screwing himself into the possession of an absolute power, and the getting it to be owned by at least a part of the people, the only motive to the publishing the declaration for liberty of conscience in England, and the proclamation for a toleration in Scotland; but a second inducement, that sway'd unto it, was the undermining and subverting the protestant religion, and the opening a door for the introduction and establishment of popery. Nor was it from any compassion to dissenters that these two royal papers were emitted, but from his majesty's tender love to papists, to whom, as there arise many advantages for the present, so the whole benefit will be found to redound to them in the issue. We are told (as I have already mentioned) " That the king is resolved to convert England, or to die a martyr;" and we may be sure that if he did not think the suspending the penal laws, and the dispensing with requiring of the tests, and the granting liberty and toleration, to be means admirably adapted thereunto, he would not have acted so inconsistently with himself, nor in that opposition to his own designs, as to have disabled these laws, and vouchsafed the freedom that results thereupon; especially when we are told by the Liege jesuit, That the king, being sensible of his growing old, finds himself thereby obliged to make the greater haste, and to take the larger steps, lest, through not living long enough to effect what he intends, he should not only lose the glory of converting three kingdoms, but " should leave the papists in a worse condition than he found them." His highness the Prince of Orange very justly concludes this to be the thing aimed at by the present indulgence, and therefore, being desired to approve the suspension of the test acts, and to co-operate with his majesty for the obtaining their being repealed, was pleased to answer, " That while he was, as well as professeth himself, a protestant, he would not act so unworthily as to betray the protestant religion," which he necessarily must if he should do as he was desired. Her royal highness the Princess of Orange has likewise the same apprehension of the tendency of the toleration and indulgence, and therefore was pleased to say to some Scotch ministers, that did themselves the honour, and performed the duty that became them, in going to wait upon her, that she greatly commended their having no accession to the betraying of the protestant religion, by their returning home to take the benefit of the toleration. What an indelible reproach will it be to a company of men, that pretend to be set for the defence of the gospel, and who stile themselves ministers of Jesus Christ, to be found betraying religion, through justifying the suspension of so many laws whereby it was established and supported, and whereby the kingdoms were fenced about and guarded against popery; while these two noble princes, to the neglect of their own interest in his majesty's favour, and to the provoking him to do them all the prejudice he can in their right of succession to the imperial crowns of Great Britain, do signify their open dislike of that act of the king, and that not only upon account of its illegality and arbitrariness, but by reason of its tendency to supplant and undermine the reformed religion! And they are strangely blind that do not see how powerfully it operates and conduceth to the effecting of this, and that in more ways and methods than are easy to be accounted; for thereby our divisions are not only kept up, at a time when the united councils and strength of all protestants is too little against the craft and power of Rome, but they who have addressed to thank the king for his royal papers, are become a listed and enrolled faction, to abet and stand by the king in all that naturally follows to be done for the maintaining his declaration, and justifying of the usurped authority from which it issues. 'Tis matter of a melancholy consideration, and turns little to the credit of the dissenters, that when they of the church of England, who had with so great indiscretion promoted things to that pass, which an easy improvement of would produce what hath since ensued, are (through being at last enlightened in the designs of the court,) come so far to recover their wits as that they can no longer do the service they were wont, and which was still expected from them; there should be a new tribe of men mustered up to stand in their room, and who, by their vows and promises made to the king in their addresses, have undertaken to perform what others have the conscience and honesty, as well as the wisdom, to refuse and decline. Nor are the divisions among protestants only hereby upheld and maintained, but our animosities and rancours are both continued and inflamed; for while they of the established way are provoked and exasperated to see all the legal foundations both of the protestant religion and their church subverted, the addressing dissenters are emboldened to revenge themselves upon the national clergy, in terms of the utmost opprobry, virulence, and reproach, for their accession to the sufferings which they had endured.

Surely it would have been not only more generous, but much more christian, and becoming good as well as wise men, to have made no other retaliations but those of forgiveness and pardon for the injuries they had met with, and to have offered all the assistances they could give to their conformable brethren, for the stemming and withstanding the deluge of popery and tyranny that is impetuously breaking in upon the kingdoms. And as this would have united all protestants in bonds of forbearance and love, not to be dissolved through petty differences about discipline, forms of worship, and a few rites and ceremonies, so it would, in the sense and judgment of all men, have given them a more triumphant victory over those that had been their imprudent and peevish enemies, than if they were to enjoy the spoils of the conformable clergy by being put into possession of their cures and benefices. The relation I have stood in to the dissenting party, and the kindness I retain for them above all other, make me heartily bewail their losing the happiest opportunity that was ever put into their hands, not only of improving the compassion which their calamities had raised for them in the hearts of the generality into friendship and kindness, but of acquiring such a merit upon the nation, that the utmost favours which a true English protestant parliament could hereafter have showed them, would have been accounted but slender as well as just recompences. Nor can I forbear to say, that I had rather have seen the furnace of afflictions made hotter for them, though it should have been my own lot to be thrown into the most scorching flames, than to have beheld them guilty of those excesses of folly towards themselves, and of treachery to religion and the laws of their country, which their present case and a short opportunity afforded them of acquiring again, have hurried and transported so many of them into. It plainly appears with what aspect upon our religion the declaration for liberty of conscience was emitted, if we do but observe the advantages the papists have already reaped by it. How is the whole nation thereupon not only overflowed with swarms of locusts, and all places filled with priests and jesuits, but the whole executive power of the government, and all preferments of honour, interest, and profit, are put into Roman Catholic hands? So that we are not only exposed to the unwearied and restless importunities of seducers, but, through the advancement of papists to all offices civil and military, if not ecclesiastic, the covetous become bribed, the timorous threatened, and the prophane are baited with temptations suitable to their lusts; and they that stand resolved to continue honest are laid open not only to the bold affronts of priests and friars, the insolencies of petulant popish justices, the chicaneries and oppressions of the arbitrary commission court, but to the rage of his majesty, and the danger of being attacked by his armed squadrons: To which may be added, that by the same prerogative and absolute power that his majesty hath suspended the laws made for the protection of our religion, he may disable and dispense with all the laws by which it is set up and established. And as it will not be more illegal and arbitrary to make void the laws for protestancy, than to have suspended those against popery, so I do not see how the addresses, that have approved the one, can disallow or condemn the other: for the king having obtained an acknowledgment of his absolute power, and of his royal prerogative, paramount to laws, on his exercising it in one instance, it now depends merely upon his own will (for any thing these thanksgiving gentlemen have to say against it) whether he may not exert in another, wherein they are not likely to find so much of their ease and gain.

There is a third inducement to the emitting those royal papers, which, though at the first view it may seem wholly to regard foreigners, yet ultimately terminates in the subversion of our religion at home, and in the king's putting himself into a condition of exercising his absolute power in whatsoever acts he pleaseth over his own subjects, whether after the French fashion, in commanding them to turn catholicks, because he will have it so, or after the manner of the Grand Seignior, to require them to submit their necks to the bow-string, because he is jealous of them, or wants their estates to pay his janizaries. The United Provinces are they whom he bore a particular spleen and indignation unto when he was a subject, and upon whom (as he is now in the throne) he resolves not only to wreak all his old malice, but by conquering and subduing them (if he can) to strengthen his absoluteness over his own people, and to pave his way for overthrowing the protestant religion in Great Britain, without lying open to the hazards that may otherwise attend and ensue upon the attempting it. And instead of expecting nothing from him but what may become a brave and generous enemy, they ought to remember the encouragement that he gave heretofore to two varlets, to burn that part of their fleet which belonged to Amsterdam; an action as ignominious as fraudulent, and that might have been fatal to all the provinces, if, through a happy and seasonable detection, and the apprehension of one of the miscreants, it had not been prevented. He knows that the states-general are not only zealous assertors of the protestant religion, but always ready to afford a sanctuary and a place of refuge to those who, being oppressed for the profession of it elsewhere, are forced to forsake their own countries, and to seek for shelter and relief in other parts. And as he is not insensible how easy the withdrawment and flight is into these provinces, for such as are persecuted in his dominions, so he is aware, that if multitudes, and especially men of condition and estates, should for the avoiding his cruelty betake themselves thither, that they would not be unthoughtful of all ways and means whereby they might redeem their country from tyranny, and restore themselves to the quiet enjoyment of their estates and liberties at home. But that which most enrages him, is the figure which the two princes make in that state (of whose succession to the crown the protestants in Britain have so near a prospect) and the post which the prince filleth in that government, so that he dare neither venture to disinherit them, nor impose upon them such terms and conditions as their consciences will not suffer them to comply with, while either these states remain free, or while such English and Scots as retain a zeal for religion and the ancient laws and rights of their respective countries can retreat thither, under hopes of admission and protection. And so closely are the interests of all protestants in England and Scotland woven and inlaid with the interest of the United Netherlands, and such is the singular regard that both the one and the other bear to the reformed religion, the liberty of mankind, and their several civil rights, that it is impossibe for his majesty to embark in a design against the one, without resolving at the same time upon the ruin of the other. Neither will the one be able to subsist when once the other is subdued and enslaved. As Philip II. of Spain saw no way so compendious for restoring himself to the sovereignty and tyrannous rule over the Dutch as the subjugating of England, that helped to support and assist them, which was the ground of rigging out his formidable armado, and of his design against England in 1588, so his British majesty thinks no method so expeditious for enslaving his own people, as endeavouring first to subdue the Dutch. And as, on the one hand, it would be of a threatening consequence to Holland could the king subjugate his own people, extirpate the protestant religion out of his dominions, and advance himself to a despotical power; so, on the other hand, could he conquer the Dutch, we might with the greatest certainty date the woeful fate of Britain, and the loss of all that is valuable to them as men and Christians from the same period of time. They are like the twins we read of, whose destiny was to live and die together; and whichsoever of the two is destroyed first, all the hope and comfort that the other can pretend unto is to be last devoured. Now, after the advances which his majesty hath made towards enslaving his subjects, and the subverting the reformed religion in his kingdoms, he finds it necessary, before he ventures to give the last and fatal stroke at home, and to enter upon the plenary exercise of his absolute power in laying parliaments wholly aside, in cancelling all laws, to make way for royal edicts or declarations of the complexion of the former, and in commanding us to turn Roman Catholicks, or to be dragooned; I say, he thinks it needful, before he proceeds to these, to try whether he can subdue and conquer the Dutch, and thereby remove all hope of shelter, relief, comfort, and assistance from his own people, when he shall afterwards fall upon them. And how much soever the court endeavours to conceal its design, and strives to compliment the states-general into a confidence, that all alliances between them and the crown of England shall be maintained and preserved, yet they not only speak their intentions by several open and visible actions, but some of them cannot forbear to tell it, when their blood is heated, and their heads warmed with a liberal glass, and a lusty proportion of wine. Thence it was that a governing papist lately told a gentleman, after they had drank hard together, "That they had some work in England that would employ them a little time, but when that was over they would make the Dutch fly to the end of the world to find a resting place." *Delenda est Carthago* is engraven upon their hearts, as being that without which Rome cannot arrive at the universal monarchy that it aspires after. It was upon a formed design of war against the United Provinces, that the king hath for these two years stirred up and incited, as well as countenanced and protected, the Algerines in their pyracies, that through their weakening and spoiling the Dutch before hand, it may be the more easy matter for him to subdue them, when he shall think fit to begin his hostilities. 'Tis in order to this that he hath entered into new and secret alliances with other princes, the purport of which is boldly talked of in London, but whether believed at the Hague I cannot tell. For as Mons. Barrillon and Mons Bonrepo's present transactions at Whitehall relate to something else than merely to the affair of Hudson's Bay, so Prince George's errand to Denmark is of more importance than a bare visit, or a naked compliment, to his brother. 'Tis upon this design that all that great marine preparation hath been so long making in the several ports of England, but to the hindering the execution whereof some unexpected and not foreseen accidents have interposed. And it is in subserviency not to be disquieted at home, while he is carrying on this holy war abroad, that the declaration for liberty of conscience in England, and the proclamation for a toleration in Scotland, are granted and published. 'Tis well enough known, that after the French king had, among many other severities exercised against protestants, made them incapable of employments and commands, yet, to avoid the consequences that might have ensued thereupon, while he was engaged in war against the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the States of Holland, and to have the aid of his reformed subjects, he not only intermitted and abated in many rigours towards them, but, in *anno* 1674, restored them to a capacity of being employed and preferred. And that this did not flow from any compassion, tenderness, or good-will towards them, his carriage since the issue of that war, and the miserable condition he hath reduced them unto, sufficiently testify and declare. Nor can we forget, that the late king, after a rigorous execution of the penal laws for several years against dissenters, being to enter into an unjust war against the United Provinces, *anno* 1672, not only forbore all proceedings of that kind, but published a declaration for suspending the execution of all those laws, and for allowing them liberty of assembling to worship God in their separate meetings, without being hindered or disturbed. What principle that proceeded from, and to what end it was calculated, appeared in his behaviour to them afterwards, when neither the danger the nation was in from the papists, nor the application of several parliaments, could prevail for lenity towards them, much less for a legal repeal of those impolitic and unreasonable statutes. Nor does the present indulgence flow from any kindness to fanaticks; but it is only an artifice to stifle their discontents, and to procure their assistance for the destroying of a foreign protestant state. And it may not be unworthy of observation, that as the declaration of indulgence, *anno* 1672, bore date much about the same time with the declaration of war against the Dutch, so at the very season that his present majesty emitted his declaration for liberty of conscience, there were commissions of reprisal prepared and ready to be granted to the English East-India Company against the Hollanders, but which were suppressed upon the court's finding that they whom the suspending the execution of so many laws, and the granting such liberties, rights, and immunities to the papists, had disgusted and provoked, were far more numerous, and their resentments more to be apprehended, than they were whose murmurings and discontents they had silenced and allayed by the liberty that was granted. Now as it will be at this conjuncture, when the protestant interest is so low in the world, and the reformed religion is in so great danger of being destroyed, a most wicked, as well as an imprudent act, to contribute help and aid to the subjugating a people that are the chief protectors of the protestant religion that are left, and almost the only assertors of the rights and liberties of mankind, so it may fill the addressors with confusion and shame, that they should have not only justified an act of his majesty that is plainly designed to such a mischievous end, but that they should, by the promises and vows that they have made him, have emboldened his majesty to continue his purposes and resolutions of a war against the Dutch; which as it must be funestous and fatal to the protestant cause, in case he should prosper and succeed, so however it should issue, yet the addressors, who have done what in them lies to give encouragement unto it, will be held betrayers of the protestant religion both abroad and at home, and judged guilty of all the blood of those of the same faith with them that shall be shed in this quarrel.

That liberty ought to be allowed to men in matters of religion, is no plea whereby the king's giving it in an illegal and arbitrary manner can be maintained and justified. Since ever I was capable of exercising any distinct and coherent acts of reason, I have been always of that mind, that none ought to be persecuted for their consciences towards God in matters of faith and worship; nor is it one of those things that lie under the power of the sovereign and legislative authority to grant or not to grant; but it is a right settled upon mankind, antecedent to all civil constitutions and human laws, having its foundation in the law of nature, which no prince or state can legitimately violate and infringe. The magistrate, as a civil officer, can pretend or claim no power over a people but what he either derives from the divine charter, wherein God, the supreme institutor of magistracy, has chalked out the duty of rulers in general, or what the people, upon the first and original stipulations, are supposed to have given him, in order to the protection, peace, and prosperity of the society. But as it does no where appear that God hath given any such power to governors, seeing all the revelations in the scripture, as well as all the dictates of nature, speak a contrary language, so neither can the people, upon their chusing such a one to be their ruler, be imagined to transfer and vest such a power in him, for as much as they cannot divest themselves of a power, no more than of a right of believing things as they arrive with a credibility to their several and respective understandings. As it is in no man's power to believe as he will, but only as he sees cause, so it is the most irrational imagination in the world to think they should transfer a right to him whom they have chosen to govern them, of punishing them for what it is not in their power to help. Nor can any thing be plainer than that God has reserved the empire over conscience to himself, and that he hath circumscribed the power of all human governors to things of a civil and inferior nature. And had God conveyed a right unto magistrates of commanding men to be of this or that religion, and that because they are so, and will have others to be of their mind, it would follow that the people may conform to whatsoever they require, though, by all the lights of sense, reason, and revelation, they are convinced of the falsehood of it, seeing whatsoever the sovereign rightfully commands, the subjects may lawfully obey. But though the persecuting people for matters of mere religion be repugnant to the light of nature, inconsistent with the fundamental maxims of reason, directly contrary to the temper and genius, as well as to the rules of the gospel, and not only against the safety and interest of civil societies, but of a tendency to fill them with confusion, and to arm subjects to the cutting one another's throats, yet governors may both deny liberty to those whose principles oblige them to destroy those that are not of their mind, and may, in some measure, regulate the liberty which they vouchsafe to others, whose opinions, though they do not think them dangerous to the peace of the community, yet, through judging them erroneous and false, they conceive to be dangerous to the souls of men. As there is a vast difference betwixt tolerating a religion and approving the religion that is tolerated, so what a government doth not approve, but barely permits and suffers, may be brought under restrictions as to time, place, and number of those professing it, that shall assemble in one meeting, which it were an indecency to extend to those of the justified and established way. Now, whatsoever restrictions or regulations are enacted and ordained by the legislative authority, in reference to religion, or religious assemblies, they are not to be stopt, disabled, or suspended but by the same authority that enacted and ordained them. The king says very truly, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion; but it does not from hence follow (unless by the logic of Whitehall) that, without the concurrence of a parliament, he should suspend and dispense with the laws, and, by a pretended prerogative, relieve any from what they are obnoxious unto by the statutes of the realm. His saying that the forcing people in matters of religion spoils trade, depopulates countries, discourageth strangers, and answers not the end of bringing all to an uniformity for which it is employed, would do well in a speech to the houses of parliament, to persuade them to repeal some certain laws, or might do well to determine his majesty to assent to such bills as a parliament may prepare and offer, for relieving persons in matters of conscience; but it does not serve for what it is alledged, nor can it warrant his suspending the laws by his single authority. And, by the way, I know when these very arguments were not only despised by his majesty, and ridiculed by those who took their cue from court, and had wit to do it, as by the present Bishop of Oxford, in a very ill-natured book called Ecclesiastical Polity, but when the daring to have mentioned them would have provoked the then

Duke of York's indignation, and have exposed the party that did it to discountenance and disgrace. The question is not, what is convenient to be done in some measure and degree, and in reference to those whose religion does not oblige them to destroy all that differ from them, when they have opportunity for it; but the point in debate is, who hath the legal power of doing it, and of fixing its bounds and limits. It was never pretended that the king ought to be shut out from a share in suspending and repealing laws, but that the sole right of doing it belongs to him is what cannot be allowed, without changing the constitution, and placing the whole legislative authority in his majesty. And as it is an usurpation in the king to challenge it, and a treachery in English subjects to acknowledge it, so the inconveniences that this or that party are in the mean time exposed unto, through the laws remaining in force, are rather to be endured than that a power of giving ease and relief (farther than by connivance) should be confessed to reside in any one in whom the laws of the community have not placed it. 'Tis better to undergo hardships under the execution of unjust laws, than be released from our troubles by a power usurped over all laws; for by the one the measures of government, as well as the rights and privileges of a nation, are destroyed; whereas by the other only a part of the people are afflicted and unduly dealt with. While we are governed by laws, though several of them may be unjust and inconvenient, yet we are under a security as to all other things which those laws have not made liable; but when we fall under an unlimited prerogative and absolute power, we have no longer a title unto, or a hedge about any thing, but all lies open to the lust and pleasure of him in whom we have owned that power to be seated. A liberty is what dissenters have a right to claim, and which the legislative authority is bound by the rules of justice and duty, as well as by principles of wisdom and discretion, to grant; and I am sorry that while they stood so fair to obtain it in a legal and parliamentary way, any of them, by acknowledging a right in another to give it, and that in a manner so subversive of the authority of parliament, should have rendered themselves unworthy to receive it from them to whom the power of bestowing it does belong. Not but that a toleration will be always due to their principles, but I know not whether the particular men of those principles who have, by their addresses, betrayed the kingdom, may not come to be judged to have forfeited all share in it, for their crime committed against the constitution, and the whole politic society. Nor is there any thing more just and equal than that they who surrender and give away the rights both of legislators and subjects, should lose all grace and favour from the former, and all portion among the latter.

And how much soever some protestant dissenters may please themselves with the liberty that at present they enjoy, in virtue of the two royal papers, yet this may serve to moderate them in their transports of gladness, that they have no solid security for the continuance of it; for, should a parliament null and make void the declaration for liberty, and impeach the judges for declaring a power vested in the king to suspend so many laws, and for forbearing, upon the king's mandate, to execute them, the freedom that the dissenters possess would immediately vanish, and have much the same destiny that the liberty had which was granted unto them by the declaration of indulgence, *anno* 1672. Or, should the parliament be willing to grant ease and indulgence to all protestants, by a bill prepared for repealing of all the laws formerly made against them, and should only be desirous to preserve in force the laws relating to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and the statutes which enjoin the tests, of whose execution we never more wanted the benefit, in order to our preservation from popery, and which an English parliament cannot be supposed willing to part with, at a time when our lives, estates, and religion, are so visibly threatened to be swallowed up and destroyed by the papists; in that case we may confidently believe that the king, instead either of assenting to such a bill for separate favour to protestants, or persevering in his compassion and kindness of continuing the suspension of the laws against dissenters, would, from an inveterate enmity, as well as from a new-contracted resentment, be stirred up and enraged to the putting the laws in execution with greater rigour and severity than hath been seen or felt heretofore. And all that the addressors would then reap by the declaration, would be to undergo the furious effects of brutal rage in their persecutors, and to be unpitied by the kingdom, and unlamented by their fellow protestants. Or, should his majesty, in favour to his good catholics, resolve against the meeting of a parliament, or to adjourn and prorogue them whensoever he shall find, that, instead of confirming what he hath done, they shall make null his declaration, vote his pretended prerogative illegal and arbitrary, and fall upon those mercenary and perjured villains who have allowed him a power transcendent to law; yet, even upon that supposal, which is the best that can be made to support men's hopes in the continuance of the present liberty, the protestant dissenters would have but slender security, all the tenure they have for the duration of their freedom being only precarious, and depending merely upon the king's word and promise, which there is small ground to rely upon. Nor can he be true to them without being false to his religion, which not only gives him leave to break his faith with heresicks, but obligeth him to it, and to destroy them to boot; and that both under the pain of damnation, and of forfeiting his crown, and losing his dominions. And how far the promise and royal word of a catholic monarch is to be trusted unto and depended upon, we have a modern proof and evidence in the behaviour of Louis le Grand towards his reformed subjects, not only in repealing the many edicts made and confirmed by himself, as well as his ancestors, for the free exercise of their religion, but in the methods he hath always observed, namely, to promise them protection in the profession of their faith, and practice of their worship, when he was most stedfastly resolved to subvert their religion, and was about making some fresh advance, and taking some new step for its extirpation. Thus, when he had firmly purposed not to suffer a minister to continue a year in the kingdom, he, at the same time, published an edict, requiring ministers to serve but three years in one place, and not to return to the church where they had first officiated till after the expiration of twenty years In the same manner, when he had resolved to repeal the edict of Nantz, and had given injunction for the draught by which it was to be done, he, at the same season, gave the protestants all assurances of protection, and of the said edict being kept inviolable. To which may be added, that shameful and detestable chicanery in passing his sacred and royal word that no violence should be offered any for their religion, though, at that very moment, the dragoons were upon their march with orders for exercising all manner of cruelties and barbarities upon them. So that his majesty of Great Britain hath a pattern lately set him, and that by the illustrious monarch whom he so much admires, and whom he makes it his ambition and glory to imitate. Nor are we without proofs already how insignificant the king's promises are (except to delude) and what little confidence ought to be put in them. The disabling and suspending the 15th statute of his late parliament in Scotland, wherein the test was confirmed, and his departing from all his promises registered in his letter, as well as from those contained in the speech made by the lord-commissioner, pursuant to the instructions which he had undoubtedly received, together with his having forgotten and receded from all his promises made to the church of England, both when Duke of York, and since he came to the crown, are undeniable evidences that his royal word is no more sacred nor binding than that of some other monarchs; and that whosoever of the protestants shall be so foolish as to rely upon it, will find themselves as certainly disappointed and deceived as they of the reformed religion elsewhere have been. And while they of the established way find so small security by the laws, which the king is bound by his coronation oath to observe, the dissenters cannot expect very much from a naked promise, which, as it hath not a solemn oath to enforce it, so it is both illegal in the making, and contrary to the principles of his religion to keep. Nor is it unworthy of observation, that he hath not only departed from his promises made to the church of England, but that we are told, in a late popish pamphlet, intituled, "A new Test of the Church of England's Loyalty," published (as itself says) by authority, that they were all conditional, (to wit, by virtue of some mental reservation in his majesty's breast) and that the conformable clergy having failed in performing the conditions upon which they were made, the king is absolved and discharged from all obligation of observing them. "The church of England (says he) must give his majesty leave not to nourish a snake in his bosom, but rather to withdraw his royal protection, which was promised upon the account of her constant fidelity." Which, as it is a plain threatening of all the legal clergy, and a denunciation of the unjust and hard measure they are to look for, so it shakes the foundation upon which all credit unto and reliance upon his majesty's word can be any ways placed. For though threatnings may have tacit reserves, because the right of executing them resides in the threatner, yet promises are incapable of all latent conditions, because every promise vests a right in the promise, and that in virtue of the words in which it is made. But it is the less to be wondered at if his majesty fly to equivocations and mental reserves, being both under the conduct of that order, and a member of the society that first taught and practised this treacherous piece of chicanery. However, it may inform the dissenters, that if they be not able to answer the end for which they were depended upon, or be not willing in the manner and degree that is expected, or if it be not for the interest of the catholic cause to have them indulged, in all these cases, and many more, the king may be pronounced to be acquitted and discharged from all the promises he hath given them, as having been merely stipulatory and conditional. And as he will be sure then, *finem facere ferendæ alienæ personæ*, to lay aside the disguise that he hath now put on, so, if they would reflect either upon his temper, or upon his religion, they might now know, *haud gratuitam in tanta superbia comitatem*, that a person of his pride would not stoop to such flattery (as his letter to Mr Alsop expresseth) but in order to some design. But what need other proof of the fallaciousness of the two royal papers, and that no protestant can reasonably depend upon the royal word there laid to pledge for the continuation of their liberty, than to look into these two papers themselves, where we shall meet expressions that may both detract from our belief of his majesty's sincerity, and awaken us to a just jealousy that the liberty and toleration granted by them are intended to be of no long standing and duration. For, while he is pleased to tell us that the granting his subjects the free use of their religion for the time to come, is an addition to the perfect enjoyment of their property, which has never been invaded by his majesty since his coming to the crown, he doth in effect say, that his fidelity, truth, and integrity, in what he grants in reference to religion, is to be measured and judged by the verity that is in what he tells us as to the never having invaded our property. And that I may borrow an expression from Mr Alsop, and to no less a person than the king himself, namely, that though we pretend to no refined intellectuals, nor presume to philosophise upon mysteries of government, yet we make some pretence to the sense of feeling, and whatever our dulness be, can discern between what is exacted of us according to law, and what we are robbed of by an exercise of arbitrary power. For, not to insist upon the violent seizure of men's goods, by officers as well as soldiers, in all parts of England, which looks like an invasion upon the properties of the subject; nor to dwell upon his keeping an army on foot in time of peace, against the authority, as well as without the countenance of law, which our ancestors would have stiled an invasion upon the whole property of the kingdom, I would fain know by what name we are to call his levying the customs, and the additional excise, before they were granted unto him by the parliament, all the legal establishment of them upon the nation having been only during the late king's life, till the settlement of them upon the crown was again renewed by statute.

It were also worth his majesty's telling us, what titles are due to the suspending the vice-chancellor of Cambridge *a beneficio,* the turning the president of Maudlin's in Oxford out of his headship, and the suspending Dr Fairfax from his fellowship, if they be not an invasion upon our property; seeing every part of this is against all the known laws of the kingdom, and hath been done by no legal court, but by a set of mercenary villains, armed with an arbitrary commission, and who do as arbitrarily exercise it. And as the end unto which that inquisition-court was instituted was to rob us of our rights and privileges at the mere pleasure of the king, so the very institution of it is an invasion both upon all our laws, and upon the whole property of the nation, and is one of the highest exercises of despotical power that it is possible for the most absolute and unlimited monarch to exert. Among all the rights reserved unto the subjects by the rules of the constitution, and whereof they are secured by many repeated laws and statutes, there are none that have been hitherto less disputed, and in reference to which our kings have been farther from claiming any power and authority, than those of levying money without the grant as well as the consent of parliament, and of absolving and discharging debtors from paying their creditors, and of acquitting them from being sued and imprisoned in case of non-payment; and yet, in defiance of all law, and to the subverting the rights of the people, and the most essential privilege and jurisdiction of parliaments, and to a plain changing the ancient legal constitution into an absolute and despotical governing power, the king (they say) is assuming to himself an authority both of imposing a tax of five pounds per annum upon every hackney coach, and of releasing and discharging all debtors of whom their creditors cannot claim and demand above ten pounds sterling; which, as they will be signal invasions upon property, and leading cases for the raising money in what other instances he pleaseth, by a Hampton Court or a Whitehall edict, without standing in need of a parliament, or being obliged to a dependence upon their grant for all taxes to be levied upon the subjects, as his predecessors have heretofore been, so they may serve fully to instruct us, what little security either the dissenters have as to being long in the possession of their present liberty, or protestants in general of having a freedom continued unto them of professing the reformed religion, if we have nothing more to rely upon for preventing our being abridged and denied the liberty of our religion than we have had for preserving our property from being invaded and broken in upon. We may subjoin to the clause already mentioned, that other expression which occurs in the foresaid declaration, viz. "That as he freely gives them leave to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, so they are to take special care that nothing be preached or taught amongst them which may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of the people from his majesty or his government;" which words, as they import the price at which the dissenters are to purchase their freedom (whereof we shall discourse anon) so they admirably serve to furnish the king with a pretence of retrenching their liberty whensoever he pleaseth; nor are they inserted there for any other end, but that upon a plea of their having abused his gracious indulgence to the alienating the hearts of his people from him, they may be adjudged to have thereby deservedly forfeited both all the benefits of that and of his royal favour. Nor is it possible for a protestant minister to preach one sermon which a popish critic, or a Romish bigot, may not easily misconstrue and pervert to be an alienation of the people's hearts from the king's person and government: and of which, as we have heard many late examples in France, so it will be easy to draw them into precedent, and to imitate them in England. I might add the observation of the ingenious author of the "Reflections on his Majesty's Proclamation for a Toleration in Scotland," namely, that whereas the king gives all assurance to his Scotch subjects, that he will not use invincible necessity against any man on the account of his persuasion, he does thereby leave himself at a liberty of dragooning, torturing, burning, and doing the utmost violences. all these being vincible to a person of an ardent love to God, and of a lively faith in Jesus Christ, and which accordingly many thousands have been triumphantly victorious over. Nor is it likely, that this new and uncouth phrase, "of not using an invincible necessity," would have found room in a paper of that nature, if it had not been first to conceal some malicious and mischievous design, and then to justify the consistency of its execution with what is promised in the proclamation. Moreover, were there that security intended by these two royal papers that protestant dissenters might safely rely upon, or did the king act with that sincerity which he would delude his people into a belief of, there would then be a greater agreeableness than there is betwixt the declaration for liberty of conscience in England, and the proclamation for a toleration in Scotland. The principle his majesty pretends to act from, that conscience ought not to be constrained, and that none ought to be persecuted for mere matters of religion, would oblige him to act uniformly, and with an equal extension of favour to all his subjects whose principles are the same, and against whom he hath no exception but in matters merely religious. Whereas the disparity of grace, kindness, and freedom that is exercised in the declaration, from that which is exerted in the proclamation, plainly shews that the whole is but a trick of state, and done in subserviency to an end which it is not yet seasonable to discover and avow; for his circumscribing the toleration in Scotland to such presbyterians as he stiles moderate, is not only a taking it off from its true bottom, " matters of mere religion," and a founding it upon an internal quality of the mind that is not discernible, but it implies the reserving a liberty to himself of withdrawing the benefits of it from all Scotch dissenters, by fastening upon them a contrary character whensoever it shall be seasonable to revive persecution. And, even as it is now exerted to these moderate ones, it is attended with restrictions that his indulgence in England is no ways clog'd with. All that the declaration requires from those that are indulged is, " That their assemblies be peaceably, openly, and publickly held; that all persons be freely admitted to them; that they signify and make known to some justice of the peace what places they set apart for *these uses*; and that nothing be preached or taught amongst them, which may any ways tend to alienate the *hearts* of the people from the king or his government;" whereas the proclamation not only restrains the meetings of the Scots presbyterians to private houses, without allowing them either to build meeting-houses, or to use out-houses or barns, but it prohibits the hearing any minister save such as shall be willing to swear, " That they shall, to the utmost of their power, assist, defend, and maintain the king in the exercise of his absolute power against all deadly." Nor is it difficult to assign the reason of the difformity that appears in his majesty's present actings towards his dissenting protestant subjects in those two kingdoms; for should there be no restrictions upon the toleration in Scotland, to hinder the greatest part of the presbyterians from taking the advantage of *it*, the bishops and conforming clergy would be immediately forsaken by the generality, if not all the people, and so an issue would not only be put to the division among protestants in that kingdom, but they would become an united, and thereupon a formidable body against popery, which it is not for the interest of the Roman catholics to suffer or give way unto: whereas the more unbounded the liberty is that is granted to dissenters in England, the more are our divisions not only kept up, but increased and promoted, (especially through this freedom's arriving with them in an illegal way, without both the authority of the legislative power and the approbation of a great part of the people), it being infallibly certain that there is a vast number of all ranks and conditions who prefer the abiding in the communion of the church of England, before the joining in fellowship with those of the separate and dissenting societies. Upon the whole, this different method of proceeding towards dissenting protestants in matters merely religious, shews that all indulgence and toleration is a trick to serve a present juncture of affairs, and to advance a popish and arbitrary design; and that the dissenters have no security for the continuance of their liberty, but that when the court and jesuitic end is compassed and obtained, there is another course to be steered towards them; and instead of their hearing any longer of liberty and toleration, they are to be told, that it is the interest of the government, and the safety and honour of his majesty, to have but one religion in his dominions, and that all must be members of the catholic church, and this because the king will have it so, which is the argument that hath been made use of in making so many converts in France. They who now suffer themselves to be deluded into a confidence in the royal word, will not only come to understand what Mr Coleman meant, in his telling Pere de la Chaise, that the catholics in England "had a great work upon their hand, being about the extirpation of that heresy which hath borne sway so long in this northern part of the world;" but they will also see and feel how much the designs of Rome were represented in that passage of the pope's Nuncio's letter, dated at Bruxels, Aug. 9, 1674, wherein, upon the confidence which they placed in the Duke of York, which is not lessened since he came to the crown, he takes the confidence to write, "That they hoped speedily to see the total and final ruin of the protestant party."

And as protestant dissenters have no security (by the declaration and proclamation) for the continuance of their liberty, so they that have by way of thanksgiving addressed the king for those royal papers, have not only acted very ill, in reference both to the laws and rights of the kingdoms and of religion in general, but they have carried very unwisely in relation to their own interest, and the avoiding the effects of that resentment which most men are justly possessed with, upon the illegal emission of these arbitrary and prerogative papers. I shall not enter upon any long discourse concerning this new practice of addressing in general, it having been done elsewhere some years ago, but I shall only briefly intimate, that it was never in fashion unless under a weak and precarious government, or under one that took illegal courses, or pursued a different interest from that of the people and community. As he who ruleth according to the standing laws of a country over which he is set needs not seek for an approbation of his actions from a part of his subjects, the legality of his proceedings being the best justification of him that governs, and giving the truest satisfaction to them that are ruled, so he who enjoys the love of all his people needs not look for promises of being assisted, stood by, and defended by any one party or faction among them, there being none from whom he can have the least apprehension of opposition and danger. It was the want of a legal title in Oliver Cromwell and his son Richard to the government, that first begot this device of addressing, and brought it upon the stage in these British nations; and it was the arbitrary proceedings of the late king, as it is of his present majesty, and their acting upon a distinct bottom from that of the three kingdoms, that hath revived and does continue it. Nor is there any thing that hath rendered those two princes more contemptible abroad, and proclaimed them weaker at home, than their recurring unto and soliciting the flatteries and aid of the mercenary, timorous, servile, and, for low and personal ends, biassed part of their subjects; and thereby telling the world, that neither the generality nor the most honourable of their people have been united in their interest, nor approve of the counsels that have been taken and pursued. And if any thing did ever cast a dishonour upon the English nation, it hath been that loathsome flattery, and slavish sycophancy, wherewith the addressors both now, and for some years past, have stuffed their applications to the two royal brothers. The throne, that is sustained and upheld by the pillars of law and justice, need not to hew out unto itself other supporters, nor lean upon the crooked and weak stilts of the insignificant, and for the most part deceitful as well as bribed vows of a sort of men, who will be as ready, upon the least disgust, to cry *Crucify* to-morrow, as they were, for being gratified (it may be in their lusts, humours, and revenges, and at the best in some separate concern) to cry *Hosanna*. I shall decline prosecuting what concerns the honour or dishonour of him to whom the addresses are made, or how politic or impolitic the countenancing and encouraging them is, and shall apply myself to this new set of addressors, and endeavour to shew how foolishly as well as criminally they have acted. Nor is it an argument either of their prudence or honesty, or of their acting with any consistency to themselves, that having so severely inveighed against the addresses that were in fashion a few years ago, and having fastened all the imputations and reproaches upon those that were accessary to them, which that rank of addressors could be supposed to have deserved, they now espouse the practice which they had condemned, and in reference to as arbitrary and unjustifiable an act of his present majesty as the most illegal one the late king was guilty of, or the worst exercise of prerogative, for which any heretofore either commended or promised to stand by him; for though the matter and subject of the arbitrary act of him now upon the throne be not, as to every branch of it, so publickly scandalous as some of the arbitrary proceedings of the late king were, as relating to a favour which mankind hath a just claim unto, yet it is every way as illegal, being in reference to a privilege which his majesty hath no authority to grant and bestow: and, were it not that there are many dissenters who preserve themselves innocent at this juncture, and upon whom the temptation that is administered makes no impression, the world have just ground to say that the fanaticks are not governed by principles, but that the measures they walk by are what conduce to their private and personal benefit, or what lie in a tendency to their loss and prejudice; and that it was not the late king's usurping and exerting an arbitrary and illegal power that offended them, but that they were not the objects in whose favour it was exercised. 'Tis also an aggravation of their folly as well as their offence, that they should revive a practice which the nation was grown ashamed of, and whereof they who had been guilty began to repent, through having seen that all the former declarations, assurances, and promises of the royal brothers, which tempted to applications of that kind, were but so many juggles, peculiar to the late breed of the family, for the deceiving of mankind; and that never one of them was performed and made good. But the transgression as well as the imprudence of the present addressors is yet the greater, and they are the more criminal and inexcusable before God and men, in that they might have enjoyed all the benefits of the king's declaration, without acknowledging the justice of the authority by which it was granted, or making themselves the scorn and contempt of all that are truly honest and wise, by their servile adulations and their gratulatory scribbles, unbecoming Englishmen and protestants.

They had no more to do but to continue their meetings, as they had sometime heretofore used to do, without taking notice that the present suspension of the laws made their assembling together more safe, and freed them from the apprehension of fines and imprisonment: Nor could the king, how much soever displeased with such a conduct, have at this time ventured upon the expressing displeasure against them; seeing as that would have been both to have proclaimed his hypocrisy, in saying, "that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion," and a discovering the villainous design in subserviency to which the declaration had been emitted; so it were not possible for him, after what he hath published, to single out the dissenters from amongst other protestants: and to fall upon all, before matters are more ripe for it, might be a means of the abortion of all his popish projections, and of saving the whole reformed interest in Great Britain. Neither would the church of England men have envied their tranquillity, or have blamed their carriage, but would have been glad that their brethren had been eased from oppressions, and themselves delivered from the grievous and dishonourable task of prosecuting them, which they had formerly been forced unto by court injunctions and commands; and as they would have, by a conduct of this nature, had all the freedom which they now enjoy, without the guilt and reproach which they have derived upon themselves by addressing, so such a carriage would have wonderfully recommended them to the favour of a true English parliament, which, as it will see cause to condemn the king's usurping a power of suspending the laws, and to make void his declaration, so, in gratitude to dissenters for such a behaviour, as well as in pity and compassion to them as English protestants, such a parliament would not fail to do all it could to give them relief in a legal way: Whereas if any thing inflame and exasperate the nation to revive their sufferings, it will arise from a resentment of the unworthy and treacherous carriage of so many of them in this critical and dangerous juncture. But the terms, which through their addressing they have owned the receiving their liberty and indulgence upon, does in a peculiar manner enhance their guilt against God and their country, and strangely adds to the disgust and anger which the lovers of religion and the laws of the nation have conceived against them; for it is not only upon the acknowledgment of a prerogative in the king over the laws that they have received and now hold their liberty, but it is upon the condition, "that nothing be preached or taught amongst them that may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of the people from his majesty's person and government." He must be of an understanding very near allied unto and approaching to that of an Irishman, who does not know what the court sense of that clause is; and that his majesty thereby intends, that they are not to preach against popery, nor set forth the doctrines of the Romish church in terms that may prevent the people being infected by them, much less in colours that may render them hated and abhorred. To accuse the king's religion of idolatry, or to affirm the church of Rome to be the apocalyptic Babylon, and to represent the articles of the Tridentine faith as faithful ministers of Christ ought to do, would be accounted "alienating the hearts of their hearers from the king and his government;" which as they are in the foresaid clause required not to do, so they have by their addressing confessed the justice of the terms, and have undertaken to hold their liberty by that tenor: and, to give them their due, they have been very faithful hitherto in conforming to what the king exacts, and in observing what themselves have assented to the equity of; for notwithstanding all the danger from popery that the nation is exposed unto, and all the hazard that the souls of men are in of being poisoned with Romish principles, yet, instead of preaching or writing against any of the doctrines of the church of Rome, they have agreed among themselves, and with such of their congregations as approve their procedure, not so much as to mention them, but to leave the province of defending our religion, and of detecting the falsehood of papal tenets, to the pastors and gentlemen of the church of England. And being asked (as I know some of them have been) why they do not preach against Antichrist, and confute the papal doctrines, they very gravely reply, that by preaching Christ they preach against Antichrist, and that by teaching the gospel they refute popery; which is such a piece of fraudulent and guileful subterfuge that I want words to express the knavery and criminalness of it. What a reserve and change have I lived to see in England from what I beheld a few years ago! It was but the other day that the conformable clergy were represented by some of the dissenters, not only as favourers of popery, but as endeavouring to hale it in upon us by all the methods and ways that lay within their circle, and yet now the whole defence of the reformed religion must be entirely devolved into their hands; and when all the sluices are pulled up, that had been made to hinder popery from overflowing the nation, they must be left alone to stem the inundation and prevent the deluge. They among the fanatics that boasted to be the most avowed and irreconcileable enemies of the church of Rome, are not only become altogether silent when they see the kingdom pestered with a swarm of busy and seducing emissaries, but are both turned advocates for that arbitrary paper whereby we are surrendered as a prey unto them, and do make it their business to detract from the reputation and discourage the labours of the national ministers, who, with a zeal becoming their office, and a learning which deserves to be admired, have set themselves in opposition to that croaking fry, and have done enough by their excellent and inimitable writings to save the people from being deluded and perverted, if either unanswerable confutations of popery, or demonstrative defences of the articles and doctrines of the reformed religion, can have any efficacy upon the minds of men.

Among other fulsome flatteries adorning a speech made to his majesty by an addressing dissenter, I find this hypocritical and shameful adulation, namely, "that if there should remain any seeds of disloyalty in any of his subjects, the transcendent goodness exerted in his declaration would mortify and kill them;" to which he might have added with more truth, that the same transcendent goodness had almost destroyed all the seeds of their honesty, and mortified their care and concernment for the interest of Jesus Christ, and for the reformed religion. Their old strain of zealous preaching against the idolatry of Rome, and concerning the "coming out of Babylon my people," are grown out of fashion with them in England, and are only reserved and laid by to recommend them to the kindness and acceptation of foreign protestants, when their occasions and conveniences draw them over to Amsterdam. Whosoever comes into their assemblies would think, for any thing that he there hears delivered from their pulpits, that she which was the whore of Babylon a few years ago, were now become a chaste spouse, and that what were heretofore the damnable doctrines of popery, were of late turned innocent and harmless opinions. The king's declaration would seem to have brought some of them to a *melius inquirendum*, and as they are already induced to believe a Roman catholic the best king, they may, in a little time, come to esteem papists for the best Christians. The keeping back nothing that is profitable to save such as hear them, and the declaring the whole counsel of God, which are the terms upon which they received their commission from Jesus Christ, and wherein they have Paul's practice and example for a pattern, would seem to be things under the power of the royal prerogative, and that the king may supersede them by the same authority by which he dispenses with the penal statutes: Which, as it is very agreeable unto, and imported in his majesty's claim of being obeyed without reserve, so the owning this absolute power, with that annex of challenged obedience, does acquit them from all obligations to the laws of Christ, when they are found to interfere with what is required by the king. But whether God's power or the king's be superior, and which of the two can cassate the other's laws, and whose wrath is most terrible, the judgment day will be able and sure to instruct them, if all means in this world prove insufficient for it. The addressors know upon what conditions they hold their liberty; and they have not only observed how several of the national clergy have been treated for preaching against popery, but they have heard how divers of the reformed ministers in France (before the general suppression) were dealt with for speaking against their monarch's religion; and therefore they must be pardoned if they carry so as not to provoke his majesty, though in the mean time, through their silence, they both betray the cause of their lord and master, and are unfaithful to the souls of those of whom they have taken upon them the spiritual guidance. As for the papers themselves that are stiled by the name of Addresses, I shall not meddle with them, being, as to the greatest part of them, fitter to be exposed and ridiculed either for their dulness and pedantry, or for the adulation and sycophancy with which they are fulsomly stuffed, than to deserve any serious consideration, or to merit reflections that may prove instructive to mankind. Only as that address, wherein his majesty is thanked for his restoring God to his empire over conscience, deserveth a rebuke for its blasphemy, so that other which commends him for promising to force the parliament to ratify his declaration, (though by the way all he says is, that he does not doubt of their concurrence, which yet his ill success upon the closeting of so many members, and his since dissolving that parliament, shews that there was some cause for the doubting of it,) I say, that other address merits a severe censure for its insolence against the legislative authority: And the authors of it ought to be punished for their crime committed against the liberty and freedom of the two houses, and for encouraging the king to invade and subvert their most essential and fundamental privileges, without which they can neither be a council, judicature, nor lawgivers.

After all, I hope the nation will be so ingenuous as not to impute the miscarriages of some of the non-conformists to the whole party, much less to ascribe them to the principles of dissenters: for as the points wherein they differ from the church of England are purely of another nature, and which have no relation to politicks, so the influence that they are adapted to have upon men, as members of civil societies, is to make them in a special manner regardful of the right and franchises of the community. But if some neither understand the tendency of their own principles, nor are true and faithful unto them, these things are the personal faults of those men, and are to be attributed to their ignorance or to their dishonesty; nor are their carriages to be counted the effects of their religious tenets, much less are others of the party to be involved under the reproach and guilt of their imprudent and ill conduct: Which there is the more cause to acknowledge, because though the church of England has all the reason in the world to decline addressing, in that all her legal foundation, as well as security, is shaken by the declaration, yet there are some of her dignitaries and clergy, as well as divers members of her communion, who, upon motives of ambition, covetousness, fear, or courtship, have enrolled themselves into the list of addressors; and, under pretence of giving thanks to the king for his promise of protecting the archbishops, bishops, and clergy, and all others of the church of England, in the free exercise of their religion as by law established, have cut the throat of their mother, at whose breasts they have sucked till they have grown fat, both by acknowledging the usurped prerogative upon which the king assumes the right and authority of emitting the declaration, and by exchanging the legal standing and security of their church into that precarious one of the royal word, which they fly unto as the bottom of her subsistence, and trust to as the wall of her defence: And as most of the members of the separate societies are free from all accession to addressing, and the few that concurred were merely drawn in by the wheedle and importunity of their preachers, so they who are of the chiefest character, and greatest reputation for wisdom and learning among the ministers, have preserved themselves from all folly and treachery of that kind. The apostle tells us, that "not many wise, not many noble are called;" which, as it is verified in many of the dissenting addressors, so it may serve for some kind of apology for their low and sneaking, as well as for their indiscreet and imprudent behaviour in this matter. And it is the more venal in some of them, as being not only a means of ingratiating themselves (as they fancy) with the king, who heretofore had no very good opinion of them, but as being both an easy and compendious method of atoning for offences against the crown, of which they were strongly suspected, and a cheap and expenceless way of purchasing the pardon of their relations, that had stood actually accused of high-treason. Nor is it to be doubted, but that as the king will retain very little favour and mercy for fanaticks when once he has served his ends upon them, so they will preserve as little kindness for the papists, if they can but obtain relief in a legal way. And as there is not a people in the kingdom that will be more loyal to princes, while they continue so to govern, as that fealty by the laws of God or man remain due to them, so there are none, of what principles or communion soever, upon whom the kingdom, if its whole interest come to lie at stake, may more assuredly and with greater confidence depend, than upon the generality of dissenting protestants, and especially upon those that are not of the pastoral order. The severities that the dissenters lay under before, and their deliverance from oppression and disturbance now, seconded with the king's expectation and demands of thanksgiving addresses, were strong temptations upon men void of generosity and greatness of spirit, and who are withal of no great political wisdom, nor of prospect into the consequences of counsels and tricks of state, to act as illegally in their thanks as his majesty had done in his bounty: So that whatsoever animadversion they may deserve, should they be proceeded against according to their demerit, yet it is to be hoped that both they, and the addressors of the former stamp, may all find room in an act of indemnity, and that the mercy of the nation towards them will triumph over them, and get the better of its justice. As it would argue a strange and judaical infatuation should they proceed to farther excesses, and think to escape the punishment due to one crime by committing and taking sanctuary in another, through improving their compliments into actions of treachery, so all their hopes of pardon, as well as of lenity and moderation, from a true protestant and rightly constituted authority, depend upon their conduct and behaviour henceforward, and their not suffering themselves to be hurried and deluded into a co-operation with the court for the obtaining of a popish parliament. All their endeavours of that kind would but more clearly detect and manifest their treachery to religion and the kingdom, it not being in their power to out-vote the honest English part of the people, so as to help the king to such a house of commons as he desires: and were it possible, that, through their assistance, in conjunction with violence and tricks used in elections and returns by the court, such a House of Commons might be obtained as would be serviceable to arbitrary and papal ends, yet neither the king nor they would be nearer the compassing what is aimed at, it being demonstrable that the majority of the House of Lords are never to be wrought over to justify this illegal declaration, or to grant the king a power of suspending laws at his pleasure; nor to give their assent to a bill for repealing the test acts, and the statutes that enjoin and require the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. And if they should be so far left of God, and betrayed by those among themselves whom the court hath gained, as to become guilty of so enormous an act of folly and villainy; and should the election of the next parliament be the happy juncture they wait for, and the improving their interest, as well as giving their votes for the choice of papists into the House of Commons, be what they mean [1] "by an essential proof of their loyalty, and of the sincerity of their humble addresses, and that thereby they intend to demonstrate, that the greatest thing they have promised is the least thing they will perform for his majesty's service and satisfaction;" as, in that case, they will deserve to forfeit all hopes of being forgiven, so it would be an infidelity to God and men, and a cruelty to ourselves and posterity, not to abandon them as betrayers of religion, expunge them out of the roll of protestants, strip them of all that wherein free subjects have a legal right, and condemn them to the utmost punishments which the laws of the kingdom adjudge the worst of traitors and malefactors unto. There are some who, through hating of them, wish their miscarrying and offending to so unpardonable a degree, that they may hereafter be furnished with an advantage both of ruining them and the whole dissenting party for their sakes: But as the love that I bear unto them, and the persuasion and belief I have of the truth of their religious principles, make me exceeding solicitous to have them kept and prevented from being hurried and transported into so fatal and criminal a behaviour, so I desire to make no other excuse for my plain dealing towards them but that of Solomon, who tells us, that "faithful are the words of a friend, while the kisses of an enemy are deceitful;" and that "he who rebukes a man, shall find more favour afterwards than he who flattereth with the tongue."

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[1] See Mr Alsop's Speech to the King.

Postscript.

Since the foregoing sheets went to the press, and while they were printing off, there is come to my hands a new proclamation, dated at Windsor, the 28th of June, 1687, for granting further liberty in Scotland, and which was published there by an order of the privy-council of that kingdom, bearing date at Edinburgh, the 5th of July. This superfœtation of one proclamation after another, in reference to the same thing, is so apportioned and parallel to the late French method of emitting edicts in relation to those of the reformed religion in that kingdom, that they seem to proceed out of one mint, to be calculated for the same end, and to be designed for the compassing and obtaining the like effects: for as soon as an alarm was taken at the publishing of some unreasonable and rigorous edict, there used often to follow another of a milder strain, which was pretended to be either for the moderating the severities of the former, or to remove and rectify what they were pleased to call misconstructions unduly put upon it; but the true end whereof was only to stifle and extinguish the jealousies and apprehensions that the other had begotten and excited, and which, had they not been calmed and allayed, might have awakened the protestants there to provide for their safety by a timely withdrawing into other countries, if they had not been provoked to generous endeavours of preventing the final suppression of their religion, and for obviating the ruin which that court had projected against them, and was hastening to involve them under. Nor does my suspicion of his majesty's pursuing the same design against protestants, which the great Louis glories to have accomplished, proceed merely from that conjunction of counsels that all the world observes between Whitehall and Versailles; nor merely from the king's abandoning his nephew and son-in-law, the Prince of Orange, and not so much as interposing to obtain satisfaction to be given him for the many injuries, damages, spoils, and robberies, as well as affronts done him by that haughty monarch, when one vigorous application could not fail to effect it; nor yet merely from that agreeableness in their procedures, through the King of England's imitating that foreign potentate, and making the whole course that hath been taken in France the pattern of all his actings in Great-Britain; but I am much confirmed in my fears and jealousies by remembering a passage in one of Mr Coleman's letters, who, as he very well knew what the then Duke of York had been for many years engaged in against our religion and civil liberties, and under what vows and promises he was not to desist from prosecuting what had been resolved upon and undertaken, so he had the confidence to say, that his master's design and that of the King of France was one and the same; and that this was no less, as he farther informs us, than the extirpating the northern heresy.

Had the King of England acted with sincerity from that noble principle, "that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion," as he would delude weak and easy people to believe, and had not all his arbitrary and illegal proceedings in granting liberty to dissenting protestants been to subserve and promote other designs, which it is not yet seasonable and convenient to discover and avow, he would have then acted with that conformity to the principle he professeth to be under the influence and government of, and with that consonancy and harmonious agreeableness in all the degrees of indulgence vouchsafed to those of the reformed religion in England and Scotland, that differ from them of the established way, that there would have needed no second proclamation apporting new measures of liberty and favour to Scotch dissenters, seeing they would have had it granted them at first in the same latitude and illimitedness that it was bestowed upon the English nonconformists. But when princes carry on and pursue mischievous designs, under the palliations of religion, public good, and the right of mankind, it comes often to pass, through adapting their methods to what they mean and intend, and not to what they pretend and give out, that their crafty projections, by being not sufficiently accommodated to their purposes, prove ineffectual to the compassing what was aimed at; and this forceth them to a new game of falsehood and subtlety, but still under the old varnish and gloss, and obligeth them to have recourse to means that may be more proportioned than the former were, for their reaching the end that they ultimately drive at. Thence it is that those rulers, who are engaged in the prosecution of wicked and unjustifiable designs, are necessitated not only to apply themselves to opposite methods towards different parties, and those such as must be suited and apportioned to their discrepant interests, without the accommodating of which they can neither hope to mould them to that tame and servile compliance, nor work them up to that active and vigorous abetting of their malicious and crafty projections, as is necessary for the rendering them successful; but they are forced to vary their proceedings towards one and the same party, and that as well when the ways they have acted in towards them are found inadequate to the end unto which they were calculated, as when the mischief hid under them comes to be too soon discovered. This weak and short-sighted people fancy to arise from an uncertainty in princes' counsels, and from their being at no consistency with themselves; but they who can penetrate into affairs, and that consider things more narrowly, can easily discern that all this variation, diversity, and shifting of methods in rulers actings, proceeds from other causes, and that it is their stability and perseverance in an illegal and wicked design that compels them to those crooked and contrary courses, either for the gaining the unwary and ill-applied concurrence of their subjects, to the hastening distress and desolation upon themselves, or for the throwing them into that lethargy, and under that supineness, as may hinder them from all endeavours of obstructing and diverting the evils that their governors are seeking to bring upon them. Nor is there a more certain indication of a prince's being engaged in a design contrary to the good and happiness of the society over which he is set, than his betaking himself to illegal ways, upon pretence of promoting the ease and benefit of his people; or according as he finds his subjects to differ in their particular interest, his applying himself to them in methods, whereof the contrariety of the one to the other renders them the more proper and adapted to ensnare the divided factions, through accosting each of them with something that they are severally fond of Legal means are always sufficient to the pursuing and compassing legal ends; and whatsoever is for the general good of the community, may either be obtained by courses wherein the generality find their united interest and common felicity, or else by application to a parliament freely and duly chosen; which, as it represents the whole politic society, so there may be expected most compassion and tenderness, as well as wisdom and prudence, for redressing the grievances, easing the troubles, and providing for the benefit and safety of all that are wrapt up in and represented by them. And as every prince, who sincerely seeks and pursues the advantage of his people, will so adjust and attemper all his actions towards them, that his whole carriage shall be uniform, and all the exercises of his governing power meet in the benefit of the community, as so many lines from a circumference uniting in their centre, so there needs no other proof that these two or three late actions of his majesty, which a foolish sort of men are apt to interpret for favours, and to account them effects of compassion and kindness, are but to conceal his malice, and to subserve as well as cover some fatal and pernicious design that he is carrying on against his protestant subjects, than that while he is gratifying a few of them in one thing, he is, at the same time, robbing all of them of many; and that while he is indulging the dissenters with a freedom from the penal laws for matters of religion, he is invading the properties, and subverting the civil rights of the three nations, and changing the whole constitution of the government. He that strips us of what belongs unto us, as we are Englishmen and Scotchmen, cannot mean honestly in the favours he pretends to vouchsafe us, as we are Christians; nor can he that is endeavouring to enslave our persons, and to subject our estates to his arbitrary lust and pleasure, intend any thing else by this kindness granted to fanaticks in matters of religion, than the dividing them from the rest of the people, in what concerns the civil interest and external happiness of the community, and to render them an engaged faction to assist and abet him in enthralling the kingdoms. Whosoever considers the whole tenor of his majesty's other actings, in proroguing and dissolving parliaments, when he finds them uncompliant with his popish and despotical ends; his keeping on foot a formidable army against all the laws of the land, and upon no other intention but to maintain him in his usurpations over our rights, and to awe us into a tame and servile submission to his prerogative will; his filling all places of judicature with weak as well as treacherous persons, who, instead of administering justice, may be the instruments of tyranny; his robbing men of their estates by judicial forms, and under pretence that *nullum tempus occurrit regi,* after they have been quietly enjoyed by the subjects for several hundred years; his advancing none to civil and military employs but whom he had some confidence in, as to the finding them ready to execute his despotical injunctions; and his esteeming no person loyal and faithful to himself, save those who are willing to betray their country, and be rebels and traitors against the legal constitution: I say, whosoever considers all this, and a great deal more of the same hue and complexion, cannot imagine (unless he be under a judaical blindness and a strange infatuation) that any thing arriving from the king, though it may be a matter wherein they may find their present ease and advantage, should proceed from compassion and good-will to his protestant subjects, but that it must be only in order to promote a distinct interest from that of his people, and for the better and more easy accomplishing of some wicked and unjustifiable designs. And though his majesty would have us believe, that the reasons moving him to the emission of this second proclamation were the sinistrous interpretations which either have, or may be made, of some restrictions in his former, yet it is not difficult, even without being of his privy-council, to assign a truer motive, and a more real and effectual cause of it: For as that of the 12th of February came forth attended with so many limitations, not easy to be digested by men of wisdom or honesty, lest if it had been more unconfined and extensive, and should have opened a door for all Scotch dissenters to have gone in and taken the benefit of it, the generality of protestants in that kingdom, abstracting from the bishops, curates, and a few others, should have joined in the separate interest, and thereby have become an united body against popery; but upon finding that hardly any would purchase their freedom from the penal laws at so dear a rate, as to do things so unbecoming men and Christians, as the conforming to the terms therein prescribed obliged them unto; and that as they of the national communion were alarmed and disgusted, so few or none of the dissenting fellowships were pleased; and that both were not only angry at the many illegal favours, and threatening advantages, bestowed upon the papists, but were grown so sensible of the design carrying on against the protestant religion, and the liberties and privileges of the subject, that though they could not renounce their respective tenets in the matters wherein they differed, yet they were willing to stifle their heats and animosities, and to give that encouragement, aid, and assistance to one another, as was necessary for their common safety: Upon these considerations his majesty (if he would have spoken sincerely) ought to have said, that he had published this new proclamation in order to hinder Scotch protestants from uniting, for their mutual defence, against Turkish tyranny and Romish idolatry, and in hopes thereby to continue and exasperate their undue and passionate heats, and to keep them not only in divided and opposite interests, but to make them contribute to the suppressing and ruining each other, or at least to look on unconcernedly, till he have ripened his designs against them both, and be prepared for extirpating the reformed religion, and for subverting the fundamental as well as statute laws, and for bringing such to the stake and gibbet as shall have the integrity to assert the one, or the courage to plead for the other; and yet in this last proclamation, wherein he grants a more illimited freedom than in the former, and promiseth to protect all in the exercise of their protestant religion, as he disdainfully and ignominiously calls it, there is a clause that may discourage all honest men from owning their liberty to the authority that bestows it, and from which it is derived and conveyed to them; for not being satisfied to superstruct his pretended right, of suspending, stopping, and disabling laws, upon his sovereign authority and prerogative royal, but as knowing that these give no such pre-eminence and jurisdiction over the laws of the *kingdom*, he is pleased to challenge unto himself an absolute power, as the source and spring of that exorbitant and paramount claim, which he therein exercises and exerts. And forasmuch as absolute power imports his majesty's being loose and free from all ties and restraints, either by fundamental stipulations or superadded laws, it is very natural to observe, that he allows the government under which we were born, and to which we were sworn and stood bound, to be hereby subverted and changed, and that thereupon we are not only absolved and acquitted from the allegiance and fealty we were formerly under to his majesty, but are indispensably obliged by the ties and engagements that are upon us of maintaining and defending the constitution and government, to apply ourselves to the use of all means and endeavours against him, as an enemy of the people, and a subverter of the legal government, wherein all the interest he had, or could lawfully claim, was an official trust, and not an absolute power, or a despotical dominion, the first whereof he hath deposed and abdicated himself from, by challenging and usurping the latter. And should any Scotch dissenter, either in his entrance upon the liberty granted by this proclamation, or in addressing by way of thankfulness for it, take the least notice of these freedoms flowing from the king, which cannot be done without recognising this absolute power in his majesty as the fountain of it, he is to be looked upon as the worst of traitors, and deserves to be proceeded against, both for his accession unto and justifying the subversion of the laws, liberties, and government of his country, and for betraying the rights of all free-born men. For those few reflections in the foregoing sheets, which this new proclamation may not only seem to render useless, and frustrate the end whereunto they were intended, but may make the publishing any animadversions upon that which the king (by departing from) does himself censure and condemn, be esteemed both a failure in ingenuity and candour, and a want of regard to those measures of justice, which ought to be observed towards all men, and more especially towards crowned heads: I shall only say, that as the proclamation arrived with me too late to hinder and prevent the communication of them to the publick, so I have this farther to add in justification of their being published, that it will thereby appear that what his majesty stiles sinistrous interpretations made of some restrictions mentioned in his former, are no other than the just, natural, genuine, and obvious constructions which they lie open unto and are capable of, and which a man cannot avoid fastening upon without renouncing all sense and reason. And while the king continues to disparage and asperse all sober and judicious reflections upon that royal paper, by charging upon them the unjust and reproachful character of sinistrous interpretations, it is necessary, as well as equal, that the whole matter should be plainly and impartially represented to the world, and that the decision be remitted and left to the understanding and unbiassed part of mankind, who are the calumniators and slanderers, they who accuse the proclamation of importing such principles, consequences, and tendencies, or he and his ministers, who think they have avoided and answered the imputations fastened upon it, when they have loaded them with hard and uncivil terms. For though he be pleased to assume to himself an absolute power, which all are bound to obey without reserve, and in the virtue of which he suspends, stops, and disables what laws he pleaseth, yet I do not know, seeing his intellectuals are of the size of other men's, and that neither his sovereignty nor catholicalness have vested in him an inerrability, why we may not enter our plea and demurr to the dictates of his judgment, though we know not how to withstand the efforts of his power. Nor shall I subjoin any more, save that whereas his majesty declares so many laws to be disabled to all intents and purposes, he ought to have remembered, that beside other intents and purposes that several of them may hereafter serve unto, (as the papists may possibly come to have experience,) there is one thing, in reference to which he cannot even at present hinder and prevent their usefulness and efficacy, and that is, not only their raising and exciting all just resentments in the minds of free-born and generous men, for his challenging a power to suspend and cassate them, but their remaining and continuing monuments of his infidelity to the trust reposed in him, of his departure from all promises made at and since his entering upon the government, and of his invading and subverting all the rules of the constitution.

A Letter formerly sent to Dr Tillotson, and for Want of an Answer made publick, and now reprinted: with the said Doctor's Letter to the Lord Russel, a little before his Execution. By Charlwood Lawton, Esq.

When Lord Russell was brought to the block, both Dr Burnet and Dr Tillotson laboured to impress upon his mind the unlawfulness of resisting the established government, and they extorted from him the following apologetic passage, to be inserted in his dying declaration:—

"For my part I cannot deny but I have been of opinion, that a free nation like this might defend their religion and liberties when invaded and taken from them, though under pretence and colour of laws. But some eminent and worthy divines, who have had the charity to be often with me, and whom I value and esteem to a very great degree, have offered me weighty reasons to persuade me 'that faith and patience are the proper ways for the preservation of religion, and the method of the gospel is to suffer persecution rather than to use resistance. 'But if I have sinned in this, I hope God will not lay it to my charge, since he knows it was only a sin of ignorance.' This being read to the dean on Friday morning, July the 20th, he was sorry to find it so defective: but not having then leisure to speak to Lord Russel of it, he returned in the afternoon, and pressed his lordship to deliver himself more fully in that matter, and gave him a paper concerning it; and as he came out, meeting Dr Burnet, desired him to urge the point home to his lordship, and either to carry him farther or strike out the whole paragraph above cited, since the conclusion of it was so cold; and wished that the first part of it might be quite left out. The doctor accordingly discoursing Lord Russel again upon the affair, his lordship answered, that he could not say a lye, and he was sure the doctor would not desire it, and he was sure if he went further he must needs lye. He said that he had not leisure now to study politics: that the notion which he had of the laws and of the English government was different from that of the two divines; yet he said, so far did he submit to them and to the reasons which they had offered him, that he was willing to go so far as he had done, but he could not go farther without being disingenuous. And when at last the doctor proposed the suppression of the whole paragraph he was very well satisfied; and said, that his chief reason for putting it in was to prevent any inconveniency that might arise to them. So it was struck out."—*Biog. Brit.* V. 3537.

The opinions which Tillotson laboured to impress upon Lord Russell, did not fail to be objected to him after the Revolution, in which he had taken an active share; nor, indeed, is it possible otherwise to reconcile them, than by admitting that a learned and good man may, in the progress of human affairs, see cause to alter his mind upon political subjects.

To the Reader.

The author of the following letter sent the original to Mrs Tillotson, for her husband, and a copy of it to my Lady Derby, for the Princess of Orange, several months ago; and when he writ it he hoped the members of parliament would have been, against the sessions, awakened by their disappointments and taxes, to consider aright what is the present state of this miserable nation, and how much worse is our future prospect; and had he found them in that temper, and acting steadily for their country, he had thoughts to have presented with his own hands his reasons why he thinks they have wronged King James, over-rated their disease, and mistaken their cure; and he would also have given in proposals how the king may be restored, without hazard either to our religion or property; and this the author would have done, because he thinks that if either reason or religion would prevail, such an offer must have had some weight; but whilst the whigs as much sacrifice their understandings to support this change, as the tories did their consciences to make it, a man would be reckoned mad that attempted in such a manner to reclaim such a set of men as have no more public spirit than what lies in wrangling for their particular parties, or common sense than what is proper to get into pensions and places, that, as the witty Sir Charles Sidley once said in the house, "They may charge in armour." How wild a project, too, would it be to offer reason to men that so little know their own minds, that are so inconstant, as that what they pass unanimously one sessions, they throw out the next, as they have done the judges bill? The author would venture himself against great odds, if it was but an even wager, that England might reap good by so bold an undertaking; for he sees slavery coming on so fast, that he thinks life would be a burden to an honest and free spirit; yet nothing that Cato (were he here) could do or suffer would repair our broken constitution, unless God teaches our senators more wisdom, or is pleased to teach the people that a House of Commons may as scandalously abuse the trust they repose in them, as some of his ministers did King James, which that he may is the hearty prayer of the author, both for the sake of the English liberties and protestant religion; for the sake of the very being of the one and the honour of the other.

The Letter.

Sir,

I shall preface what I am about to say with an assurance, that I have formerly had the greatest veneration for you, as well for your piety as good sense and learning; that my notions of government are so large, that the first thing that I ever doubtfully examined that had your name affixed to it, was the letter to my Lord Russel: but your actions since do less quadrate with that opinion I had of your sincerity, and seriously make me address myself to you, to know how you reconcile your present actings to the principles of either natural or revealed religion; especially, how you reconcile them to the positions and intentions of that letter; and consequently, whether you have a belief of God and a world to come.

Sir, I think it a very extravagant maxim in government, to affirm all insurrections which are only levelled at reformation, and designed to correct mal-administration, and the authors of them, and thereby (when the common methods are at a loss,) to *let the* king know what are the measures of his government, the voice and interest *of his* people, that so justice and mercy may prevail against illegal courses, and his *flattering* minions, and that the rights of his crown, and the privileges of his people, *may be* adjusted and preserved. I say, I think it an extravagant position to affirm, that what may be so conducive to publick peace, and the maintenance of a constitution, and the general ends of all government, is illegal: Yet I have often thought that the oath that expects a man should swear it "unlawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to rise in arms against the king, or any commissioned by him," intended to establish this wild civil article; and I thought your lordship writ upon so solemn an occasion, designing to justify the purport and doctrine of that oath, which was carrying loyalty to a higher pitch than I ever thought necessary to make a good man or a good Christian.

But, sir, to lay your letter aside at present, give me leave to examine this revolution with the most impartial desire of being informed; for I solemnly invoke God Almighty to attest, that my non-compliance with King William and Queen Mary's title and administration, is founded upon scruples of conscience, to which I yet want satisfactory answers. I am a protestant of that size, that I hope God would enable me to undergo all the persecution that the malice of men and devils can invent, rather than one moment prostitute my conscience so far as to give any reasonable umbrage for protestants to suspect, or papists to hope, I could be made a convert to the church of Rome. I love my country better than my wife and children; and certainly, therefore, so much that I would for no interest in the world disquiet the present settlement, if I thought it was fit for an honest man to comply with it.

I have no personal obligations to King James, and I thank God I have an obstinate honesty, that will scarce allow me to be acceptable to any king. Whatever I have done or shall do for the exiled prince, is upon mere motives of conscience. I have no reason to believe myself uncapable of being forgiven, or perhaps employed under the present government; my relations and friends are many of them violent, and almost all at least for it. But let us begin with the Revolution: I acknowledge King James's ministers gave great provocations; I could have joined with any but a foreigner to have rescued our liberties; and yet I must as freely declare I saw nothing done that would have been too hard for a parliamentary redress, or at least for the intrinsick power of this island, the natural weight of those who are sensible of their religion and property: but I cannot tell how any provocations that were given the people of England, can justify the invasion of a nephew and a son-in-law. I cannot tell by what distinctions in morality the Dutch could salve their denial by their ambassador, that those forces were designed for England; I cannot imagine what dispensation gave them and the subjects of England liberty to tell so many things that were notoriously untrue, that they knew them to be untrue, and that have been much more apparently proved so by the sequel of things.

Sure the morality of the decalogue is not abolished: Let us see how many of the commandments are broken; has not Mammon been made a god, and a crown an idol, to which the Prince of Orange and his adherents have sacrificed the lives of many thousands of men, as well as the reputation of our religion, besides a vast treasure; though it is not fit to be named after the other two immolations? Have they not taken God's name in, when they consecrated to the preservation of religion the injuries and violations of it, of which they have been guilty? I do not know whether you are a strict sabbatarian; I believe not, and will acknowledge I am none: But I think the nation grossly perverts the ends of humiliations and fastings, and appointed days for God's worship, whilst they pray to God to prosper any immoral enterprise. For God's sake, and the sake of your soul, and the sake of your queen's soul, study the fifth commandment; though the performance of it has the promise of length of days in this life, the breach of it (if any religion be true) will plunge her into miseries of a longer duration: She has partaken with thieves and liars against her own father; she is a receiver of what has been by them from him wrongfully taken away, unless it can be proved that the crown of England is elective, the kings of it punishable and deposable. If this is right, you know, sir, all our law-books are in the wrong, for they say, "The king can do none; that he is not accountable to the people, collectively or representatively; and that the monarchy of England is hereditary." This is all in the original contract of our statute-books and law-cases.

Sir, you know these things; you cannot plead ignorance, nor can you believe abdication: You know the treatment the king had from the Prince of Orange and his own subjects, and cannot believe he voluntarily resigned. Are not then our judges, our juries, our fleets, and our armies, guilty of murther in opposing King James's return? Don't your queen list so many assassins, whilst she commissions them for that purpose? Is it not as unlawful to steal a crown as a trifle? And till they have recanted all the false accusations which were countenanced by the Prince of Orange and his princess, and were instrumental towards the getting of these crowns, do they not violate the ninth commandment, as well as covet their neighbours (their father's) goods? The civil and natural obligations the Prince and Princess of Orange have to King James aggravate their crime; and, if it were not almost levity to say so here, I would add as another aggravation, their having coveted too many of King James's servants.

The King of England does every thing by his officers; they are impeachable, they are punishable: The king (who we always said was not so) is dethroned, whilst those are employed in this government who were the disgraces and instruments of the last. But I don't intend a libel, and therefore will not enter into an account of such matters; I will neither give the present ministers their characters, nor shew how little, as mere men and subjects, we are the better for the change. But I fear, whoever reflects without heat or byass upon what I have said, will find that we have lost at least nine of the ten commandments, which is exceeding popery in our *index expurgatorius* with a witness.

But, to come to your more particular case, I beseech you to publish some discourse (if you can clear things) to demonstrate "either your repentance of what you writ to my Lord Russel, or the reasons that make that, and what you now do, consistent; and that you, with the usual solidity with which you treat upon other subjects, justify the proceedings, and explain the title of King William." I know nobody has a stronger and clearer head, and, if you have truth on your side, you can write unanswerable. God's glory, the reputation of the protestant religion is at stake; your own good name calls for it, and more especially because you have accepted a most reverend and devout man's archbishoprick; a man that has given testimony how unalterably he is a protestant! a sufferer formerly for the laws and church of England, a sufferer for those very principles upon which that letter to my Lord Russel was writ, for those very principles which you disputed for (when he was about to communicate) when he had so short a time to live, nay, you remembered him of even upon the scaffold, with the dreadful commination of eternal woe.

Really, sir, if there be any truth, if there be any virtue, if there be any religion, what shall we say to these things? What will you say to them? You must be at the pains to clear this matter, that we may not believe the boundaries of right and wrong, the measures of violence and justice quite taken away, that we may not be tempted to speculative, and from thence to practical atheism. This change has made many sober men sceptical, and gone farther towards eradicating all the notions of a Deity, than all the labours of Hobbes and Epicurus; and your part in it has, I must confess, more staggered me than any one thing else; I have been ready to suspect that religion itself was a cheat, and that it was a defect in my understanding that I could not see through it; for, I think, if I can know my right hand from my left, our present government stands upon foundations that contradict all those discourses which you, as well as others, have lent to passive obedience.

The excessive value I have for you, for your knowledge, your judgment, your largeness of spirit, your moderation, and many other great qualities that have signalized your name, once made you one of the greatest ornaments of the Christian church, one of the greatest exemplars of sound morality, and all that philosophers call virtue, make what seems to me an apostacy from what you preached and writ, pretended to believe, and would have others to believe, shake me so violently in the first credenda of religion, that I beseech you, if you think it necessary upon no other account, that you will publish such a discourse, at least for the satisfaction of mine and the consciences of many others, who, I can assure you of mine own knowledge, lie under the same scruples with myself, have the same scruples in relation to the government, and the same temptations to question religion itself upon your account: It is the interest of the government to satisfy such men, and if you think that we ought particularly and privately to apply ourselves to you, our number is so great that it would be too constant a trouble for any one man to undergo, nor can we safely debate a point of this nature; nor can you expect men should trust themselves under the protection of your honour, whilst they think you have in the face of the world so grossly prevaricated both from that and what ought to be a principle of a higher nature, the dictates of your own conscience.

We would as soon deliver our reasons at the door of a House of Commons; and I am not sure that the same spirit of integrity, which has hindered me from succumbing under what we think an usurpation, will not the next time there is an assembly there, carry me that length, (if I don't in the mean time publickly hear from you.) I beg of God Almighty (in whose being I bless his name I yet believe) to lay a happy constraint upon me, to do what may be most for his glory and the good of these nations; and I earnestly supplicate him that he will enable me to suffer whatever may be necessary for those great ends, and that he will incline you either to publish your reasons or repentance. To his blessed guidance and protection I heartily recommend you.

Advertisement.

⁂ Since Dr Burnet's Pastoral Letter is burned by the common hangman, according to the order of the House of Commons, it's therefore now far more necessary that you or he should explain King William's title, and what you have now to say against the following Letter to my Lord Russel.

Dr Tillotson's Letter to the Lord Russel.

My Lord,

I was heartily glad to see your lordship this morning in that calm and devout temper at receiving the blessed sacrament; but peace of mind, unless it be well grounded, will avail little: And because transient discourse many times hath little effect for want of time to weigh and consider it, therefore, in tender compassion of your lordship's case, and from all the good will that one man can bear to another, I do humbly offer to your lordship's deliberate thoughts these following considerations concerning the point of resistance, if our religion and rights should be invaded, as your lordship puts the case; concerning which I understood by Dr Burnet that your lordship had once received satisfaction, and am sorry to find a change.

First, That the Christian religion doth plainly forbid the resistance of authority.

Secondly, That though our religion be established by law, (which your lordship urges as a difference between our case and that of the primitive Christians,) yet, in the same law, which establishes our religion, it is declared, "That it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms," &c. Besides that, there is a particular law, declaring the power of the militia to be solely in the king; and that ties the hands of the subjects, though the law of Nature and the general rules of Scripture had left us at liberty; which, I believe, they do not, because the government and peace of human society could not well subsist upon these terms.

Thirdly, Your lordship's opinion is contrary to the declared doctrine of all protestant churches, and though some particular persons have taught otherwise, yet they have been contradicted herein and condemned for it by the generality of protestants: And I beg your lordship to consider how it will agree with an avowed asserting with the protestant religion, to go contrary to the general doctrine of protestants. My end in this is to convince your lordship that you are in a very great and dangerous mistake; and being so convinced, that which before was a sin of ignorance, will appear of a much more heinous nature, as in truth it is, and call for a very particular and deep repentance; which, if your lordship sincerely exercise upon the sight of your error, by a penitent acknowledgement of it to God and men, you will not only obtain forgiveness of God, but prevent a mighty scandal to the reformed religion. I am very loth to give your lordship any disquiet in the distress you are in, which I commiserate from my heart; but I am much more concerned that you do not leave the world in a delusion and false peace, to the hindrance of your eternal happiness. I heartily pray for you, and beseech your lordship to believe that I am, with the greatest sincerity and compassion in the world,

My Lord,
Your lordship's most faithful
and afflicted servant,
JOHN TILLOTSON.

A Letter to a Bishop concerning the present Settlement, and the New Oaths.

The first embarrassment of King William's government arose from the very order who had, in a manner, given rise to the Revolution. For no sooner had he assumed the crown, than Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Turner, Bishop of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Kerr of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, Lloyd of Norwich, Thomas of Worcester, and Francis of Gloucester, refused to take the oaths to the new government, and absented themselves from their attendance on parliament. These prelates and their followers constituted the powerful party so long known by the name of Nonjurors. They rejected the notion of a king *de facto*, and declared for the absolute and indefeasable right of sovereigns. Many hundreds of the inferior clergy followed the example of the bishops, and the church of England was manifestly threatened with a formidable schism. The author of the following Tract has tried his eloquence for the purpose of reconciling it.

"My Lord,

I have considered the matter you mentioned to me with all the care and attention that my other necessary affairs would allow, and I account it indeed, as your lordship does, a great unhappiness that any protestants are dissatisfied with our present settlement, but especially that some of those bishops are of this number who were so lately made confessors for the protestant religion.

It is not without great injustice that some of those gentlemen who have put pen to paper in defence of the new oaths, take the liberty of charging these bishops as if their present dissatisfactions did spring from pride, interest, humour, obstinacy, or a fear of having their wings clipt in this new settlement; I am confident that they which charge any of these things upon those venerable and excellent men, do not know them, and they write as if they had never heard any thing of them before this unhappy rupture. Undoubtedly, they who could go to a jail, and were ready to be ruined in their estates, and to sacrifice themselves for the two best things in the world, the church of England, and the laws of the land, do deserve no such character. I am persuaded, that what their lordships, and many others with them, do in this respect, proceeds purely from conscience, and that if themselves were so happy, or others for them, to satisfy their consciences about the present settlement, and the new oaths, they would as heartily comply with the present settlement, and act in it, as any other of their majesties subjects.

But though, my lord, this is my judgment concerning their dissatisfactions, that they proceed from conscience, yet I am persuaded that there are misapprehensions and mistakes, which, if rectified, would make an alteration in their opinions; that too great stress is laid upon some things that do not deserve it, and too little upon others that are of much greater moment. I say this with reverence of them that are so much my superiors, not taking upon me to judge what the reasons of their dissatisfaction may be; but for those of my own rank, whom I am more conversant with, I may pretend to know most of their reasons, and, as far as I can recollect, all their doubts and dissatisfactions may be reduced into a very narrow compass.

Your lordship required me to contract my thoughts into as small a discourse as I could; I will not forget your lordship's command; I think that all may be reduced to these two points, one is, the scruple concerning the oaths of allegiance and supremacy taken to King James the Second; and the other about the new oaths to their present majesties, required of all persons who sit in parliament, or are in any office, civil or military, or in ecclesiastical preferments. Now, if I could prove that the oaths to King James have ceased to oblige us, and that the new oaths to King William and Queen Mary may be lawfully taken, I presume that this will be allowed sufficient to remove the scruples, and will give satisfaction to such as will do me the right not to carp at, or be angry at any single reason, but to consider them all together.

In relation to oaths in general, I need not spend much time to enquire how they may cease to oblige those who have taken them; that they cease to bind when the government of that person to whom they were taken is at an end, I think nobody will deny. This is all I will desire to be granted me concerning the oaths to King James.

And in relation to government, that may be said to cease several ways; as when the person entrusted with it dies, or when he will govern no longer, and so withdraws himself from it voluntarily, or when he is conquered, and forced thereby to withdraw himself involuntarily, and can give no longer protection to those who were his liege subjects.

These are the chief instances whereby the government of any particular person may cease.

There is no doubt concerning the first of them, but all our present dispute will be about the rest; that is, whether any one, or all of them, are applicable to the government of King James; whether he would govern no longer, and whether he did withdraw himself from, and leave his government voluntarily; or, lastly, whether he was driven out of it by a fair and just conquest.

I think, my lord, that the proof of any one of these three instances were sufficient to satisfy all honest men that the obligation of the oaths to the late King James is superseded by it, and I believe such a proof to be no difficult task.

For, to begin with the first of them, the oaths of allegiance and supremacy were taken to King James as king, and oblige no further nor longer than he continued to be king, that is, to govern as king of England: now, that the late king ceased to govern as king of England a good while before the Prince of Orange either landed here, or, I believe, thought of coming hither, may, I think, be made plain by these following considerations.

I need not examine curiously here, my lord, into the nature of government, and the diversities of it; my business only is to have it agreed what sort of government our English one is.

That it is a mixt sort of government, is plain from our constitution, whereby every one of the three estates in parliament are necessary to the making any laws whatever for the nation, as well as the late king's *le roy le veult.*

It is the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in parliament assembled, that make laws, and not the king alone, or the lords alone, or the commons alone, nor the king himself, with any one or two of the states of parliament.

And as the king cannot here make laws alone for the nation, so he is, according to our constitution, obliged, by a most solemn oath and promise, at his coronation, to govern according to the laws made by lawful authority. This, I am assured, is the essence of a king of England, that he is one sitting upon the throne and governing not by his own will, or his own edicts, but by the known laws of the land.

These being, my lord, the two main hinges of our government, that all the laws of the people of England can be governed by are made in parliament, and that the government itself be administered according to these laws; if either the king alone, or any one or both of the houses of parliament, take upon them to make laws, the one hinge is broken off; and if the government itself be not administered, that is, if the king do not govern according to the laws, the other hinge is broken off also, and then the constitution is at an end, and our legal government does cease, whatever new or better one be pretended to be set over us instead of it.

Having premised this state of our government and constitution, I think it will not be denied me, that wherever there has been a direct contravention to either of these fundamental supports of our government, it hath caused a subversion of the government itself.

I must now apply what I can of this to the late king, and see whether one or both of those fundamental supports of our English government were not sorely shook or subverted by him.

As to the first, that all the laws the people of England are governed with be made in parliament, it is as plain as the sun at noon-day, that this was subverted by the late king; notwithstanding, at his first taking his chair at the council-board, upon his brother's death, he declared he would govern by law, and that the laws of the land had made the king as great as he desired to be, yet he did certainly change his mind within less than six months, and set up for an arbitrary power over the laws, by dispensing with them.

Now, that dispensing with the laws of the land is, to all intents and purposes, the making of laws by his own authority, without the concurrence of parliament, is what your lordship heard so learnedly and so clearly proved at the Seven Bishops tryal by your council, and what may be shewn in a very few words. I will instance *only* in the recusants, who were not only made uncapable, by the laws of the realm, of civil and military commands, but of keeping their conventicles here. This was the recusants condition by the laws, and they could not be delivered out of this condition but by a law which should annul the former laws against them, and make them as capable of places of trust as any of the members of the church of England: Now, did not the late king, by his dispensing power, and his sole authority, make such a law for them? Did he not annul all the laws in force against them, and qualify the recusants, and put them into places of trust? What could any law made by the true legislative authority, a king with his parliament, have done more for them than the king himself, without a parliament's concurrence, did?

I think, my lord, this instance sufficient to shew that the dispensing power which King James used, was, to all intents and purposes, a legislative power; since, as I have proved it, no law could have done more for any persons aggrieved than this power, and therefore that this was a direct subversion of our government, the chief fundamental of which was, that the laws should be made by the king and parliament. And if our constitution was subverted, I cannot see how this legal kingly power was not subverted with it, nor that our oaths to him were not at an end when the constitution we swore to was dissolved, and he had, of himself, divested himself of, and laid aside that authority which we only swore to submit to and defend.

If your lordship should ask me when this dissolution of government happened, I think I should be able to fix the time; your lordship does remember, that upon the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, the late king gave commissions to several popish officers; this was the forerunner of it. But, when upon the sitting down of the parliament in October afterwards, he not only in his speech told his parliament that he had done it, but that he was resolved to stand by it, and thereupon dismist his parliament for their opposition to it, he finished his design, and our ruin; and from that moment I look upon the English constitution to be altered, and must lay my finger upon this as the compleat subversion of our legal government.

I know some will be offended at my urging this practice of a dispensing power so far as to make it a subversion of our government, and will not endure to hear that a king of England can forfeit or fall from his authority; I am very ready, my lord, to beg these gentlemen's pardon, if they would but allow me one satisfactory argument to prove that a dispensing power is not of that fatal consequence to the legal power of legislature[1] that I have supposed it to be; but, till that is proved to me, I think I should deserve very great blame if I did not make the dispensing power to be what in reality it is, a subversion of our constitution.

And for a forfeiture, I would only know why such a thing must be looked upon as monstrous, intolerable, nay, impossible, in England? Suppose the late king (besides his letting papists into all places of trust, against the plainest and the severest laws, and his subverting all the laws made in defence of the church and government of England, by laying them aside for the dissenters sakes) had been pleased to impose what taxes he pleased upon his subjects, and had levyed them either by his own army, or by dragoons borrowed from France, and had, for the future, annulled all the laws made in defence of the church of England, or the rights and properties of the subject, and had laid every other law aside by his royal edicts, which all men should obey without reserve, as much as he had done those made for the security of the church of England, by his declaration, I would only know by what name to call such practices, and whether our business in such a case is only with patience to suffer a king wholly to alter the frame of the government, and to make bond-slaves of those who were his freeborn subjects, born to the protection and privileges of laws.

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[1] *Non est rex, ubi dominatur voluntas, et non lex.*—BRACTON.

This is, my lord, no wild or unreasonable supposition. I am afraid that we should have been able, had the king continued but a year or two longer upon the throne, not to have been put to the trouble of making these supposals, but to have instanced in them, as we now do in the declaration for liberty of conscience.

One would think that such practices, which seem to be the plainest instances of the subversion of a government, should be so most especially of his share in it, who was guilty of them; and he that will not allow any forfeiture or destruction of a king's share in a government by such a subversion of it, will find it hard to maintain that a government subsists, though it be destroyed, and that a king hath not destroyed his own power, though he hath quite ruined that government in which and by which he enjoyed it.

My lord, I am not willing to aggravate the faults of any, nor to make the consequences of them look more ghastly than they are of themselves, much less would I be guilty of such a thing towards crowned heads: However, I am not able to alter the appearance of this, that the publick safety and happiness can never be secured in any constitution whatever, and that the ends of government are quite lost, if that person who subverts any particular government do not at the very same time destroy or forfeit, let men call it what they please, his own share in it.

To this argument from the dispensing power, it may be answered, that the practice of it as to the instances which I have been able to mention, does not amount to a subversion of our government, if those laws were unjust and void in themselves, which the king dispensed with. As for the laws about offices civil and military, from which papists were excluded, they say the Observator has proved it often enough that they were null and void, since no laws can preclude a king from making use of his subjects. And for all the laws against conventicles, the author of a paper, published very lately, and licensed too, called, "The Case of the Protestant Dissenters Represented and Argued," page 2, tells us very roundly, that they are void also, and that the dissenters must be excused if they have, in their practice, expressed less reverence for laws made by no authority received either from God or man; and complains, that they are injuriously reflected on when it is imputed to them that they have, by the use of their liberty, acknowledged an illegal dispensing power. We have, says he, done no other thing herein than we did when no dispensation was given or pretended, in conscience of duty to him that gave us breath. Nor did therefore practise otherwise, because we thought those laws dispensed with, but because we thought them not laws.

So that the result is, that the late king ought not to be accused of subverting the government by setting aside those laws which were void of themselves.

But I need not trouble your lordship with any answer to such an objection, since I know your lordship, nor any of those for whose sakes I write this, do not believe a word of what these two do so dogmatically and yet most unjustly assert. I suppose the Observator will not be fond of standing by his assertions; and that the author of the Dissenters Case ought to have shewn some more manners than to cast such saucy and bold slanders upon our parliaments, while one is actually sitting. It is sufficient for my vindication, that the present parliament believes those laws which the late king dispensed with, not only to be true, but necessary laws, whatever these two gentlemen with so much confidence have said to the contrary.

I will pass now to the other fundamental of our constitution, which is, that the government be administered according to the laws of the land. It is equally evident that this fundamental was subverted by the late king, as well as the former; for so far was he from governing according to law, that his whole government, from the time of his claiming his dispensing power, seems to be a downright opposition to the laws. He was pleased to make privy-counsellors against law, judges against law, sheriffs against law, lord-lieutenants and their deputies against law, and justices against law; to have men hanged up for deserting in time of peace, against law; to have popish chapels, jesuits schools, and the conventicles opened against law: In a word, his resolution, as well as his practice, did shew that the laws were not intended to be made the rule of his government. This is the true state of King James's government, and this is inconsistent with that essential of our constitution, of governing according to law.

Now if, my lord, it be the essence and the definition of the king in our government, that he is one who governs the people committed to his charge according to law, how can we reckon in this rank the late king from the time he was so resolutely set upon governing against law? In our constitution, he that does not govern by law, does not govern at all; and he that does not, nor will not govern at all, cannot, nor will not be king, but ceases to be such from the time he makes his own will, or his evil counsellors advices, the rule of his government, and not the laws.

I had almost forgot another instance of the late king's dispensing power, and that was his laying aside those oaths of allegiance and supremacy which yet are the grounds of most men's scruples. How can this be looked upon otherwise than as a condemnation of the oaths as unlawful; and, if they were so, we have the late king's judgment also against the obligation of these two oaths; for if he to whom the oaths were taken thought them unlawful, then they are certainly fallen as to him. This is as if a person who had a bond from another, which he looked upon as unjust, should give it him up, and consent to the cancelling of it.

So that, my lord, if the breaking one of our fundamentals, by not governing according to law, do not make such a person cease being king, yet that breach of the other, the assuming a legislative power, which quite alters and tears up the whole frame of our constitution, cannot do less than shake his right to the government who was so solicitous to destroy it.[*] He that will not govern as king of England, will not govern at all; and if he continue in this humour, as the late king did, from the time of assuming his arbitrary dispensing power, how can he be longer king? And if he ceased to be king, by his leaving off to govern, the oaths to him were as much at an end as if he had ceased at the same time to live. And as the oaths could certainly have no further obligation to him when he had divested himself of his kingly power, by destroying that very government whereby and in which he was king, so did the declaration about taking up arms upon no pretence against the king fall with them. That declaration, every one will grant me, was made for the preservation of the government which the late king took such indefatigable care to destroy.

That declaration was never intended for the destruction and ruin of our government, and yet it must be the ruin of the government if it puts into a king's hands, to turn tyrant without controul, and to subvert our legal constitution and undo a nation without gainsaying; and therefore that declaration was intended for the security of, and was to be made to, a king governing by law, and therefore did not concern the late king from the hour he set up his own will against the laws, and his own power against that of the whole kingdom, in parliament.

This, my lord, is the first case whereby a king ceases to govern, or to be a king, for they are synonymous. I think, by the instances I have produced, and the arguments I have offered, it may reasonably appear that the late king had subverted our government, and destroyed his own share of enjoying the kingly authority in it, and thereby ceased to be king; and if once he ceased to be such, no body will deny that the obligation of all oaths to him as king did expire at the same time.

But since, my lord, we have commonly received a very transcendant notion of our monarchy, which will not allow the destructive practices I have now mentioned, nor worse than these, to make a forfeiture of the kingly power here, or to be the subversion of our monarch's rights, whatever they be of the people's, I shall wave the insisting further upon this head.

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[*] See the Laws of King Edward the Confessor, § 17.—*Rex autem ad hoc est constitutus, ut regnum terrenum et populum domini—et regnat, et ab injuriosis defendat,—quod nisi facerit, nec nomen regis in eo constabit.*

Let it then be supposed, for that opinion's sake, that the king does not destroy his own right, or the exercise of his royal authority, though he does destroy our constitution by ruling directly against the laws, and making laws by his own power. The next enquiry is, Whether a king can lay down his government and divest himself of all authority, and whether King James did not voluntarily leave his government by withdrawing himself out of the kingdom, and making no provision for the publick.

Nobody will dispute with me that the king cannot lay down his government: the case of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and, which comes nearer our own concern, that of the Queen Christiana of Sweden, are instances of it beyond opposition. And I think it would be as little disputed that the late King James did, by a voluntary withdrawing himself out of the kingdom, recede as fully from his government, if these few things were fairly considered.

First, That he was at that time of withdrawing himself actually upon a treaty with the Prince of Orange, and had three lords commissioners with him, who gave the king such an account of their negociation, in a letter brought to him the very night he withdrew, that he himself could not but give this just character of the prince's proposals, as to say of them, that they were fairer than he could or did expect; so that the king had no reason then to be afraid of his person, but might have continued with security in his palace, and taken care of the government, and called such a parliament as both himself and the prince desired, which might have quietly and effectually settled this nation, and prevented all ill consequences to his person or to his affairs.

Secondly, That it was the design of the popish party to persuade him to withdraw himself, their end in it being to put us thereby into confusion. This they did not boggle to speak out; the Lord Dover and Mr Brent made no secret of it, but said it more than once, that the king would withdraw himself out of the kingdom above a fortnight before he did it. Nor were these two the only persons in this secret and of this opinion. In the letter that was sent down to the king, while he was at Salisbury with his army, and can be produced, he was told, that it was the unanimous advice of all the Catholics here at London, that he should come back from thence, and withdraw himself out of the kingdom, and leave us in confusion, assuring him, that within two years, or less, we should be in such confusions that he might return and have his ends of us, as their phrase was. Now, if the king was pleased to take such desperate counsellors advice, and thereupon to withdraw himself out of the kingdom, and command his army to be let loose upon the people by disbanding them at such a juncture, I can see nothing herein to make his going away involuntary.

If then his withdrawing himself out of the kingdom was done out of design and willingly, he did as effectually divest himself, *pro tempore*, of the government, as if he had left a formal resignation of the kingdom behind him, attested by all his privy counsellors hands; and our allegiance to him did fall with it, and our oaths did no more oblige now, than the oaths taken to Christiana Queen of Sweden did when she resigned and went to Rome; since, in both cases, the government of these two princes was equally at an end, but our condition the worse of the two, since Queen Christiana left the government to her kinsman, but our king left us to the rabble, and his disbanded army.

There is one objection, my lord, which I have often heard made against this, that, though the late king, out of a groundless fear, or for any other reason or design whatsoever, did voluntarily withdraw himself out of the kingdom, yet this ought not to be accounted a compleat cession or dereliction of the government, unless it could be proved withal that there was not *animus revertendi*, that he never intended to return to us more.

But this objection is of no weight in the case of a kingdom. For, whether the king intended to return back any more or no signifies nothing herein, since the withdrawing himself, and making no manner of provision for the government and safety of the nation, did actually put an end to his government, at least for that time; and our constitution can, no more than any other government in the world, be left in such a condition, nor can be said to subsist in such a case; and it is against all the sense and reason of mankind to think that any nation either will or ought to continue without a settlement till the governor, who hath left it unawares and in confusion, will be pleased to think of returning. Does any one believe that if the late king (when he withdrew) intended not to return these ten years, that we of this nation should have continued in the anarchy he left us, and have no government till he would come back? Among all our discontents, I hope none can be found so weak to imagine this; and the same reason, I am sure, holds as fully against his leaving us one month as ten years: so that, whether the late king intended to return or no when he went away, he ceased to govern us; and the very same moment he was pleased to leave off governing, by withdrawing himself, he cancelled the obligation of all oaths and allegiance to him as king.

But, beyond all this, I can grant, my lord, that the late king, from the very time of his withdrawing, nay, from the very minute of resolving to do it, had *animum revertendi*, did intend to return to us. I do believe that those papists which advised him to withdraw, did design that he should return, and that he himself did concur in both resolutions. But what was he to return for? Was it not to have his ends of us? What those ends are, I suppose no protestant needs be told; none of those who make this objection can doubt of it since his late coming to Ireland. Should we have waited then till the late king could return with his borrowed forces from France, to destroy our protestant established religion, and our civil constitution, because he had *animum revertendi*, and therefore not have settled and provided for the nation's safety? Was the king's government not at an end, though he had withdrawn himself from us, and left no provision, because he was resolved to come back to destroy our religion, and to be revenged of the nation? My lord, I think such an *animus revertendi* to be so far from making the dereliction lame and void, that it is as good a proof of making the late king's action a complete dereliction, as if he had left it attested under his hand and great seal, that he would never return to us or this government more.

For my own part, I am persuaded, that the late king withdrew himself voluntarily, and by the advice of popish counsels, out of this kingdom; I am persuaded that he went off with an *animus revertendi;* and I am as fully persuaded, that the intention of his returning was to ruin our properties and laws, and to destroy our reformed religion, or, to put it into the popish dialect, *to have his end of us:* From the first of these, to wit, his withdrawing voluntarily, I am satisfied that the late King James's government and our allegiance to him are fallen; and the last of them, the intention of his return, will, I hope, satisfy all others as much as it has done me, that we have no tempting reasons either to wait for the late king's return, or to accept of his government, if he should get back.

I must now, my lord, go on to another consideration, for there are some who are little satisfied, notwithstanding all the evidence that can be offered about the king's voluntary withdrawing himself, as they were at his misgovernment being urged as the destruction of his royal dignity; and though these gentlemen have not agreed with me hitherto, yet in this last consideration they must concur with me, and that is, that the late king was conquered by the Prince of Orange, and driven away involuntarily at least; so that, if by this conquest he was put out of the condition of governing and protecting us, we were as much deprived of the liberty of paying obedience to him, who was now driven from us.

The business to be examined here, is what sort of a conquest this was, and whether it was a just one, such a one as by reason of which the people of England might lawfully submit to the conqueror of their king.

To begin with the expedition of his (then) Highness the Prince of Orange, there appears to be all the reasons in it that could justify such an invasion, or make a conquest just and good. The prince was no subject of England, but a sovereign prince, who made this descent into our nation against our late king in defence of his own rights as well as of ours, and, therefore, his action could upon no account be stiled a rebellion.

But the cause of his expedition is above all other things to be enquired after, for that must be the chief thing that can justify the revolution here, and ought to be highly reasonable, and such as can give satisfaction to all wise and indifferent men; since, though the Prince of Orange were never so much a sovereign prince, yet if he had not a very justifiable reason of coming hither with an army, his expedition had been altogether a most unaccountable action, and his conquest unjust.

Now, to give all the satisfaction requisite to this justest scruple, the prince's reasons for coming hither in that manner, appear to be as just and as good as his success was great; and if ever one prince's invasion of another prince's kingdom were to be justified, the Prince of Orange's was. For, to instance in one or two of these reasons, he himself, as well as his princess, had most undoubted right to the succession of the crown of England, and the dominions belonging to it, after the death of the late King James. This right was notoriously set aside, or made wholly useless to them, by the arts and counsels of those papists who were about the king, and did influence them. The imposture of a pretended Prince of Wales was thought of and pitched upon as the most effectual bar to either of their titles, and did set them, as well as her Royal Highness the Princess Anne of Denmark, aside, and deprived all three together of their rights of succession, and provide effectually against a protestant successor, the only person the people then in power at court were afraid of.

But, to wave the instance of the setting up a pretended Prince of Wales betwixt these protestant princes and their right of succession, because the proof of that imposture has not been laid open, as it might have been to the world, and therefore cannot so strictly be insisted upon, though most people, even those who are dissatisfied about the present settlement, are satisfied of the imposture: The right of succession, which was in the two royal princesses and the Prince of Orange, was made wholly useless to them, by the late king's putting the government of part of the dominions of the crown of England into such hands as would not deliver them up, or submit to any protestant successor. Ireland is an evident proof of this, where all offices, civil and military, contrary to the laws of the land, were put into popish hands, and such a bigotted Irish papist was made their governor, as that whatever rogueries or violences the papists should be guilty of towards the British protestants among them, they should never need to fear being called to account, being certain that his own management of the government, as well as his religion, would keep him from ever delivering up Ireland to any protestant, while he had the sword in his hands, and such a thoroughly popish army at his command.

Now in this case, when Ireland was wholly given up into such hands, and Scotland was almost in the same condition, and England ready to be put into the same, it was high time for the Prince of Orange to assert his own and his princess's right; and it was most reasonable for him, by all justifiable ways and means, to prevent their being debarred their right of inheritance of these kingdoms, by bringing the late king to reasonable terms, or by depriving him of the power of doing them or their right any further mischief herein.

This, therefore, together with the prince's concern for our religion and our laws, which were violated in so high a degree by the late king, and with which his own right of succession was interwoven, was a most just reason for the Prince of Orange's coming with an armed force, and if the king would rather put things to the hazard of battles, than the decision of a free and legal parliament, nobody else could help it; and if his army would neither fight for, nor stand by him, but suffer him to be driven out of his dominions, it was because he had taken sufficient care to let all of them, as well as the rest of the nation, know how very unjust the war would be on his part, and how very unreasonable it would be for them, who were the greatest part of them protestants, to assist him in depriving his children of the hereditary rights of succession, and ruining the church of England, and the happy constitution of our English government. Such considerations as these made the late king's army so useless to him, and the prince's victory so easy to him, whose business was not to conquer here, but to do himself and his princess right, and to preserve our government in church and state; which if he had tamely looked on, and suffered to be destroyed, his own right would most infallibly have sunk with them, being so entirely linked with them.

Here some will be ready to call upon me, and tell me that if the prince was a conqueror, then all our rights and our possessions are in his hands, and at his disposal; and that our condition is far from being mended, since we are by this conquest in that state which the late king was labouring to bring us to, subjected absolutely in our persons and fortunes to the arbitrary will of a conqueror. But it is very easy to answer this fearful suggestion, by shewing them that the king alone was conquered and not the nation with him. The prince, in his declaration, had assured the nation that his only design of appearing in arms here, was to secure his own and their rights, and he did thereupon conjure them to assist him in so good and so just a design, which the nation did, either by not aiding the king, or by raising up in several parts of the kingdom for him; so that here was a true contract betwixt the Prince of Orange and the nation, which hath been faithfully observed, the rights of the nation being entirely preserved to them, and not one of them invaded, nor the least pretence to a conquest over the nation made by him. Thus, my lord, we see our rights secure, notwithstanding the late king lost his, by bringing upon himself the necessity of being driven out of his dominions and conquered, rather than he would do the prince and the nation that right, which he was obliged to by the laws and by his coronation oath.

Now, since the late king did lose his kingdom by these means, and upon these accounts, and was put out of the capacity of either governing or protecting those who were his subjects, it is become as impossible for us to perform allegiance to him as it is for him to govern us; and since the Prince and Princess of Orange, by reason of this conquest of the king, and by virtue partly of their own hereditary right, and partly of the consent of the nation assembled in convention, are in possession of the crown of England, and do protect and govern the nation according to the laws of the realm, and have taken the coronation oath that they will always continue to do so, the only question is, whether our allegiance in such a case is not transferred from the late king, who was justly conquered, who does not govern us, and can no further protect us, unto those persons who are now invested with regal power, and in possession of the government, and do protect the nation.

The resolution of this case would have been very readily made by any of us, had Providence placed us upon the continent, in those countries which have lately been, and now are like to be, the seat of war, and not in an island so happily secured from the sudden descent of enemies. Had we lived in Germany or Flanders for example, we should have learned how far allegiance is necessary, and when it may be transferred from the prince conquered to the conqueror. No prudent man thinks the people of any town in Flanders perjured, because, notwithstanding their former oaths to their hereditary prince the King of Spain, the fortune of war necessitates them to take new oaths of allegiance to a conqueror. And I think men ought to make the very same judgment of things here, that since the government of King James is at an end, the oaths to him have no further force; and that since he was fairly conquered by that prince, whom he was endeavouring to deprive of his right of succession to the crown of England, and is by that altogether incapacitated from governing and protecting us, our allegiance either wholly ceases, or is superseded as to him, and we may in our circumstances give security to the government, and pay allegiance for that protection we enjoy from it.

This, my lord, is agreeable to the laws and practice of all countries, to the laws of our own nation, to reason, and, which is more, unto scripture itself. I need not trouble your lordship much with shewing its agreement with the laws of nations, since almost every day's practice doth give instances of it; whereby people and countries that were under their own sovereign prince, and had taken oaths of fealty to him, are, by the fortune of war, made another prince's subjects, and may lawfully, according to the law of nations, transfer their allegiance to their new lord. The reason of all this is founded upon the nature and end of government itself, upon that mutual obligation which is supposed to be betwixt a prince and his people, who, upon his power and his promise of protecting them in their lives and in their properties, do engage to perform allegiance, and to bear faith to him: now this stipulation does naturally fall, when such a prince is no longer able, or no longer willing, to protect them; and the same reason which obliged them to pay their allegiance to that prince, does direct them now to transfer it from him, who is by the fortune of war disabled from affording protection, to the conqueror, who will engage to protect them, and does preserve them in their persons and their estates, and in all their ancient legal securities.

And as this cannot be denied to be the practice and the law of all countries abroad, so the laws and customs of our own kingdom do not only countenance such a transferring of allegiance to a conqueror, but do indemnify the paying allegiance to a mere king *de facto* who may be an usurper, and the defending him in his government? Thus, in the statute made the eleventh year of Henry VII. chap. 1. it is declared, "to be against all laws, reason, and good conscience, that subjects going with their sovereign lord in wars, attending upon him in his person, or being in other places by his commandment within the land or without, any thing should lose or forfeit for their duty and service of allegiance; and it is enacted by the king, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in parliament assembled, that from henceforth no manner of person or persons whatsoever he or they be, that attend upon the king and sovereign lord of this land for the time being, in his person, and do him true and faithful service of allegiance in the same, or be in other places by his command in his wars within this land or without: That for the said deed, and true duty of allegiance, he or they be in no wise convict or attaint of high-treason, nor of other offences for that cause, by act of parliament, or otherwise by any process of law, whereby he, or any of them, shall lose or forfeit life, lands, tenements, rents, possessions, hereditaments, goods, chattels, or any other thing, but to be for that deed or service utterly discharged of any vexation, trouble, or loss."

This law doth authorise any subject to pay his allegiance to the king in being, and does secure him against all penalties for the same; and, therefore, reaches our case, where there is not a bare possession, but all the right that conquest can give.

And in the famous act of parliament concerning treasons, the 25th of Edward III. my Lord Coke says,[1] that by the king, against whom treason is committed in that statute, is meant the king in possession of the throne, whatever his right to it be. These, my lord, are his own words: "This act is to be understood of a king in possession of the crown and kingdom; for if there be a king regnant in possession, although he be *rex de facto et non rex de jure*, yet is he *seignior le roy* within the purview of this statute. And the other that hath right and is out of possession is not within this act: nay, if treason be committed against a king *de facto et non de jure*, and after the king *de jure* cometh to the crown, he shall punish the treason done to the king *de facto*; and a pardon granted by a king *de jure*, that is not also *de facto*, is void."

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[1] Coke's Institutes, Part III. Chap. 1. of High-Treason.

This is sufficient to shew the sense of our laws in this case, and for its being agreeable to reason to transfer our allegiance in the circumstances mentioned, I have already in part proved this, and I think it may be fairly deduced further from the writings of that great and excellent casuist Bishop Sanderson, whom all will allow to be a very competent judge of the dictates of reason. Whoever will read his case of the engagement, may find a great deal to this purpose, but I intend only to insist on what he hath delivered in his Fifth Prælection concerning the obligation of conscience, where he disputes for, and gives several reasons for the paying obedience to the laws, and submitting to the government even of an unlawful usurper; and he puts this very case, that "where any one, having driven away by violence the lawful prince and true heir of the kingdom, or having opprest him so far as that he is unable to stand up for his own right, doth, while the other is still living, take the government upon him, and act as king, when he is in reality rather an usurper than a king, and it is past doubt that drownright injury is done [to the oppressed prince.] If it be asked, (says he,) what I think a good subject should do in this case, who hath taken an oath of fealty to his lawful prince, or if he have not taken such an oath, yet is as much obliged to the prince as if he had sworn it, my opinion is, that it is not only lawful for a good subject to pay obedience to the laws made by him that has the supreme power only *de facto*, and not *de jure*, and to do what other things are commanded by him, (so that nothing base or unjust be commanded,) but that it is necessary oftentimes for him to do these things, and that he should be wanting to his own duty if he did not."[1]

What I would gather from this case, put by the great bishop, is, that if such obedience be lawful, and very often necessary to one who is a mere usurper by unlawful violence, the least he would have determined in our circumstances must have been, that obedience might lawfully be paid to our present king and queen, who come to the throne either by its being left empty by the last king, or by a lawful and just conquest. And what the bishop has afterwards urged in the case of his violent usurper, that, notwithstanding the obedience to him, "the fealty due to the lawful prince must be preserved inviolate, and nothing done in prejudice of his right," can have no place here, since the late king fell perfectly from all sovereignty here by deserting his government, and the Prince of Orange had a most just cause of war against him, and made as plain a conquest over him, neither of which can be brought within the bishop's case: And therefore, if subjects may, (to keep to the bishop's reasons upon the case,) for their own sakes, for the preservation of their lives and estates, and for the protection they receive under those who have possession of the government, and for the public sake, for the trade and commerce of the nation upon which the publick must subsist, live quietly under, and pay obedience to an usurped power, every one of these reasons is more forcible upon us to pay our obedience to their present majesties, who have right of just conquest, right of lawful succession, and the consent and recognition of the nation in convention on their side.

And as reason has directed in such circumstances to transfer obedience to the conqueror, under whom we can live safe and in quietness, so does the scripture itself, the best rule we can desire in our case. As the scripture commands, under the greatest penalties, subjection to the supreme power, so it does not put men upon the rack about the right of governors, or upon examining who has or who has not the true right to a crown, but directs obedience to the powers in being, to those who are in possession of the supreme power, how small soever their claim to it may be. This I can make evident, my lord, from the instance of some in the Old Testament, and of those to whom our Lord Jesus himself and his apostles did so strictly command obedience in the New.

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[1] *Prælectio quinta de Oblig. Conscientiæ.* XVI. pag. 176.

Upon the death of Josiah, King of Judah, the people of Judah took Jehoahaz, who who was the fourth and youngest son of Josiah, and anointed him, (which was done by the chief priest,) and made him king in his father's stead, setting aside the right of his three elder brothers, 2 Kings xxiii. 30. Now that Jehoahaz was Shallum no one will doubt, that will compare this place out of the 2d book of Kings with Jeremiah xxii. ver. 11, and that Shallum was the youngest son of four he can no more doubt that will consult 1 Chron. iii. 15. In this instance we do not find the scripture to condemn the people's paying allegiance to this prince thus set up; but, on the contrary, God calls upon them by the prophet Jeremiah, (Jeremiah xxii. 10, 11, 12,) to "weep sore for him that goeth away," who was to return no more, nor see his native country; that is, to lament for their king Shallum or Jehoahaz, who was carried by Pharaoh Nechoh into Egypt, and was to die there.

After the deposition of Shallum, Pharaoh Nechoh, who was his conqueror, made Eliakim king, whom he called by the name of Jehoiakim, though he was but the second brother: And no notice is taken of the eldest brother, Johanan, who, if he was then living, was certainly the true heir to that crown. This Jehoiakim reigned eleven years, 2 Kings xxiii. 36, in the third whereof he was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babel, Daniel i. 1, who afterwards took him away, and set up his son Jehoiachin, or Jeconia, or Conia, in his stead. But he continued on the throne but three months, for Nebuchadnezzar came again, and besieged Jerusalem, to whom Jehoiachin surrendered himself, and was by him carried into captivity. Then Nebuchadnezzar made his uncle Zedekiah king, who was the third of those four brothers, 1 Chronicles iii. 16, and he reigned near eleven years as king of Judah, while the elder brother, Johanan, was living, and the second brother, perhaps Jehoiakim, in the Babylonian's hands; without all doubt, if Jehoiakim was dead, his son Jehoiachin, the right heir and true king, was living, for we find him released out of prison after thirty-seven years, 2 Kings xxv. 27, during all which time we never find God complaining of the people's submitting and paying allegiance to this King Zedekiah, that was set up by Nebuchadnezzar; but we meet with Jeremiah's Lamentation, taken up for this very king, whom he calls "the breath of our nostrils, the anointed of the Lord," (Lamentations iv. 20,) though he was made king while the true king and heir of that crown was alive. Here we have a subject made king, and set up against the true king by the conqueror, whose power herein God did so far approve as to call Zedekiah's defection from his fealty to Nebuchadnezzar[1] (whose power over Judah was no more than what a conquest, and an unjust one too, did give) a rebellion, and to give him, and all that belonged to him, up to destruction and captivity for it. Whoever will reflect upon these examples, will see how far the people were from being condemned, or discouraged from transferring their allegiance to these four kings: The first of which, Jehoahaz, was set up by the people against the right line, and before his three elder brethren; the second, Jehoiakim, was by a conqueror made king before his elder brother Johanan; the third, Jehoiachin, was set up against his own father; and the fourth was of a subject made a king, while the true king and rightful heir was still in being.

There is another thing very observable here, and that is about the oaths taken to

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Chron. xxxvi. 13.

kings, who were such merely by conquest. It was the manner of the subjects of Israel and Judah to take oaths of obedience to their kings, as one may very justly collect from that passage in Ecclesiastes, viii 2, where the preacher advises "to keep the king's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God," that is, of the oath of obedience which the subject had taken to the king. Now this oath was sworn, not only to kings of God's own appointment, or to their hereditary successors, but to those who had no other title or right than that of conquest, when such conquerors required it of them, though their own princes were still living. Thus Nebuchadnezzar made Zedekiah swear by God (2 Chron. xxxvi. 13, with Ezekiel xvii. 13,) to be faithful to him, while his own prince Jehoiachin was yet alive; and Zedekiah took authority from Nebuchadnezzar to reign as king under him, which he continued to do, according to his oath, for some years, but afterwards rebelled against the conqueror. This oath God did approve as lawful, and calls it "mine oath," (Ezekiel xvii. 19,) and held himself obliged to punish the breach of it, as he should have done if Zedekiah had taken it to Jehoiachin himself, and had broke it, as he did the oath in this case This is plain from Ezekiel xvii. 15, 16, 18, 19.

And for those kings in the New Testament to whom allegiance is so strictly commanded to be paid, it is most evident that Augustus, and those after him, were direct usurpers upon the people and senate of Rome, having gained the supreme power into their hands by craft and arts, and chiefly by the assistance of the soldiery, whose right to dispose of the supreme power over the people and subjects of Rome I cannot hear that any man does maintain: And this was more particularly plain in the advancement of Nero to the throne by the soldiery, whom his mother Agrippina had tampered with against Britannicus, the last emperor's son; and yet this is the very emperor to whom St Paul[1] teacheth obedience, under pain of damnation, for whom he exhorts the Christians to put up prayers and supplications, that, under him, (who had no better right to that government than what I have just mentioned,) they might lead quiet and peaceable lives in all godliness and honesty.[2]

Whoever, my lord, will compare our present case in England with the instances I have produced out of scripture, cannot deny me, that scripture does allow the transferring of allegiance, in the case of conquest, from one prince to another; some of the instances do reach further, which shew the command for, and the practice of obedience to, those who had merely the possession of the government, but no manner of right or title to it.

And now, my lord, I have dispatched the consideration of all your lordship's commands, and of all I have been able to say in so narrow a compass, and amidst so many other necessary avocations, upon this subject; and yet I cannot conclude without examining a little their reasons and their intentions, who are so little satisfied with ours, or with the present settlement.

If the present settlement of this nation under their majesties does not give them satisfaction, and is such as they cannot with a conscience submit to, it must be because they have sworn allegiance to another person, to whom they believe it to be still due, because he is still alive. If they find themselves under such an obligation, then their endeavours, or at least their wishes, ought to be that the late king might be recalled to his government; or that, if he be unfit for government, a regency might be settled by the consent of the nation in parliament, he still retaining the title of king. These methods are the only ones that either themselves, or any one for them thinks can salve their allegiance. But examine them singly and see whether they can.

If the late king should be recalled, either it must be upon terms and conditions, or it must be without them. To recall him to his government without conditions, I never yet met nor heard of one protestant that was for it, but they all cry out upon terms, or not at all; upon conditions, or we are all ruined in our properties, and ruin our religion. One question then I have to make to these gentlemen, and it is, by what branch of their oath of allegiance they are impowered to make conditions with the king; and which of the laws is it that gives the subjects such an authority over the king as to offer them? They are absolutely against recalling or receiving the late king back without conditions. If so, then I will suppose that equitable conditions were offered the late king: And I can suppose very easily that he will not be so obliged, but requires to be admitted into the possession of his crown without any other terms than the oath he took at his coronation, and the promises he then made of defending our church and governing us by law. In this case, upon their own grounds, these gentlemen must resolve to resist his resuming his government, and must never admit him, if he will never condescend to conditions; and then I would know of them what is become of the whole oath of allegiance, or the obligation their consciences were formerly under by it. This matter is too plain to need more words.

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[1] Rom. xiii. 1, 2.

[2] 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

But, suppose conditions for his return were offered by the nation, and accepted by him, and that as soon as he was secure of his throne he forgot them all, as much as he did his first promise at council-board, and his coronation oath, what must be done in this state, when the nation will be in ten times worse condition than it was this time twelvemonth, when his dispensing power and arbitrary government were at the height? No man can suppose conditions of any worth, that have no security in them; and the least they can have in this case must be, that if the king breaks them, then he forfeits the benefit of them; to wit, his restitution to his government; and we, as well as he, should immediately be in the very condition we were in upon his leaving or losing the government. That such would be our condition inevitably is the easiest thing in the world to prove.

For, first, no conditions made for the securing property to the subject, and the protestant religion to the nation, can signify any thing to him who is governed wholly in all his affairs by French counsels, and by the jesuits, who are not truer enemies to our reformed religion than French counsels to the liberty and property of subjects.

But, secondly, his religion is inconsistent with our safety, either in our properties or in our religion, and this we had experience enough of one would think already, too much to make us fond of trying the experiment over again. Let it but be considered, that by his religion and by such power he is obliged, upon pain of forfeiting his kingdoms, to extirpate heretics, to destroy every protestant in England; and that by the conditions made he will be at least obliged to secure the nation in their protestant religion, and in their properties; and then I would ask such a person what the best and the safest conditions can avail in these circumstances? If an obligation to destroy us and an obligation to preserve us be inconsistent, and no man in the world can perform both, I think the talk about conditions ought to be at an end, since there is no way to bring these contradictions to agree.

The wisest part, my lord, of those who are dissatisfied, do very easily see into the vanity and inconsistency of this project about conditions, and grant that they would be useless. And, therefore, since conditions are vain, and that the late king was unfit for government, they were for having a regency set up during the late king's life, he retaining only the title of king; and this they thought would salve their oaths to him and their consciences. But this cannot do the business, since it is plain that such a regency would have been as much against the oath of allegiance as the present settlement, and a submitting to that would have been as direct a violation of the oath of allegiance as they suppose a submission to the present settlement is.

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To prove this then: By a regency the king would have been divested of all power, which the regent must have been intrusted with; of the revenue too, which must have been annexed to the power wherever that is lodged, because by it the regent must have been supported in the exercise of his power, he would have had no command nor authority left him, nothing but the bare title of king, and to have all business run in his name, though he would have nothing to do with it. Now, is not this as directly against the oath of allegiance as a thing can be? By the oath, as long as it obliges, every one is bound to preserve to the king and maintain his crown and dignity. By a regency the king is divested of all his power and authority in making laws, of having the militia in his hands, and of the administration of the government, which are the chief, if not only branches of royalty of his crown and dignity. And yet these gentlemen think that a regency and their oath of allegiance to the late king are consistent; whereas by a regency he is deprived of every thing but his bare title, and by their oaths of allegiance they are bound to preserve to him every thing else as well as his title. I can see no more opposition in the present settlement to the oath of allegiance, than would have been in their regency, since the kingly power of King James is equally destroyed by both; and oaths do concern matters of substance and not mere shadows, such as the bare title of a king is, where there is not the least jot of power left. So that there is not any considerable difference betwixt the present settlement and their regency upon the oaths account; and I wonder that so much ado should be made, and so much insisting upon leaving to the late king the bare title of king, whereas a title is a thing of no worth; and if the laws of St Edward the Confessor might but be heard, this controversy about the mere title would have fallen, since by them a king by misgovernment, *verum nomen regis perdit*, forfeits the title of king as well as the power.

But I will suppose further, that this project of a regency had taken, and that a regent had been chosen for the late king's life, I must now ask what they would have done with the king himself? either they must have had him kept in safe custody, or let him, as he did, escape away. If they would have had him secured, I would fain know whether it had been consistent with that oath of allegiance which they took to King James, and think themselves obliged still by. But if he was to be let go whither he would, and should have got back into England with the same assistance by which he is now got into Ireland, I ask them whether they should not look upon themselves as obliged to defend that regency which was set up for the absolute good of the nation, and to which they had sworn allegiance; and whether this would not have obliged them to oppose King James, who was come to break the regency; and, though all had judged him and knew him unfit for government, was yet for regaining it by force. Either they must, notwithstanding his unfitness for our government, have quietly submitted, because of their former oath of allegiance to him, or they must, in defence of the regency, have fought against the late king himself, notwithstanding that former oath to him.

My lord, if those dissatisfied gentlemen who were for the regency will but reflect upon what I have been able to say about it, I do not fear their being any longer of opinion that a regency was the only way could settle the nation in safety, and secure men's consciences in peace; and I hope they will for the future not be so sharp and severe against the present settlement, as contrary to our oaths of allegiance, since I have shewn that their own regency is every jot as much. I humbly beg of them that they would examine things impartially, and lay by all prejudices upon other accounts, and then I am confident that they which did desire and contend for a regency notwithstanding their late oaths of allegiance, will see reason to submit to the present settlement under their majesties, notwithstanding those very oaths, which I am sure are no more against the present settlement than against their regency.

I am afraid I have tired your lordship, and must beg pardon for this tedious letter; which, though it should be so unhappy as to do no service to any of those persons for whom it was designed, yet will do myself a great one in being a witness for me, how ready I am to obey your lordship's commands, and in giving me this further opportunity of assuring your lordship how much I am,

My lord,
Your lordship's most obedient
and most humble servant.

Proposals tendered to the Consideration of both Houses of Parliament, for uniting the Protestant Interest for the present, and preventing Divisions for the future. Together with the Declaration of King Charles II. concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs; and some Proposals of Terms of Union between the Church of England and Dissenters. Long since published by the Reverend Dean of St Paul's. 1689.

There was nothing which William III. had more sincerely at heart than to eradicate the religious dissentions of England, by some act of comprehension which should bring all protestant dissenters within the pale of the church. This was a measure recommended even by the non-juring bishops, who, before leaving parliament, had expressed their sentiments to that purpose. But when a bill for the purpose was brought into parliament, the old dissentions between the dissenters and church of England suddenly revived with all their original fury, and the king was forced to desist from his purpose.

The celebrated Dr Stillingfleet, then Dean of St Paul's, had expressed his sentiments upon the subject on the following occasion. "The dissenters attacked a sermon of his preached in 1680, at Guildhall, before the Lord Mayor, the first Sunday of Easter term, on Phil iii. 16; and the occasion of it, as he tells us, was this. The dissenters growing loud in their groundless clamours against the church of England, as popishly affected, and one of the principal leaders of them (Mr Baxter) having published two pernicious books, the one called "A Plea for Peace," but which far better deserved the title of a Plea for Disorder and Separation; the other, "The true and only Way for Concord of all Christian Churches," but fraught with such impracticable notions and dividing principles as though his whole design had been to prove that there is no true way of concord among Christians: "Since by the means of such books (adds he) the zeal of so many people was turned off from the papists against our church, I saw a plain necessity that either we must be run down by the impetuous violence of an enraged but unprovoked company of men, or we must venture ourselves to try whether we could stem that tide which we saw coming upon us." He thought it therefore neither improper nor unseasonable to persuade protestants to peace and union at any time, especially at such a time as that when things were in such a dangerous fermentation: And the whole drift of his sermon was to dissuade the dissenters from the established church, to quit their needless and destructive separation; showing that, according to the judgment of divers even amongst themselves, a conformity to our church's worship was not unlawful, and by consequence their separation must be sinful and dangerous, and what they ought therefore all to desist from, as they would consult the honour of God and religion, the peace and tranquillity of the church, and would prevent the great designs of our other enemies, and leave the protestant religion established here to posterity. But several of the dissenters, especially those three of principal note among their leaders, Dr Owen, Mr Baxter, and Mr Alsop, instead of a thankful acknowledgement for his intended kindness, set themselves to write against him and some of them in a very indecent manner. Which unsuitable return of theirs had only this effect, that it produced his excellent vindication of our church, entitled, "The Unreasonableness of Separation, or an impartial Account of *the Histo-*

ry, Nature, and Pleas of the present Separation from the Communion of the Church of England. To which several late Letters are annexed of eminent Protestant Divines abroad, concerning the Nature of our Differences, and the Way to compose them.—Lond. 1681 and 1683, 4to." *Biogr. Brit.* VI. 3839.

I doubt not but every pious and sober protestant of this nation cannot but be heartily troubled to observe those passionate differences and unchristian dissentions which daily increase among brethren, who are united in one and the same doctrine of their religion, and reformed from the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome: Upon the due consideration of which, every one, who wisheth peace and prosperity to the kingdom he lives in, ought to consider what should be the occasion of those unhappy and ruinous divisions we have so long suffered under, and to offer probable means for composing them.

As to their first rise, I doubt not but they owe their original to the [1] "different manner of the Reformation, and the establishing of the orders which each church did think fit and convenient for itself, (as the reverend and pious Mr Hooker acquaints us) which were so peremptorily established under that high commanding form which rendered them to the people as things everlastingly required by the law of that Lord of Lords, against whose statutes there is no exception to be taken; by which means, it came to pass, that one church could not but accuse and condemn another of disobedience to the will of Christ, in those things where manifest difference was between them: Whereas the self-same orders allowed, but yet established in a more wary and suspence manner, as being to stand in force till God should give the opportunity of some general conference what might be best for them afterwards to do. This, I say, had both prevented all occasion of just dislike which others might take, and reserved a greater liberty unto the authors themselves of entering into farther consultation afterwards; which, though never so necessary, they could not easily now admit, without some fear of derogation from their credit: And therefore that which once they had done, they became for ever after resolute to maintain."

Now, if we consider the shortness of that time wherein our first reformation continued under Edward the Sixth, and the persecution in Queen Mary's reign, which forced many pious and learned clergymen of the church of England to flee into foreign countries (as Zuric, Embden, Basil, Strasburg, Franckfort, Geneva, &c.) for the preservation of their religion and lives, where they frequently conversed with those eminent divines who were the great reformers there, 'tis no wonder that some of them should return better pleased with their discipline than their own; especially considering that several of them had intimate acquaintance and conversation with one of the reformers, whom the Reverend Mr Hooker thought [2] "incomparably the wisest man that ever the French church did enjoy since the hour it enjoyed him." In Queen Elizabeth's, King James's, and King Charles the First's reigns, 'tis well known how our differences increased until that unhappy war broke out, by which the non-conforming interest prevailed; so that the presbyterian discipline was endeavoured to be fixed as the established form of government in this nation; our universities, preachers, writings, education, &c. were generally modelled thereto; by which means the greatest number of the trading part of the kingdom, several of the gentry, and some few of the nobility (observing the precepts and practices, lives and deaths of many of that clergy to be pious and exemplary,) joined with them of this or the like persuasion.

Since which time, it pleasing God to restore King Charles the Second, the parliament thought it convenient to establish the same discipline which our first reformers judged prudential, and that (as the dissenters do complain) upon stricter subscriptions than formerly, not abating or laying aside any of those ceremonies which have been matters of dispute and contention betwixt them and the church of England ever since our blessed reformation from popery and superstition: Upon which account many of the non-conforming divines laid down their livings, and the old controversies began afresh to be revived; and so are like to be continued, until we be either ruined by popery or healed by moderation, which is the only salve to cure the church's wounds; and that admirable remedy formerly proposed to the wisdom of superiors by the Reverend Dr Stillingfleet, who having highly commended the[1] "prudence and temper of the French churches in composing their publick forms of prayer, that they were so far from inserting any thing controversial into them, that papists themselves would use them. And (saith he) the same temper was used by our reformers in the composing our liturgy in reference to the papists, to whom they had an especial eye, as being the only party then appearing whom they desired to draw into their communion, by coming as near them as they well and safely could. And certainly those holy men, who did not seek by any means to draw in others at such a distance from their principles as the papists were, did never intend, by what they did for that end, to exclude any truly tender consciences from their communion. That which they laid as a bait for them, was never intended by them as a hook for those of their own profession. But the same, or greater reason, which made them at that time yield so far to them, would now have persuaded them to alter and lay aside those things which yield matter of offence to any of the same profession with themselves now; for surely none will be so uncharitable toward those of his own profession as not to think there is as much reason to yield in compliance with them as with the papists. And it cannot but be looked upon as a token of God's severe displeasure against us, if any, though unreasonable proposals of peace between us and the papists, should meet with such entertainment among many, and yet any fair offers of union and accommodation among ourselves be so coldly embraced and entertained." Thus far our reverend and learned Dean of Paul's delivered his opinion as to these matters of dispute near thirty years ago, before the laws were established against dissenters. And in his book, entitled, The Unreasonableness of Separation, (wrote twenty years after the former) he hath given the world such a testimony of his real kindness to dissenters, (notwithstanding his hard usage from them) and of his sincere and hearty desire to heal our unhappy breaches, and unite our unchristian divisions, as will for ever consecrate his memory to posterity. Upon these, and some other like considerations, I should humbly propose to the wisdom of this present parliament, some probable means to put an end to our present differences, and to unite us for the future, that so we may become a flourishing nation, free from the factions and divisions of former ages.

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[1] Hooker's Preface to his Ecclesiastical Polity, printed *anno* 1676, p. 44, 45.

[2] Ibid. p. 44.

Proposals for our present Uniting.

1. I humbly propose, that the ceremonies, at present enjoined by law, might be left to the liberty of the clergy to use or lay aside; and that because the dissenters on the one hand are persuaded that their conformity to them would be sinful, and the church of England on the other hand hath declared at several times, that they are things indifferent, and may be changed. Upon our first reformation, in the account she has given of ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained, she saith thus: That "as those ceremonies were taken away which were most abused, and did burthen

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[1] Dr Stillingfleet's Irenicum, p. 122, 123.

men's consciences without any cause, so the other that remain are retained for discipline and order, which, upon just causes, may be altered and changed." Again, since his majesty's restoration, in her Preface to the Common Prayer, are these words: [1]" That the particular forms of divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used, being things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable that, upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigency of times and occasions, such changes should be made therein as to those that are in place of authority should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient. Accordingly we find, that in the reigns of several princes of blessed memory since the Reformation, the church, upon just and weighty considerations her thereunto moving, hath yielded to make such alterations in some particulars, as in their respective times were thought convenient." Thus far the church of England. And of late I find, that a very eminent member thereof, the reverend Dean of Canterbury, hath acquainted us, in a publick sermon preached by him at the Yorkshire Feast, [2]" That though it was not for private persons to undertake in matters of publick concernment, yet he thought he had no cause to doubt but the governors of our church (notwithstanding all the advantages of authority and reason too, as they thought, on their side) were persons of that piety and prudence, that for peace-sake, and in order to a firm union amongst protestants, they would be content, if that would do it, not to insist upon little things, but to yield them up, whether to the infirmity or importunity, or, perhaps, in some very few things, to the plausible exceptions of those who differed from them."

The Reverend Dr Sherlock, in a sermon lately preached before the Lord Mayor, hath likewise most charitably and piously declared his thoughts about these matters of difference in the following words:

[3]" We have reason to hope, that the church of England, which, at the beginning of the Reformation, took such prudent care not to offend the papists by going farther from them than was necessary, will, whenever it is likely to do good, condescend a great deal farther than it is necessary to reform, to meet the dissenter; for while the external decency, gravity, and solemnity of worship is secured, no wise and good man will think much to change a changeable ceremony, when it will heal the breaches and divisions of the church. And let us all heartily pray to God, that there may be this good and peaceable disposition of mind in all conformists and nonconformists towards a happy re union; and all considering men will think it time to lay aside such little disputes, when it is not merely the church of England, nor any particular sect of protestants, whose ruin is aimed at, but the whole protestant faith."

And as a farther confirmation of the readiness, not only of our divines, but of the fathers of our church, to encourage so glorious a work, his grace of Canterbury, and the rest of the petitioning bishops, did, in their famous petition (for which they were sent prisoners to the Tower) assure his majesty, that they did not refuse to distribute and publish his declaration for liberty of conscience from any want of due tenderness to dissenters; in relation to whom they were willing to come to such a temper as should be thought fit when that matter should be considered and settled in parliament and convocation.

And not long after, another company of bishops, who were sent for by the late King James to give him their advice, (in several important affairs of the nation) among other things, proposed that a free parliament should establish a due liberty of conscience.

The Archbishop of Canterbury was so earnest to promote this so christian design, that among those admirable articles recommended by his grace to all the bishops within his province, (which were to be more fully insisted upon in their addresses to the clergy and people of their respective dioceses) this was one:

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[1] Preface to the Common-Prayer.

[2] Dr Tillotson's Sermon, preached at the Yorkshire Feast, *anno* 1679, p. 28.

[3] Dr Sherlock's Sermon, preached before the Lord Mayor, Nov. 1688.

"That they also walk in wisdom towards those that are not of our communion: And if there be in their parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them in the spirit of meekness, seeking by all good ways and means to gain and win them over to our communion. More especially, that they have a very tender regard to our brethren the protestant dissenters; that upon occasion offered they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them; persuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance with our church, or at least, that whereunto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same rule and mind the same thing.

"And in order hereunto, that they take all opportunities of assuring and convincing them, that the bishops of this church are really and sincerely irreconcileable to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the church of Rome.

"And that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of peace for an universal blessed union of all the reformed churches both at home and abroad, against our common enemies; and that all they who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of his holy word, may also meet in one holy communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love."

Now, seeing the church of England hath once and again declared her excellent temper and moderation for the preservation of peace and unity, (the great end and design of all church-government) we have little reason to question her readiness (at such a time as this is) to comply with so modest a proposal, as a liberty of using or refusing those ceremonies, which she saith in their own nature are indifferent and alterable, and upon weighty and important considerations may be changed, &c. or to grant her consent to such a subscription, in relation to those articles which concern the government and discipline of the church, as are proposed by the learned Dean of St Paul's in the Appendix; especially considering, that by this condescension of hers she will certainly bring into her communion a great number of pious, moderate, and more considerate nonconformists; which will not only add strength to herself, but give a great joy and content to all those who have wished well to the peace, unity, and prosperity of this our church and nation. To which end it would not be amiss, that a strict injunction should be laid on the clergy and people to forbear all harsh and unchristian language one towards another, and to observe the apostle's rule, of not judging one another.

2 I would likewise humbly propose, that the rest of the protestant dissenters might be indulged by act of parliament, provided they neither preached, wrote, nor discoursed against the doctrine or government of the church as by law established; and that because charity, which is kind, and thinks no evil, would oblige a sober and indifferent person to believe, that the reason of their separation from our church did chiefly proceed from a tenderness of conscience (impressed upon them by the force of their education, study, conversation, &c.) lest in complying with the present established form of worship, they should sin against God, and wound the peace of their own souls: For otherwise, their own present quiet and interest must necessarily have obliged them to a compliance, they having been under a continual danger and hazard of the execution of the laws established against them; whereby they have been not only deprived of that maintenance, which, by the countenance of authority, they might otherwise have expected and publickly enjoyed, but exposed to many wants, difficulties, and sufferings.

Proposals for preventing future Divisions.

I humbly propose to the wisdom of this present parliament, that an act might be passed, whereby every person (after a limited term of years) intending to take holy orders, should be incapacitated for any church-preferment, or for a licence to preach in private congregations, who could not give a satisfactory account to the bishop of the diocese where he intended to settle, of his proficiency and ability in church-history and primitive learning, whereby he might be able to give a clear and plain account of what discipline and order were used in the church of God nearest our Saviour's and the Apostles' days; when differences and errors in doctrine or church-government began first to arise, with the authors, occasion, and effects thereof. The advantages which must necessarily attend the making of such a law would be very great both to our interest in church and state; amongst which I beg leave to name the following:

1. We might hereby (for the future) more assuredly hope for and expect peace and union amongst our churchmen, who, having been all well acquainted with primitive learning and practice, with the rise and growth of all heresies, schisms, and divisions in the church, and with the fatal consequences which have attended them, would not more rationally than unanimously make choice of one and the same form of worship and discipline, but most heartily unite in their affections to one another, endeavouring with all their strength and power to maintain the church in peace and unity.

2. By this means we might be assured to enjoy the most learned clergy that ever this nation brought forth, who would not only prove a great bulwark against popery on the one hand, but schism and faction on the other; and being so well accomplished for the ministerial function (before they enter into it) might much more assuredly engage the affection and hearts of their people, by spending (in private) the greatest part of the week in instructing them in the principles and encouraging them in the practice of the Christian religion; a duty, alas! too much neglected in our days.

3. We may then hope for preferments to answer every man's merit. One of the principal reasons why we have more clergymen than livings, seeming to be this, that a great number of ordinary tradesmen and farmers do send their children to the universities (being ambitious to make them gentlemen) though they are unable to maintain them there above three or four years; in which time such accomplishments are not to be attained as are required by this proposal. If thereof such a law (as this) were once established, they would be willing to bring them up to honest professions and trades, much more suitable for them, and persons of better estates and quality would be encouraged to bring up their children in the universities, and continue them there until they arrived to that pitch of learning, which would not only render them the honour of their own, but the envy of foreign nations, and also capacitate them for the enjoyment of a preferment suitable to their parents charge, and their own pains and industry; especially if the king would appropriate the first-fruits and tenths of all the ecclesiastical preferments, or the parliament should think fit to raise a sum of money for the purchasing impropriations, and endowing livings with such a competency as might enable the incumbents to provide comfortably for themselves and families, and to keep up decent hospitality in their neighbourhood; and would annex those impropriations (when purchased) to the bishops and chapters of each diocese, who are to be presumed to be the most competent judges of the abilities of all persons to be entrusted with the care of souls: And for the more effectual success of this important affair, let the bishops be obliged every year to call upon the universities for the names of the most pious, learned, and industrious persons in their several colleges.

In short, I heartily wish that we might often and seriously remember our blessed Saviour's prediction, that a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand; and likewise consider that fate, which attended the faction and division of the Jews, which grew to that height that they could not forbear destroying each other, even when their declared enemies the Romans were coming to besiege their city. From which, good Lord deliver us.

APPENDIX.

His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects of his Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

CHARLES R.

How much the peace of the state is concerned in the peace of the church, and how difficult a thing it is to preserve order and government in civil, whilst there is no order or government in ecclesiastical affairs, is evident to the world; and this little part of the world, our own dominions, hath had so late experience of it, that we may very well acquiesce in the conclusion, without enlarging ourself in discourse upon it, it being a subject we have had frequent occasion to contemplate upon, and to lament abroad as well as at home.

In our letter to the speaker of the House of Commons from Breda, we declared how much we desired the advancement and propagation of the protestant religion; that neither the unkindness of those of the same faith towards us, nor the civilities and obligations from those of a contrary profession (of both which we have had abundant evidence) could in the least degree startle us, or make us swerve from it, and that nothing can be proposed to manifest our zeal and affection for it, to which we will not readily consent; and we said then, that we did hope in due time ourself to propose somewhat for the propagation of it, that will satisfy the world that we have always made it both our care and our study, and have enough observed what is most like to bring disadvantage to it. And the truth is, we do think ourself the more competent to propose, and, with God's assistance, to determine many things now in difference from the time we have spent and the experience we have had in most of the reformed churches abroad, in France, in the Low Countries, and in Germany, where we have had frequent conferences with the most learned men, who have unanimously lamented the great reproach the protestant religion undergoes from the distempers, and too notorious schisms in matters of religion in England: And as the most learned among them have always, with great submission and reverence, acknowledged and magnified the established government of the church of England, and the great countenance and shelter the protestant religion received from it before these unhappy times, so many of them have, with great ingenuity and sorrow, confessed that they were too easily misled by misinformation and prejudice into some disesteem of it, as if it had too much complied with the church of Rome; whereas they now acknowledge it to be the best fence God hath yet raised against popery in the world; and we are persuaded they do with great zeal wish it restored to its old dignity and veneration.

When we were in Holland, we were attended by many grave and learned ministers from hence, who were looked upon as the most able and principal assertors of the presbyterian opinions, with whom we had as much conference as the multitude of affairs which were then upon us would permit us to have; and, to our great satisfaction and comfort, found them persons full of affection to us, of zeal for the peace of the church and state, and neither enemies (as they have been given out to be) to episcopacy or liturgy, but modestly to desire such alterations in either, as, without shaking foundations, might best allay the present distempers, which the indisposition of the time, and the tenderness of some men's consciences, had contracted; for the better doing whereof, we did intend, upon our first arrival in this kingdom, to call a synod of divines, as the most proper expedient to provide a proper remedy for all those differences and dissatisfactions which had, or should arise in matters of religion; and, in the mean time, we published, in our Declaration from Breda, a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament, as, upon mature deliberation, shall be offered to us for the full granting that indulgence.

Whilst we continued in this temper of mind and resolution, and have so far complied with the persuasion of particular persons, and the distemper of the time, as to be contented with the exercise of our religion in our own chapel, according to the constant practice and laws established, without enjoining that practice, and the observation of those laws in the churches of the kingdom, in which we have undergone the censure of many, as if we were without that zeal for the church which we ought to have, and which, by God's grace, we shall always retain; we have found ourself not so candidly dealt with as we have deserved, and that there are unquiet and restless spirits, who, without abating any of their own distemper, in recompence of the moderation they find in us, continue their bitterness against the church, and endeavour to raise jealousies of us, and to lessen our reputation by their reproaches, as if we were not true to the professions we have made: and, in order thereunto, they have very unseasonably caused to be printed, published, and dispersed throughout the kingdom, a declaration, heretofore printed in our name during the time of our being in Scotland, of which we shall say no more than that the circumstances by which we were enforced to sign that declaration, are enough known to the world, and that the worthiest and greatest part of that nation did even then detest and abhor the ill usage of us in that particular, when the same tyranny was exercised there by the power of a few ill men, which at that time had spread itself over this kingdom, and therefore we had no reason to expect that we should at this season, when we are doing all we can to wipe out the memory of all that hath been done amiss by other men, and, we thank God, have wiped it out of our own remembrance, have been ourself assaulted with those reproaches, which we will likewise forget.

Since the printing this declaration, several seditious pamphlets and queries have been published and scattered abroad, to infuse dislike and jealousies into the hearts of the people and of the army; and some, who ought rather to have repented the former mischief they have wrought than to have endeavoured to improve it, have had the hardness to publish that the doctrine of the church, against which no man, with whom we have conferred, hath excepted, ought to be reformed as well as the discipline.

This over-passionate and turbulent way of proceeding, and the impatience we find in many for some speedy determination in these matters, whereby the minds of men may be composed, and the peace of the church established, hath prevailed with us to invert the method we had proposed to ourself, and even in order to the better calling and composing of a synod (which the present jealousies will hardly agree upon) by the assistance of God's blessed spirit, which we daily invoke and supplicate, to give some determination ourself to the matters in difference, until such a synod may be called as may, without passion or prejudice, give us such farther assistance towards a perfect union of affections, as well as submission to authority, as is necessary; and we are the rather induced to take this upon us by finding, upon the full conference we have had with the learned men of several persuasions, that the mischiefs under which both the church and state do at present suffer, do not result from any formed doctrine or conclusion which either party maintains or avows, but from the passion and appetite and interest of particular persons, who contract greater prejudice to each other from those affections, than would naturally rise from their opinions; and those distempers must be in some degree allayed before the meeting in a synod can be attended with better success than their meeting in other places, and their discourses in pulpits, have hitherto been ; and, till all thoughts of victory are laid aside, the humble and necessary thoughts for the vindication of truth cannot be enough entertained.

We must, for the honour of all those of either persuasion with whom we have conferred, declare, that the professions and desires of all for the advancement of piety and true godliness are the same ; their professions of zeal for the peace of the church the same ; of affection and duty to us the same : They all approve episcopacy ; they all approve a set form of liturgy ; and they all disapprove and dislike the sin of sacrilege, and the alienation of the revenue of the church : And if upon these excellent foundations, in submission to which there is such a harmony of affections, any superstructures should be raised, to the shaking those foundations, and to the contracting and lessening the blessed gift of charity, which is a vital part of Christian religion, we shall think ourself very unfortunate, and even suspect that we are defective in that administration of government with which God hath entrusted us.

We need not profess the high affection and esteem we have for the church of England, as it is established by law, the reverence to which hath supported us, with God's blessing, against many temptations ; nor do we think that reverence in the least degree diminished by our condescensions, nor peremptorily to insist on some particulars of ceremony, which, however introduced by the piety and devotion, and order of former times, may not be so agreeable to the present, but may even lessen that piety and devotion, for the improvement whereof they might happily be first introduced, and consequently may well be dispensed with ; and we hope this charitable compliance of ours will dispose the minds of all men to a chearful submission to that authority, the preservation whereof is so necessary for the unity and peace of the church, and that they will acknowledge the support of the episcopal authority to be the best support of religion, by being the best means to contain the minds of men within the rules of government ; and they who would restrain the exercise of that holy function within the rules which were observed in the primitive times, must remember and consider that the ecclesiastical power being in those blessed times always subordinate and subject to the civil, it was likewise proportioned to such an extent of jurisdiction as was most agreeable to that. And as the sanctity and simplicity, and resignation of that age, did then refer many things to the bishops, which the policy of succeeding ages would not admit, at least did otherwise provide for, so it can be no reproach to primitive episcopacy, if where there have been great alterations in the civil government from what was then, there have been likewise some difference and alteration in the ecclesiastical, the essence and foundation being still preserved. And upon this ground, without taking upon us to censure the government of the church in other countries, where the government of the state is different from what it is here, or enlarging ourself upon the reasons why, while there was an imagination of erecting a democratical government here in the state, they should be willing to continue an aristocratical government in the church, it shall suffice to say, that since, by the wonderful blessing of God, the hearts of this whole nation are returned to an obedience to monarchick government in the state, it must be very reasonable to support that government in the church which is established by law, and with which the monarchy hath flourished through so many ages, and which is in truth as ancient in this island as the Christian monarchy thereof; and which hath always, in some respects or degrees, been enlarged or restrained, as hath been thought most conducing to the peace and happiness of the kingdom ; and, therefore, we have not the least doubt but that the present bishops will think the present concessions now made by us to allay the present distempers very just and reasonable, and will very chearfully conform themselves thereunto.

1. We do, in the first place, declare our purpose and resolution is, and shall be, to

promote the power of godliness, to encourage the exercises of religion, both publick and private, and to take care that the Lord's Day be applied to holy exercises, without unnecessary divertisements, and that insufficient, negligent, and scandalous ministers be not permitted in the church; and that as the present bishops are known to be men of great and exemplary piety in their lives, which they have manifested in their notorious and unexampled sufferings during these late distempers, and of great and known sufficiency in learning, so we shall take special care, by the assistance of God, to prefer no men to that office and charge, but men of learning, virtue, and piety, who may be themselves the best examples to those who are to be governed by them; and we shall expect, and provide the best we can, that the bishops be frequent preachers, and that they do very often preach themselves in some church of their diocese, except they be hindered by sickness, or other bodily infirmities, or some other justifiable occasion, which shall not be thought justifiable if it be frequent.

2. Because the dioceses, especially some of them, are thought to be of too large extent, we will appoint such a number of suffragan bishops in every diocese as shall be sufficient for the due performance of their work.

3. No bishop shall ordain or exercise any part of jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the church, without the advice and assistance of the presbyters: And no chancellors, commissaries, or officials, as such, shall exercise any act of spiritual jurisdiction in these cases, viz. excommunication, absolution, or wherein any of the ministry are concerned, with reference to their pastoral charge. However, our intent and meaning is, to uphold and maintain the profession of the civil law so far, and in such matters, as it hath been of use and practice within our kingdoms and dominions: Albeit, as to excommunication, our will and pleasure is, that no chancellor, commissary, or official, shall decree any sentence of excommunication or absolution, or be judges in those things wherein any of the ministry are concerned, as is aforesaid. Nor shall the archdeacon exercise any jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance of six ministers of his archdeaconry, whereof three to be nominated by the bishop, and three by the election of the major part of the presbyters within the archdeaconry.

4. To the end that the deans and chapters may be the better fitted to afford counsel and assistance to the bishops, both in ordination and the other offices mentioned before, we will take care that those preferments be given to the most learned and pious presbyters of the diocese; and moreover, that an equal number (to those of the chapter) of the most learned, pious, and discreet presbyters of the same diocese, annually chosen by the major vote of all the presbyters of that diocese present at such elections, shall be always advising and assisting, together with those of the chapter, in all ordinations, and in every part of jurisdiction which appertains to the censures of the church, and at all other solemn and important actions in the exercise of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, wherein any of the ministry are concerned; provided that at all such meetings the number of the ministers so elected, and those present of the chapter, shall be equal, and not exceed one the other; and that, to make the numbers equal, the juniors of the exceeding number be withdrawn, that the most ancient may take place: Nor shall any suffragan bishop ordain or exercise the before-mentioned offices and acts of spiritual jurisdiction, but with the advice and assistance of a sufficient number of the most judicious and pious presbyters annually chosen as aforesaid within his precincts: And our will is, that the great work of ordination be constantly and solemnly performed by the bishop and his aforesaid presbytery, at the four set times and seasons appointed by the church for that purpose.

5. We will take care that confirmation be rightly and solemnly performed by the information, and with the consent of the minister of the place, who shall admit none to the Lord's supper till they have made a credible profession of their faith, and promised obedience to the will of God, according as is expressed in the considerations of

the rubrick before the catechism; and that all possible diligence be used for the instruction and reformation of scandalous offenders, whom the minister shall not suffer to partake of the Lord's table, until they have openly declared themselves to have truly repented and amended their former naughty lives, as is partly expressed in the rubrick, and more fully in the canons, provided there be place for due appeal to superior powers. But besides the suffragans and their presbytery, every rural dean (those deans, as heretofore, to be nominated by the bishop of the diocese,) together with three or four ministers of that deanery, chosen by the major part of all the ministers within the same, shall meet once in every month, to receive such complaints as shall be presented to them by the ministers or churchwardens of the respective parishes; and also to compose all such differences betwixt party and party, as shall be referred unto them by way of arbitration, and to convince offenders, and reform all such things as they find amiss by their pastoral reproofs and admonitions, if they may be so reformed: And such matters as they cannot, by this pastoral and persuasive way, compose and reform, are by them to be prepared for and presented to the bishop; at which meeting any other ministers of that deanery may, if they please, be present and assist. Moreover, the rural dean and his assistants are, in their respective divisions, to see that the children and younger sort be carefully instructed by the respective ministers of every parish, in the grounds of Christian religion, and be able to give a good account of their faith and knowledge, and also of their Christian conversation conformable thereunto, before they be confirmed by the bishop, or admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

6. No bishop shall exercise any arbitrary power, or do or impose any thing upon the clergy or the people, but what is according to the known law of the land.

7. We are very glad to find, that all with whom we have conferred, do in their judgments approve a liturgy, or set form of publick worship, to be lawful; which, in our judgment, for the preservation of unity and uniformity, we conceive to be very necessary: And though we do esteem the liturgy of the church of England, contained in the Book of Common-Prayer, and by law established, to be the best we have seen, (and we believe that we have seen all that are extant and used in this part of the world, and well know what reverence most of the reformed churches, or at least the most learned men in those churches, have for it,) yet, since we find some exceptions made against several things therein, we will appoint an equal number of learned divines of both persuasions to review the same, and to make such alterations as shall be thought most necessary; and some additional forms in the scripture-phrase (as near as may be) suited unto the nature of the several parts of worship; and that it be left to the minister's choice to use one or other at his discretion. In the mean time, and till this be done, although we do heartily wish and desire that the ministers in their several churches, because they dislike some clauses and expressions, would not totally lay aside the use of the Book of Common-Prayer, but read those parts against which there can be no exception, which would be the best instance of declining those marks of distinction, which we so much labour and desire to remove; yet, in compassion to divers of our good subjects who scruple the use of it as now it is, our will and pleasure is, that none be punished or troubled for not using it, until it be reviewed, and effectually reformed, as aforesaid.

8. Lastly, concerning ceremonies, which have administered so much matter of difference and contention, and which have been introduced by the wisdom and authority of the church, for edification and the improvement of piety, we shall say no more, but that we have the more esteem of all, and reverence for many of them, by having been present in many of those churches were they are most abolished or discountenanced; and it cannot be doubted, but that, as the universal church cannot introduce one ceremony in the worship of God that is contrary to God's word expressed in the scripture, so every national church, with the approbation and consent of the sovereign power.

may, and hath always introduced such particular ceremonies, as in that conjuncture of time are thought most proper for edification, and the necessary improvement of piety and devotion in the people, though the necessary practice thereof cannot be deduced from scripture; and that which before was, and in itself is indifferent, ceases to be indifferent after it is once established by law: and therefore our present consideration and work is, to gratify the private consciences of those who are grieved with the use of some ceremonies, by indulging to, and dispensing with, their omitting those ceremonies; not utterly to abolish any which are established by law, (if any are practised contrary to law the same shall cease,) which would be unjust, and of ill example; and to impose upon the conscience of some, for the satisfaction of the conscience of others, which is otherwise provided for. As it could not be reasonable that men should expect that we should ourself decline, or enjoin others to do so, to receive the blessed sacrament upon our knees, which in our conscience is the most humble, most devout, and most agreeable posture for that holy duty, because some other men, upon reasons best, if not only known to themselves, chuse rather to do it sitting or standing: We shall leave all decisions and determinations of that kind, if they shall be thought necessary for a perfect and entire unity and uniformity throughout the nation, to the advice of a national synod, which shall be duly called after a little time, and a mutual conversation between persons of different persuasions, hath mollified those distempers, abated those sharpnesses, and extinguished those jealousies, which make men unfit for those consultations; and upon such advice, we shall use our best endeavour that such laws may be established as may best provide for the peace of the church and state, provided that none shall be denied the sacrament of the Lord's supper, though they do not use the gesture of kneeling in the act of receiving.

In the mean time, out of compassion and compliance towards those who would forbear the cross in baptism, we are content that no man shall be compelled to use the same, or suffer for not doing it; but if any parent desire to have his child christened according to the form used, and the minister will not use the sign, it shall be lawful for that parent to procure another minister to do it: and if the proper minister shall refuse to omit that ceremony of the cross, it shall be lawful for the parent, who would not have his child so baptised, to procure another minister to do it, who will do it according to his desire.

No man shall be compelled to bow at the name of Jesus, or suffer in any degree for not doing it, without reproaching those who, out of their devotion, continue that ancient ceremony of the church.

For the use of the surplice, we are contented that all men be left to their liberty to do as they shall think fit, without suffering in the least degree for wearing or not wearing it, provided that this liberty do not extend to our own chapel, cathedral, or collegiate churches, or to any college in either of our universities; but that the several statutes and customs for the use thereof in the said places be there observed as formerly.

And because some men, otherwise pious and learned, say they cannot conform unto the subscription required by the canon, nor take the oath of canonical obedience, we are content, and it is our will and pleasure, (so they take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy,) that they shall receive ordination, institution, and induction, and shall be permitted to exercise their function, and enjoy the profits of their livings, without the said subscription or oath of canonical obedience. And moreover, that no persons in the universities shall, for the want of such subscription, be hindered in the taking of their degrees. Lastly, that none be judged to forfeit his presentation or benefice, or be deprived of it, upon the statute of the thirteenth of Queen Elizabeth, chapter the twelfth, so he read and *declare* his assent to all the articles of religion, which only concern the confession of the true Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments comprised in the book of articles in the said statute mentioned.

In a word, we do again renew what we have formerly said in our declaration from Breda, for the liberty of tender consciences, that no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and if any have been disturbed in that kind since our arrival here, it hath not proceeded from any direction of ours.

To conclude, and in this place to explain what we mentioned before, and said in our letter to the House of Commons from Breda, that we hoped in due time ourself to propose somewhat for the propagation of the protestant religion, that will satisfy the world that we have always made it both our care and our study, and have enough observed what is most like to bring advantage to it, we do conjure all our loving subjects to acquiesce in and submit to this declaration, concerning those differences which have so much disquieted the nation at home, and given such offence to the protestant churches abroad, and brought such reproach upon the protestant religion in general, as if, upon obscure notions of faith and fancy, it did admit the practice of Christian duties and obedience to be discountenanced and suspended, and introduced a license in opinions and manners, to the prejudice of the Christian faith. And let us all endeavour and emulate each other in those endeavours, to countenance and advance the protestant religion abroad, which will be best done by supporting the dignity and reverence due to the best reformed protestant church at home; and which, being once freed from the calumnies and reproaches it hath undergone from these late ill times, will be the best shelter for those abroad; which will, by that countenance, both be the better protected against their enemies, and be the more easily induced to compose the differences amongst themselves, which give their enemies more advantage against them. And we hope and expect, that all men will henceforth forbear to vent any such doctrine in the pulpit, or to endeavour to work in such manner upon the affections of the people, as may dispose them to an ill opinion of us and the government, and to disturb the peace of the kingdom; which if all men will, in their several vocations, endeavour to preserve with the same affection and zeal as we ourself will do, all our good subjects will, by God's blessing upon us, enjoy as great a measure of felicity as this nation hath ever done, and which we shall constantly labour to procure for them, as the greatest blessing God can bestow upon us in this world.

Given at our court at Whitehall, this twenty-fifth day of October, 1660.

The Reverend Dean of Paul's Proposals, or Terms of Union, betwixt the Church of England and the Dissenters: Taken out of his Preface to the Unreasonableness of Separation, Page 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94.

Is there nothing to be done for dissenting protestants, who agree with us in all doctrinal articles of our church, and only scruple the use of a few ceremonies, and some *late impositions? Shall these differences still be continued, when they may be so easily removed, and so many useful men be encouraged and taken into the constitution? Do we value a few indifferent ceremonies, and some late declarations and doubtful expressions, beyond the satisfaction of men's consciences, and the peace and stability of this church?*

As to this material question I shall crave leave to deliver my opinion freely and impartially; and that,

I. With respect to the case of the people, the terms of whose union with us is acknowledged by our brethren to be so much easier than their own. But these are of two sorts:

1. Some allow the use of the liturgy, but say, they cannot join in communion with us, because the participation of the sacraments hath such rites and ceremonies annexed to it, which they think unlawful; and therefore, till these be removed, or left indifferent, they dare not join with us in baptism or the Lord's Supper; because in the one the cross is used, and in the other kneeling is required. As to these I answer,

(1.) Upon the most diligent search I could make into these things, I find no good ground for any scruple of conscience as to the use of these ceremonies, and as little as any as to the sign of the cross, as it is used in our church, notwithstanding all the noise that hath been made about its being a new sacrament, and I know not what; but of this at large in the following treatise.

(2.) I see no ground for the people's separation from other acts of communion, on the account of some rites they suspect to be unlawful, and especially when the use of such rites is none of their own act, as the cross in baptism is not; and when such an explication is annexed concerning the intention of kneeling at the Lord's Supper, as in the rubrick after the communion.

(3.) Notwithstanding, because the use of sacraments in a Christian church ought to be the most free from all exceptions, and they ought to be so administered as rather to invite than discourage scrupulous persons from joining in them, I do think it would be a part of Christian wisdom and condescension in the governors of our church to remove those bars from a freedom in joining in full communion with us; which may be done either by wholly taking away the sign of the cross, or, if that may give offence to others, by confining the use of it to the publick administration of baptism, or by leaving it indifferent, as the parents desire it. As to kneeling at the Lord's Supper, since some posture is necessary, and many devout people scruple any other, and the primitive church did in ancient times receive it in the posture of adoration, there is no reason to take this away, even in parochial churches, provided that those who scruple kneeling, do receive it with the least offence to others, and rather standing than sitting; because the former is most agreeable to the practice of antiquity, and of our neighbour-reformed churches. As to the surplice in parochial churches, it is not of that consequence as to bear a dispute one way or other; and as to cathedral churches, there is no necessity of alteration. But there is another thing which seems to be of late much scrupled in baptism, viz. The use of godfathers and godmothers, excluding the parents. Although I do not question but the practice of our church may be justified, (as I have done it towards the end of the following treatise,) yet I see no necessity of adhering so strictly to the canon herein, but that a little alteration may prevent these scruples, either by permitting the parents to join with the sponsors, or by the parents publickly desiring the sponsors to represent them in offering the child to baptism; or, which seems most agreeable to reason, that the parents offer the child to baptism, and then the sponsors perform the covenanting part, representing the child, and the charge after baptism be given in common to the parents and sponsors.

These things being allowed, I see no obstruction remaining as to a full union of the body of such dissenters with us, in all acts of divine worship and Christian communion, as do not reject all communion with us as unlawful.

2. But because there are many of those who are become zealous protestants, and plead much their communion with us in faith and doctrine, although they cannot join with us in worship, because they deny the lawfulness of liturgies and the right constitution of our churches, their case deserves some consideration, whether, and how far, they are capable of being made serviceable to the common interest, and to the support of the protestant religion among us.

To their case I answer,

First, That a general unlimited toleration to dissenting protestants will soon bring confusion among us, and in the end popery, as I have shewed already; and a suspension of all the penal laws that relate to dissenters is the same thing with a boundless toleration.

Secondly, If any present favours be granted to such, in consideration of our circumstances, and to prevent their conjunction with the papists for a general toleration, (for if ever the papists obtain it, it must be under their name,) if, I say, such favour be thought fit to be shewed them, it ought to be with such restrictions and limitations as may prevent the mischief which may easily follow upon it; for all such meetings are a perpetual reproach to our churches, by their declaring, That our churches are no true churches; that our manner of worship is unlawful; and that our church-government is Antichristian; and that on these accounts they separate from us, and worship God by themselves. But if such an indulgence be thought fit to be granted, I humbly offer these things to consideration:

1. That none be permitted to enjoy the privilege of it who do not declare, That they do hold communion with our churches to be unlawful: For it seems unreasonable to allow it to others, and will give countenance to endless and causeless separations.

2. That all who enjoy it, besides taking the test against popery, do subscribe the thirty-six articles of our faith, because the pretence of this liberty is joining with us in points of faith; and this may more probably prevent papists getting in amongst them.

3. That all such as enjoy it must declare the particular congregations they are of, and enter their names before such commissioners as shall be authorized for that purpose, that so this may be no pretence for idle, loose, and profane persons, never going to any church at all.

4. That both preachers and congregations be liable to severe penalties, if they use any bitter or reproachful words, either in sermons or writings, against the established constitution of our churches, because they desire only the freedom of their own consciences; and the using this liberty will discover it is not conscience, but a turbulent factious humour, which makes them separate from our communion.

5. That all indulged persons be particularly obliged to pay all legal duties to the parochial churches, (lest mere covetousness tempt men to run among them,) and no persons so indulged be capable of any publick office; it not being reasonable that such should be trusted with government, who look upon the worship established by law as unlawful.

6. That no other penalty be laid on such indulged persons but that of twelve-pence a Sunday for their absence from their parochial churches, which ought to be duly collected for the use of the poor, and cannot be complained of as any heavy burthen, considering the liberty they do enjoy by it.

7. That the bishops, as visitors appointed by law, have an exact account given to them of the rule of their worship and discipline, and of all the persons belonging to the indulged congregations, with their qualities and places of abode; and that none be admitted a member of any such congregation without acquainting their visitor with it, that so means may be used to prevent their leaving our communion, by giving satisfaction to their scruples. This power of the bishops cannot be scrupled by them, since herein they are considered as commissioners appointed by law.

8. That no indulged persons presume, under severe penalties, to breed up scholars, or to teach gentlemen's sons university-learning; because this may be justly looked on as a design to propagate schism to posterity, and to lay a foundation for the disturbance of future generations.

II. As to the case of the ejected ministers, I have these things to offer:

1. That bare subscription of the thirty-six articles, concerning doctrinal points, be not allowed as sufficient to qualify any man for a living, or any church-preferment, for these reasons:

First, Any layman, upon these terms, may not only be capable of a living, but may take upon him to administer the sacraments, which was never allowed in any well-constituted church in the Christian world. And such an allowance among us, instead of settling and uniting us, will immediately bring things into great confusion, and give mighty advantage to the papists against our church. And we have reason to fear a design of this nature, under a pretence of union of protestants, tends to the subversion of this church, and throwing all things into confusion, which at last will end in popery.

Secondly, This will bring a faction into the church, which will more endanger it than external opposition; for such men will come in triumphantly, having beaten down three of the thirty-nine articles; and, being in legal possession of their places, will be ready to defy and contemn those who submitted to the rest, and to glory in their conquests, and draw followers after them, as the victorious confessors against prelacy and ceremonies. And can they imagine those of the church of England will see the reputation of the church, or their own, to suffer so much, and not appear in their own vindication? Things are not come to that pass, nor will they suddenly be, that the friends of the church of England will be either afraid or ashamed to own her cause. We do heartily and sincerely desire union with our brethren, if it may be had on just and reasonable terms; but they must not think that we will give up the cause of the church for it, so as to condemn its constitution, or make the ceremonies unlawful, which have been hitherto observed and practised in it. If any expedient can be found out for the ease of other men's consciences, without reflecting on our own; if they can be taken in without reproach or dishonour to the reformation of the church, I hope no true son of the church of England will oppose it. But if the design be to bring them in as a faction, to bridle and controul the episcopal power by setting up forty bishops in a diocese against one; if it be for them to trample upon the church of England, and not to submit to its order and government upon fair and moderate terms, let them not call this a design of union, but the giving law to a party to oppose the church of England. And what the success of this will be let wise men judge.

Thirdly, If a subscription to thirty-six articles were sufficient by the statute 13 Eliz. c. 12, I do not understand how, by virtue of that statute, a man is bound publickly to read the thirty-nine articles in the church, and the testimonial of his subscription, on pain of being deprived, *ipso facto*, if he do not. For the Lord Chief Justice Coke saith, (*g*) That subscription to the thirty-nine articles is required by force of the act of parliament, 13 Eliz. c. 12. And he adds, That the delinquent is disabled and deprived, *ipso facto*, and that a conditional subscription to them was not sufficient, was resolved by all the judges in England. But how a man should be deprived, *ipso facto*, for not subscribing and reading the thirty-nine articles, as appears by the cases mentioned in Coke, and yet be required only to subscribe to thirty-six by the same statute, is a thing too hard for me to conceive.

2. But notwithstanding this, if any temper can be found out as to the manner of subscription, that may give ease to the scruples of our brethren, and secure the peace of the church, the desired union may be attained without that apparent danger of increasing the factions among us.

And this I suppose may be done by an absolute subscription to all those articles which concern the doctrine of the true Christian faith, and the use of the sacraments, and a solemn promise under their hand, or subscription of peaceable submission, as to

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(*g*) Coke's Inst. 4. part 323, 324.

the rest, so as not to oppose or contradict them, either in preaching or writing, upon the same penalty as if they had not subscribed to the thirty-six; which may be a more probable means to keep the church in quiet, than forcing a more rigorous subscription upon them, or leaving them at their full liberty.

3. As to the other subscription required, 1 Jac. to the three articles: The first is provided for by the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; the third is the same with the subscription to the thirty-nine articles; and as to the second, about the Book of Common-Prayer, &c. it ought to be considered,

(1.) Whether, for the satisfaction of the scrupulous, some more doubtful and obscure passages may not yet be explained or amended? Whether the new translation of the Psalms were not fitter to be used at least in parochial churches? Whether portions of canonical scripture were not better put instead of apocryphal lessons? Whether the rubrick about salvation of infants might not be restored to its former place in the office of confirmation, and so the present exceptions against it be removed? Whether those expressions which suppose the strict exercise of discipline in burying the dead, were not better left at liberty in our present case? Such a review made by wise and peaceable men, not given to wrath and disputing, may be so far from being a dishonour to this church, that it may add to the glory of it.

(2.) Upon such a review, whether it be not great reason that all persons who officiate in the church, be not only tied to a constant use of it in all publick offices (as often as they administer them) which they ought in person frequently to do, but to declare, at their first entrance upon a parochial charge, their approbation of the use of it, after their own reading of it, that so the people may not suspect them to carry on a factious design, under an outward pretence of conformity to the rules of the church they live in.

(3.) Whether such a solemn using the liturgy, and approbation and promise of the use of it, may not be sufficient, instead of the late form of declaring their assent and consent, which hath been so much scrupled by our brethren?

These are all the things which appear to me reasonable to be allowed in order to an union, and which I suppose may be granted without detriment or dishonour to our church. There are other things very desirable towards the happiness and flourishing of this church; as the exercise of discipline in parochial churches, in a due subordination to the bishop; the reforming the ecclesiastical courts as to excommunication, without prejudice to the excellent profession of the civil law; the building of more churches in great parishes, especially about the city of London; the retrenching pluralities; the strictness and solemnity of ordinations; the making a book of canons suitable to this age, for the better regulating the conversations of the clergy. Such things as these might facilitate our union, and make our church, in spite of all its enemies, become a praise in the whole earth.

A Specimen of a Bill for uniting Protestants; being a rough Draught of such Terms as seem equal for the Conformist to grant, and the Non-conformist to yield to, for Peace Sake: Provided a good while, and published on Purpose only for the further, better, and more easy Consideration of the Parliament.

Whereas there are many jealousies risen about popery, which makes it even necessary to the peace of the nation, that the protestant interest be united and strengthened by all good and lawful means; and to this end there being one proper expedient, to wit, the removing the occasion of divisions, which several persons do find to themselves in those late injunctions, which yet were intended to the same purpose of concord in the nation: Be it enacted ———— That an explanation of these impositions, and such alleviations be allowed to the tenderly considerate and peaceably scrupulous, as follow:

In the Act of Uniformity, by the declaration of assent and consent to all things, and every thing contained in it, and prescribed by the two Books of Common Prayer, and of ordering priests and deacons, we understand not that these books are in every minute particular infallible, or free from that defect which is incident to all human composure, but that they are in the main contents to be sincerely approved and used. And we do therefore allow this declaration to be sufficient, if it be made to the use of the book, in the ordinary constant Lord's-day's service, notwithstanding any exceptions some may have against some things in the by-offices, and occasional service, the rubrick, and otherwise: And for the ceremonies which are made, and have been always, and on all hands, held to be only indifferent things, we think fit that they be left to the consciences and prudence of ministers and people, every where (excepting the cathedrals) to use them, or forbear them, as they judge it most meet for their own and others edification; provided that if any person will have his child baptized with the sign of the cross, or stands upon any thing else hitherto required by the service-book, if the minister himself scruple the performance, he shall permit another to do it.

In the same act, by those words in the subscription, "That it is not lawful to take arms against the king upon any pretence whatsoever," we intend no new or strange thing, but the rightful maintenance only of the king's authority against rebellion, according to the common determination of learned writers, in the case of subjection to princes. By the words, "I abhor the position of taking arms by the authority of the king, against any commissionated by him," we never thought of advancing the arbitrary commissions of the king above law; but by those commissionated by him, we understand such as are legally commissionated, and in the legal pursuit of such commissions. By the clause which follows, that requires a renunciation of all endeavour of any alteration of government in the church or state, we never meant to deny any free-born subject his right of chusing parliament men, or acting in his place for the common good any way, according to law; but that he shall renounce all such endeavour as is seditious, or not warranted by the constitution of the nation; and particularly, such an endeavour as was assumed in the late times, without, and against the consent of the king: And for the rest of the subscription, which is enjoined but to the year 1682, be it enacted, that it cease presently and be no longer enjoined.

And forasmuch as there is an oath prescribed and required of all non-conformist preachers that reside in any corporate town, by a certain act of the former parliament, made at Oxford, in the 17th year of his now majesty's reign, entitled, "An act for restraining Non-conformists from inhabiting Corporations," we do farther declare, that it shall suffice any man for the enjoyment of his free-born liberty, of inhabiting where he thinks best, and serve him also instead of the before-mentioned subscription, to take that oath in this form of words following: "I, A. B. do swear, that I hold it unlawful upon any pretence to take arms against the king, his government, or laws; and that I disclaim that dangerous position of taking arms by his authority, against his person, or any legally commissionated by him, in the legal pursuit of such commissions; and that I will not endeavour any alteration of government in the church or state, in any way or manner, not warranted by the constitution of the kingdom, or any otherwise than by act of parliament:" And as soon as any man has taken the oath thus, he shall be discharged of all penalty for his omission before.

We do declare moreover, that whereas it is required also in the act of uniformity, that every minister who enjoys any living or ecclesiastical preferment, shall be ordained by a bishop; and there are several persons of late, who, in case of necessity, for want of bishops, took presbyterian orders: Our meaning is not in any wise to disgust the reformed churches beyond the seas, and make it necessary for such to be re-ordained to the office, but that they receive this second imposition of hands to the exercise of their office in the new charge unto which they are or shall be called; and that the bishop shall frame his words accordingly.

And whereas there is a subscription also in the canons, and the canonical oath of obedience, imposed on most ministers by the bishops, that have given some of the greatest occasion to non-conformity heretofore, which yet never passed into law by any act of parliament, we do further declare, that nothing more of that kind shall be required of ministers henceforward, than was made and held necessary by the act of the 13th of Elizabeth.

And in regard there hath been great offence taken by conscientious ministers, at the bishops, or their courts, commanding them to read the sentence of excommunication against some or other of their parish, for such faults as they think not at all worthy of so great a censure, we declare it but a just thing that every minister be first satisfied in the cause, or else be exempted from the execution of that charge; and that the bishop, or his court, provide some other person, that is satisfied about it, to do it.

And to the intent that a free search after truth may not be discouraged in the pursuit of concord, and many other scruples avoided upon that account, we declare that though an authentic interpretation be required as to the substance of all laws, yet, in the articles of the church, (which are theses for agreement, and not laws) and the homilies, a doctrinal interpretation shall be held sufficient for an assent or subscription to them.

And because the very superintendency of bishops, and that subjection to them which is required by the constitution of the realm, is, or may be, an hinderance to many sober ministers, and other protestants, of coming into the church, who are ready to consent to the doctrine, but not to the discipline or government of it, we do declare, that so long as any person or party do acknowledge the king's supremacy, as head of the church in this nation, and obey their ordinary, or the bishops, *in licitis et honestis*, upon the account of his authority, (committed to them for the exercise of that external regimen, *circa sacra*, which is granted by all our divines to the higher powers in every nation,) it is enough for the owning episcopal jurisdiction, (so far as they do own it in the declaration of assent and consent, or in any other part of conformity,) and shall serve them to all intents and purposes in law, no less than a professed belief and acknowledgment of the immediate divine right of it.

Be it therefore enacted, by this present parliament, that if any person be willing to conform to the present establishment of the church of England, and her service appointed according to these explanations, alleviations, declarations, lenitives, or cautions, he shall be admitted to any ecclesiastical preferment, and enjoy the use of his ministry without any molestation; all statutes, canons, or laws, to the contrary notwithstanding.

And for the making this act of better signification to the concerned, and the prevention of that scandal which is raised on the clergy, through the covetousness of some, in heaping up to themselves all the preferments they can get, when others have scarce subsistence for their families, and the souls of many people are thereby neglected, be it farther enacted, that no clergyman, for the three next years ensuing, be suffered to enjoy any more than one living, or cure of souls, and one dignity, or other ecclesiastical preferment, at one time; and that every man, without exception, that hath more than one of either, shall immediately give up the rest to be distributed among those who shall be brought off from their non-conformity, upon the terms of this act, into the established order; which, that they may be also obtained, and possessed with a clean conscience, and that grievous corruption of simony may be extirpated out of the land, be it enacted moreover, that every patron that shall henceforward present his clerk to any living, shall have the oath called the Simonical Oath imposed on him, no less than on the incumbent; and if he refuses to take it, that then the bishop shall have immediate power (taking only the same oath) of presentation in his room.

And forasmuch as there are some persons of a good life, that cannot (according to their judgments) allow of our parochial churches, nor a book of liturgy, but do chuse to worship God and Jesus Christ in the way of their gathered or separate congregations, and crave the protection and clemency of the king, upon their allegiance, as other subjects, be it finally enacted, for the happiness and quiet of the realm, and the reduction of these men by other means than those which have hitherto proved unsuccessful, that every Christian subject throughout the land, that profess the reformed religion, and be not convicted of popery, be pardoned all faults and penalties incurred upon the account of any fore-passed non-conformity; and that they shall not, during these seven years next ensuing, be prosecuted upon any penal law for their consciences in the matter of religion; they carrying themselves innocently and peaceably, with submission to the civil, and without disturbance to the ecclesiastical government now settled in the nation; all statutes to the contrary notwithstanding.

In short, a repeal of our laws about conformity unto the 13th of Elizabeth, or a new act of uniformity, or the king's declaration concerning ecclesiastical affairs, at his first coming in turned into a law, were comprehension.

His latter declaration to all his loving subjects (some few things in both yet a little considered) made so, were indulgence.

A bill of comprehension, with indulgence, both together, will do our business; an addition, or clause in it, against pluralities, will do it with supererogation.

Deo Gloria.

The Amicable Reconciliation of the Dissenters to the Church of England; being a Model or Draught for the Universal Accommodation in the Case of Religion, and the bringing in all Parties to her Communion. Humbly presented to the Consideration of Parliament.

[Every body knows, that the king was scarce warm in his throne, before he took occasion to recommend the protestant dissenters to the favour of parliament, in a speech to both houses; and about the same time it was that this healing project was made public.—*Orig. Note.*]

WHEREAS there are several parties of Christians in the nation who must and will ever differ in their opinions about the church and discipline of it, in the question which is of Christ's institution, it is not our disputes about the church as *particular* (which are rather to be mutually forborn, and every party left herein to their own persuasion) but a common agreement in what we can agree, and that is in the church as *national,* must heal our breaches.

The catholicks are for one universal organical church throughout the world, whereof the pope is head, according to some, and the bishops convened in a general council, according to others.

That there is a catholick church visible on earth, as well as invisible, whereof Christ is head, who was on earth, and is now visible in heaven, is past doubt also with protestants; but that this church is organical, and under the government of a monarchy by the pope, or of an aristocracy by a general council, it seems a thing not possible in nature; because neither can any oecumenical council ever be called, or any one man be sufficient to take on him the concernments of the whole world.

A political church is a community of Christians brought into an order of superiority and inferiority by an head and members, organized for the exercise of that government which is proper to it; but the whole earth is not capable of any such order: And councils therefore which are gathered out of several countries, or of bishops belonging to more dominions than of one supreme power, may be had for mutual advice and concord, but not for government.

A nation, empire, or kingdom, which consists of one supreme magistrate and people, who are generally Christians, are capable of such an ecclesiastical polity, and a national church political in England is to be asserted and maintained.

The church of England then is a political society of all the Christians in the land, united in the king as head, and organized by the bishops, for the executing those laws or government which he chuses for their spiritual good and the public peace.

There is this difference between a church national, the church catholic, and particular churches: the two latter are of divine right and essential consideration; but the former is and can be only of human institution; for it is manifestly accidental to the church of Christ, that the chief magistrate and the whole people should be Christians.

Distinguish we here of the government of the church as internal, belonging to the Spirit, and external, which belongs to men: and of the external regiment thereof, which is either formal, belonging to the ministers or officers of Christ, or objective, belonging to the magistrate; the one being only by the keys, the other by the sword. Whether the community now of Christians in England may be accounted a national church in respect to any formal government of it, we leave for dispute to others; let them judge according to the foregoing definition of a political church: But that the main body of the nation are, or may be constituted a proper political church national in respect to that external objective regiment, which is or should be exercised by the bishops, as the proper organs thereof under the king, is what we hold reasonable, and would lay as the foundation-stone of peace, in the matter of religion, between all persons in the kingdom.

Let the parliament therefore we have be heartily for the public good and thriving of England, which must and can be only by an entire liberty of conscience in opposition to the narrow spirit of any single party or faction; and when such a parliament as this shall set themselves about the business of union to purpose, a bill should be brought in, entituled, "An Act for declaring the Constitution of our Church of England."

A parliament is the representative of the whole nation, and no doubt but by consent and agreement they might (upon the account mentioned) make a new constitution, and much more may they declare the constitution of it.

It should be declared then in such a bill, or act, that the church of England consists of the king as the head, or *pars imperans,* who is to give laws thereto, and all the several assemblies of Christians which he shall tolerate, as the *pars subdita,* or body.

Some discrimination between the tolerable and intolerable, is indeed never to be gainsaid by any wise and good man, unto whom there is no liberty can be desirable which is not consistent at least with these three things, the articles of our creed, a good life, and the fundamental government of the kingdom.

It is not for any private persons, but a parliament, to prescribe the terms of national communion; but we would have all our assemblies that are tolerable to be made legal by such an act (and thereby parts of the national church) as well as the parochial congregations.

The church here, therefore, must come under a double consideration, as the church of Christ, and as the church of England. Take the church as the church of Christ, and there must be (as we have said at first) endless controversy about this point, who are the true members of it; but take it under the consideration as national, and there will be none at all, for those must be members whom the head by a law does allow to be parts of the body; and the king under this notion only is made head of the church by the statute, that is, as it is called, *Ecclesia Anglicana.*

The protestant dissenters of all sorts, as well as the conformists, will acknowledge the king to be supreme coercive governor over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical and civil throughout his dominions: And will not those who are Roman catholicks do the like? Did they not so in Henry the Eighth's time, when they were generally such? Again, the dissenters of all sorts, even the congregationalists of every sect, are ready to submit to any power legally derived from the king, and upon such an account will admit of a superintendancy of the bishops, as ecclesiastical magistrates under him, when they cannot own any other authority that they have over other ministers from Jesus Christ; and will not papists also be subject to all authority that is exercised legally in his name, howsoever they may question the spiritual title of the English clergy and their succession?

We would have the bishops then (*qua* bishops, as distinct in office from priests) declared no other than the king's officers, whose power is but objectively ecclesiastical, and to act *circa sacra* only, by virtue of his authority and commission.

As Jehosaphat did commit the charge incumbent upon him as supreme magistrate, in regard to all matters of the Lord, unto the care of Amariah, being chief priest, and in regard to the king's matters unto Zebadiah, being as the chief justice of the realm, so should the diocesan bishop be in our ecclesiastical, as the judges are in civil matters, the substitutes altogether of his majesty, and execute his jurisdiction.

This is indeed a state point which was thoroughly canvassed by Henry the Eighth, whose divines did agree on two orders alone, priest and deacon, to be of divine appointment, and that the superiority of a bishop over a presbyter, or of one bishop over another, was but by the positive laws of men only, as appears in that authentic book then put out, intitled, "The Necessary Erudition." And consequently, that the bishop could not have or exert any jurisdiction over the subject, unless warranted and derived from the king, without danger of a *præmunire*, which made Bonner (with others) hold his bishopric by commission.

Upon this ground, if it should please his majesty to chuse some persons of the dissenters to this office, authorising them to it no otherwise than by a like commission (which they should also hold with the judges *quam diu se bene gesserunt*:) As none of them could scruple then the acceptance, so must a union from that day forward commence in England, especially if he would not leave filling up the vacancies that fall with such, till they in some measure equal the conformists.

We are sensible unto what distress the ministers of a particular congregation of all sorts may be brought in the exercise of discipline over some potent, turbulent, and refractory members; and what relief he might find in such an external ecclesiastical officer as this: We are sensible how many inconveniences of congregational episcopacy may by this means only be saved.

Their work in general should be to supervise the churches of all parties in their dioceses, that they walk according to their own principles in due order, agreeable to the gospel and the peace of one another; and more particularly in the observance of all laws and limitations, rules, or canons, which the king, as supreme head, shall, by advice of a convocation, or the consent of his three estates in parliament, make on purpose, and impose upon them, with respect both to the public emolument, and the safety of his own person, dignity, and dominions.

For example, suppose this to be one canon or injunction, that no novice, but such as are grave men only among the sects, be admitted to be teachers. Another this, That the doors be kept open in all conventicles for any that will, to come in and hear that no sedition be there hatched or broached. There are such, and many the like impositions may be found, very fit to be laid on some persons, not needful for others; and it is time, and the trial and experience which must be the mother to bring them forth, and cultivate them after to their best advantage.

To the making such canons, we humbly motion a third clerk for the convocation, to be added to the two in every diocese, and chose out of the dissenters with indifferent respect to all sorts of them, that mutual satisfaction and concord may thereby be prosecuted with unanimity of heart and good-will throughout all the churches: And the two provinces of Canterbury and York should unite in this convocation for the making them one national church, and not two provincial ones in a diverse assembly.

By this means shall one organ more be added to this great political society, for deriving an influence from the head to these parts of the body, as well as others which now seem neglected, and to have no care taken of them.

The more especial business of such an equally-modelled convocation should be the revising the Book of Canons for the reversing the main body of them, having been fitted to that narrow scantling which is unworthy the church of England, and for the leaving only those, and making new (as we have exemplified in one or two, for instance sake, even now which do,) and will suit to that larger constitution thereof intended by this paper.

And having now said thus much for explanation of this design, we must say some little also in favour of it.

The design of such an accommodation as this, shall advance, not lessen, the outward power and honour of the bishop, extending it over those who before had no conscientious regard for their function; while yet it would ease them of the tremendous burden of such a *cura animarum* they take on them otherwise, as must be of impossible performance.

This design (which is supposed to find us in our divisions, and not to make any) shall by little and little (with God's blessing on it) cool animosities, and enkindle charity and holiness among all parties, which now is so much wanting, while those that are catholicks, and those that are protestants, and much more those that are conformists and those that are non-conformists, do agree in the substance of one Christianity, having the same Scriptures, the same Articles of Faith in the three Creeds, and the same Rule of Manners in the Decalogue, "There is one Body, one Spirit, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism." They cannot indeed have both communion in the same external worship, but they can have it in the internal adoration of the same blessed Trinity, and in one hope of our calling unto eternal life through Jesus Christ. They must separate into several congregations, but there shall be no schism in the body by this means for all that.

For as while the supreme power allows only the parochial meetings, as established by law, it hath been accounted schism to go to separate assemblies; so, if the scene be altered, and these separate congregations be also made legal, this schism, or men's being called schismatics in that regard, must vanish and be at an end. Indeed these diverse congregations will accuse one another as guilty of sin and schism before God, for each separating from the others communion, and threaten his judgment: But so long as there is no separating from the church, whereof the king is head, while he tolerates the meetings of both, and makes them parts of it as national, there shall be no prosecution of law against any, but all quiet as fellow-members upon that account.

Only, as to the Roman catholics, it is not indeed for them to imagine that a protestant king and parliament should allow of their mass in public, as they do of the Service-Book. This were not to tolerate the papists, but to set up popery; whereas the determining what is to be permitted to one party, and what to another, so as no detriment may be brought to the church or state, and no sin or guilt upon the nation by that permission, is a nice thing, and the business of this parliament.

There is one motion farther should be added, and that is for another bill also to be brought in to take away pluralities, (which is the pest of our present conforming clergy,) I mean both of livings and dignities impartially, to this end, that the king may have wherewithal to engage those he receives into the church thus enlarged, and consequently restores to their labours, by this accommodation; for that is a thing will make the favour indeed significant to such persons.

I will conclude with one argument for what I have proposed. There is no power given upon earth for any man to command that which he in his conscience does judge to be sin. *Non datur potestas ad malum.* But to conform in all things to the present church according to law, is sin in the judgment of dissenters, catholics, and others; and the late king was a dissenter of one sort himself. The king therefore that was so lately, could not really put the catholics upon conformity; and if he would appear equal to all his people, he could not put any other dissenters on it neither, for the same cause.. That which the law requires was both in his conscience and in theirs a thing prohibited of God. He could not therefore put the laws in execution being against God. And if he could not do it acting only but as an honest man that abides by his principles, we have no reason to apprehend that so good a king and queen as we have now should be ever brought to do it, maugre all the enticements of the church of England, or frowns of the church of Rome.

A Letter to a Convocation-Man, concerning the Rights, Powers, and Privileges of that Body. By Sir Bartholomew Shower, Knight.

Every other means of adjusting the disputes between the English protestants being unavailing, William resorted to the hopeless measure of summoning a convocation of the church. But he was soon given to understand that while that body asserted the most formidable privileges, they were only likely to bring new distractions on his government from the fiery zeal of the high churchmen. The following Tract among others was published to enhance the importance of the convocation in the eyes of the king and of the people. Noble gives the following account of the author:—"Sir Bartholomew, third son of Mr William Shower of Exeter, became by the appointment of James II. recorder of London during the deprivation of the city charter; but when his majesty's fears compelled him to restore it, he and the new aldermen were obliged to give place to the old recorder, Treby, and the legal aldermen. As a pleader he distinguished himself both before the House of Commons and at the bar. He vehemently opposed the Kentish petitioners, and pleaded strenuously as counsel for Sir John Fenwick to prevent receiving single evidence, though others were enticed away. It certainly was better that one artful bad man should escape, than that his conviction should be made a precedent for ruining innocence. Sir Bartholomew was much praised and greatly censured. Some suppose the character of Vagellius in Garth's Dispensary was intended for him; but the complete key appropriates it to Serjeant Darnell. He published Reports, a volume of Cases, and some Political Tracts. He died at his seat at Pinner in Middlesex, near Harrow-on-the-Hill, December 12, 1701, and was interred in the chancel of that church. The dissenting minister, John Shower, was his brother."—NOBLE's *Continuation of Granger*, Lond. 1806, 8vo. I. 174.

SIR,

I WILL be as good as my word with you, and give you an answer to those three questions which you were pleased to put to me in our last conversation: 1. What occasion there is at present for a convocation? 2. What law there is that commands or permits their sitting and acting, but the absolute free pleasure of the prince? 3. Of what validity their acts and resolutions are, unless confirmed and approved by parliament?

The first of these three questions I should regularly have asked you; the particular course of your thoughts and studies has made you better able to anwer it than I am; and I think your attendance on convocations has left you leisure enough to do it; however, since you tell me you expect my opinion upon it, I, who can deny you nothing, will not deny you that. In plain English then, I think, that if ever there was need of a convocation since Christianity was established in this kingdom, there is need of one now, when such an open looseness in men's principles and practices, and such a settled contempt of religion and the priesthood have prevailed every where; when heresies of all kinds, when scepticism, deism, and atheism itself have overrun us like a deluge; when the Mosaic history has, by men of your own order, been cunningly undermined and exposed, under pretence of explaining it; when the Trinity has been as openly denied by some, as the unity of the godhead sophistically opposed by others; when all mysteries in religion have been decried as impositions on men's understandings, and nothing is admitted as an article of faith but what we can fully and perfectly comprehend; nay, when the power of the magistrate and of the church is struck at, and the indifference of all religions is endeavoured to be established by pleas for the justice and necessity of an universal, unlimited toleration, even against the sense of the whole legislature; at such a time, and in such an age, you and I, sir, and all men that wish well to the interests of religion and the state, cannot but think that there is great need of a convocation.

There is need of it, to give a check to the farther proceeding of these loose and pernicious opinions; or, if that cannot be done, yet, at least, to remove the scandal which their growth and impunity have brought upon this church and nation, especially when we consider the sad effects of these opinions with regard to the corruption of men's morals.

Sir, it is no news to either of us, (who are sometimes used, you know, to look abroad and see how the wind stands from Holland,) that the Socinians and other Anti-trinitarians there, and their abettors, are free enough in claiming our church to their party; men of their boasted probity and reason would not, we may well think, pretend to it without some grounds; the avowed doctrines and principles of our church, we are sure, afford them none; and we are not able to guess whence they should have any, unless from the private encouragements and furtherance they have found in their secret correspondence with some of our members, that now make a very considerable figure in it. Some letters that have appeared not long since, in the account, a notable Socinian[1] has given us, of the reasons of his embracing the Romish religion, have startled many considering men amongst us, and made them doubt there is somewhat more in these boasts of that sort of men than yet appears above board; and inclined them to conclude, that the honest divine in Holland was not very much mistaken, who, on that[2] occasion, about six years since, expressed himself thus concerning them and us. "On this score," says he, "I shall add, that the church of England, which is the most illustrious part of our reformation, owes us something for our edification: God forbid we should give any credit to the accusations made on that account against her; but in consideration of the confidence wherewith the pleaders for an universal unlimited toleration on this side the water accuse her for being in their opinions, I must take the boldness to say, she ought not to refuse a publick, and, in some sort, solemn disavowal of them, to refute those calumnies."

[3]About the same time we were thus called upon from thence, the synod of the Walloon churches of the United Provinces assembled at Amsterdam, being informed by the memorials and instructions of their churches, and by a[4] letter from between thirty and forty of the French ministers here at London, that several of their communion did, both there and here, teach the Socinian heresies, some of them openly, and that others of them more artificially hid their poison under the cover of an unbounded toleration: This synod, I say, then thought it necessary, solemnly and unanimously to condemn several propositions of that nature and tendency as false, scandalous, and pernicious, forbidding, under the highest censures, all persons, ecclesiastical or secular, to vent them, either in their sermons, lectures, or even private conversations; and ordering the private persons, found faulty in that kind, to be excommunicated, and the ministers to be suspended from their charge, till the next synod should determine farther concerning them.

We have reason to honour this synod upon the account of its laudable zeal for the faith; you may well remember, on another occasion, with what warmth and eagerness the judgment and example of the reformed abroad have been pressed upon us, and our being permitted now to follow their example cannot reasonably be opposed by those who have, upon other occasions, laid so great a stress upon it, especially when the danger from those opinions is now so much encreased, and the occasion so much more pressing For though the many Socinian pamphlets, then published without controul, did great mischief among us at home, and gave some grounds abroad for the brags on the one side, and the suspicions on the other concerning us, yet the (falsely stiled) Vindication of the holy and ever blessed Trinity, &c. with the several bold defences of it, the sophistical account of the Reasonableness of Christianity, the treatise called Christianity not Mysterious, and the discourse concerning the Divinity and Death of Christ, had not then appeared, nor was the shameful correspondence above-mentioned then discovered.

Indeed, to be plain, there seems to be an universal conspiracy amongst a sort of men, under the stile of Deists, Socinians, Latitudinarians, Deniers of Mysteries, and pretending explainers of them, to undermine and overthrow the catholick faith: There seems too much reason to fear, there is no order, degree, nor place among us, wholly free from the infection; and as a convocation, regularly meeting and acting freely, is the greatest fence against these mischiefs, and the most proper instrument to apply a remedy, so you cannot allow yourselves to doubt but that my Lord of Canterbury's piety and zeal will move his grace to represent it so, and incline his majesty (who has run so many hazards abroad for securing our most holy religion pure and uncorrupted) to think there is now a proper and needful occasion of using this means to preserve it at home.

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[1] Mr Papin. [2] *Jurieu Tableau du Socinianisme, à la Haye,* 1690. *Prim. Part, 5. Lettre, p.* 211.

[3] *v. Extrait des articles resolu au Synod del Eglises Wallones,* &c. *Lettre* 8. *p.* 565. *Tableau du Socinianisme.* [4] Ibid, 559.

You cannot imagine the mischievous effects which these various opinions and heresies, of late published and vindicated, have produced amongst the laity; they are such, that a convocation seems necessary, not only for the sake of the faith and doctrine of our English church, but even to preserve the belief of any revelation. Such are the inferences which the gentlemen of this age make from the books above-mentioned, and the opinions delivered in them, as command your declaration, that there is a religion enjoined by Heaven, for otherwise you must expect that the next age will believe none: I am loth to be more particular, but the cause and effect are both plain.

Sir, I am sensible that there are two or three things which may be objected to this proposal. It will be said, perhaps, that my lords the bishops have a standing jurisdiction and courts of their own, wherein they may proceed and judge of heresy, and censure the persons guilty of it; that the universities have the like power within themselves; and that his majesty, by virtue of his supremacy, hath power, according to the laws of the land, to oblige them to do their duty in this as well as in other instances. That some of the heretical opinions, from whence so much danger is pretended, have been censured in this way, and the offenders punished, and that his majesty hath been graciously pleased to give his directions to my lords the bishops, forbidding the use of any new terms in the explaining of our faith, and commanding and encouraging the bishops to use their authority therein; and that, therefore, these mischiefs may be prevented in the ordinary way, without having recourse to a convocation, where men's minds may be easily put into a ferment, and "from which sort of meetings," a great man, not long since president of it, has been reported by his creatures to have said, "he never knew any good to come."

Now, as to the power and jurisdiction of my lords the bishops in matters of heresy, whatsoever it be originally, and of ecclesiastical right, yet it is, you know, by the laws of England, confined within particular bounds, and beyond those bounds they are not allowed to have any authority to determine or punish, and are, consequently, in very great peril if they exceed them; and whether they do or not, is to be judged in the temporal courts, where theirs are esteemed and treated as foreign courts, and as derogatory to the crown and its prerogative, although all of them are holden by the same law, and under the same authority.

Under such a limitation of their powers, and an uncertainty of what construction shall be made of their use of them, and an hazard of their liberties and estates if a construction be made in their prejudice, it cannot be pretended reasonable to expect the suppression of heresy from their single endeavours, (and they cannot act otherwise than singly, unless in convocation,) and therefore this objection can proceed only from such as do in good earnest desire and endeavour the progress and increase of heresy.

You need not doubt but that their lordships are sufficiently sensible of the great power and malice of their enemies, and may well hope to be excused to all considering men, if they do not hastily run into the snare which such treacherous pleaders for their authority would lay for them.

The only prelate I can think of, who has had the boldness to enter the lists with these men, agreeably to the ancient courage of his family, and to that zeal for the honour of God, and of his church, which is so confirmed and distinguishing a part of his character, how basely was he every where traduced by this set of men? How falsely represented, even where it concerned him, and the cause he was embarked in most, to appear in a just and true light? Such and so many expensive discouragements were enough to have shaken and tried any man of less resolution and integrity; and though his lordship had the honour and satisfaction of seeing the greatest credit and support of the bench all along, and the highest court of England at last, declare in his favour, 'tis an honour you cannot expect that many will contend for, a satisfaction that very few will care to purchase at so dear a rate. The man, thus excommunicated by that bishop, and solemnly condemned by the university for notorious heresy, enjoys (as I am informed) a living, with cure of souls, untouched, and even unquestioned by another, who wants not courage or zeal, we know, for the honour of his character, but is more wary than to cast himself into the expence and uncertainties of a long law-suit.

As to the authority of the universities in this case, the coercive part of it (the only part that can do any good in such a corrupt age as this) extends only to their own members. An [1] author I have lately mentioned, had not else in publick conversations dispersed his pernicious notions in one of them so long as he did unpunished; nor chosen to leave it at last, rather tired with the successlessness of his endeavours, than scared with any ill consequence that might attend them. It is so far from that, that I am told he has entertained new resolutions of returning thither, and of entering the town in triumph upon his late fancied defeat of mysteries. The congregation *de propagandâ infidelitate* have, it seems, thought fit to dispatch this warm missionary into those parts once more to try his fortune in making proselytes; in which they have some hopes he will succeed better than formerly, since he has erected himself into an author, and has had the honour of being answered, and has made some little noise in the world.

If they and he continue in their resolutions, the university will, I question not, take such measures as are proper for her safety. Should she have no direct authority over a stranger, yet she can hinder him from holding commerce with any of her members, or from entering into any of her libraries; and this, I dare say, she will do, if he ever presumes to fix himself there, and to disturb the peace of that place a second time.

Whatever further powers universities may be thought to have in these and the like cases, yet those powers have, you know, been used but sparingly, and not without some difficulty and check, and have, when exercised, been pursued always with the calumnies and outcries of the whole party.——Some good effect indeed the exerting of them has had in one of those learned bodies, but the influence of it has not reached so far as we might have wished and expected.

His majesty's authority over the bishops and them can reach no farther than the inforcing the exercise of those powers, which I have shewn, and experience proves, to be too short, or clogged with too much difficulty and discouragement to attain the end we all so much want and contend for. And though the church has great acknowledgements to make to his majesty, for those very pious admonitions and instructions he has been pleased to give the archbishops and bishops in his excellent letter to them; which has not only served to countenance the orthodox, but in some measure to quiet and depress the insolence of the bold innovators in the faith, and the prevaricating interpreters of it: Yet even that letter itself has been broadly hinted by some of them (however, we are well assured, with much untruth) as intended in their favour. And so long as these books pass uncensured and unretracted, under the stile and name of men of great place and character in the church, the mischief which the authority they have yet left with some men may be able to do, is not sufficiently prevented, nor the scandal wiped off from our faith and nation.

So that all we can conclude from what his majesty has done in this matter is, that he hath discovered by it a godly concern for the support of the catholick church in his dominions, of which he is the avowed defender, and a readiness to do yet more for its defence and encouragement, when the true and only proper means of doing it, the humble advice of his clergy, assembled in convocation, shall be seasonably and fully laid before him.

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[1] T——d.

If there should be any of that venerable body, who should have the boldness to attempt to raise a ferment in it, in defence of doctrines or persons too justly liable to censure, it is not to be doubted but that the piety, moderation, and Christian courage of the rest will be soon able to suppress it, and to advance the good ends for which they are called. But as it is easy to be observed, that none are so great enemies to the frequent use of parliaments, as they who, by the disappointment of their ends upon them, have taken a disgust, or by their corrupt dealings in the course of their ministry, have most reason to fear them, so the like use of a convocation cannot, with any grounds, be distrusted by any, but such as have either been defeated already in their practices upon it, or else have less concern for the preserving the unity and integrity of the catholick faith, than for some new-fangled opinions of their own, which expose them to censure.

If, after all, it should be pretended, that the proper way of redressing these mischiefs and grievances is by parliament——That there are Lords Spiritual and Temporal, &c. ——To this it may be replied, that, as it is certain in fact, notwithstanding the urgency of the occasion, yet no relief has hitherto been effected that way; and though the commons have a standing committee for religion, yet nothing, as I remember, has, since the Revolution, been done by them in behalf of it: so it is farther considerable, that such a method is, in the nature of the thing, improper; 'tis a little too much to suppose country gentlemen, merchants, or lawyers, to be nicely skilled in the languages of the Bible, masters of all the learning of the fathers, or of the history of the primitive church, which they must in some measure be who sit judges of religious doctrines and opinions. The bishops' concurrence in the House of Lords is not required to a vote (though their summons is necessary to make a session), they may be, and frequently are, outnumbered by the lay-peers; their calling thither is upon another principle, viz. by reason of their baronies. Besides, the ascribing such a power to either of the two houses, or both of them together, is to confirm the grounds of the papists cavil at our Reformation, when they say that our religion is merely parliamentary, and changeable at the will of the prince and of the majority of the peers and commons,—an assertion which, I believe, there is no worthy member of either house but would reject with disdain, as zealous as they are for their just powers and privileges upon other occasions. I have that opinion of those noble and worthy men that compose the two houses, as not to doubt but that they, if they were to sit judges of this controversy, would certainly determine in favour of that holy faith into which they were all baptized, and would readily and warmly assert its interests; and I have, at the same time, that opinion of them too, as to think that, were the controversy laid before them, they would certainly decline giving judgment in it, and remit it to its proper tribunal, a convocation. For the same reason, that they are concerned to maintain the rights and privileges of their own body, they would be careful not to invade those of another. They are wise enough to know, that the preserving the constitution as it is, is the best way to preserve their true and real interests; and that the constitution can be no otherwise upheld than by the several parts of it being preserved in their just rights and powers, allowed to act in their proper spheres, and circumscribed within them This, I say, they are wise enough to know, and withal just enough to own, that a convocation is as much a part of the constitution as a parliament itself.

Suffer me, sir, to consider that opinion, which puts the management of powers, merely ecclesiastical, into the hands of laymen; suffer me, I say, to consider it a little farther, and to the bottom. 'Tis somewhat without the bounds of my study, and I may therefore talk widely; if I do, you, who have drawn the trouble upon yourself, must e'en bear it patiently.

It is agreed, I think, that Almighty God is the author of all lawful power, whether it be spiritual or temporal, ecclesiastical or civil: at least if there should be any difference of opinion concerning civil magistracy, and the origin of that, yet no Christian, I suppose, will deny the original of ecclesiastical authority to have been from heaven. None will say otherwise but such who esteem religion to be merely an human invention, set a-foot for the better government of the world; and even they must agree, when they discourse to the governed, that it is of divine institution, even for the sake of their own pretended policy, or else its influence is lost.

These powers are distinct in their end and nature, and therefore ought to be so in their exercise too: the one relates to the peace, order, health, and prosperity of the man in this life, as a sociable creature; the other concerns his eternal state, and his thoughts, words, and actions preparative thereto. The first is common to all societies, whether Pagan or Christian; the latter can rightly be exercised among Christians only, and among them, not as inclosed with any civil state or community, but as members of a spiritual society, of which Christ Jesus is the head, who has also given out laws, and appointed a standing succession of officers under himself for the government of this society. And these ministers of his did actually govern it by those powers committed to them from him for near 300 years before any government was Christian: From whence it follows, that such spiritual jurisdiction cannot be, in its own nature, necessarily dependent on the temporal; for then it could never have been lawfully exercised, till kings, states, and potentates became Christian. And as Christianity could not, at this rate, have been planted at first till kings were converted, so must it still be very precarious as to its duration and continuance, and removeable at pleasure, whenever any prince shall not think fit to encourage it.

It was the opinion, indeed, of a late great preacher, that Christians under a Mahometan or Pagan government ought to value the peace of the country above the conversion of the people there: But, for all that, few, I dare say, who have read, and believe the New Testament, can forbear thinking, that the laws of Christianity oblige those to whom they are published, though living under the dominion of a Turk or an heathen; and consequently that there may be amongst such Christians the exercise of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, not dependent on the temporal power of that place.

The church then is a society instituted in order to a supernatural end, and, as such, must have an inherent power in it of governing itself in order to that end; for a society without a power of government is a bull in polity.

There being in this society a distinct order of men, particularly empowered and qualified to teach, instruct, and govern the whole body, in relation to the ends of it, and the supernatural means of exercising these powers (immediate illumination) not being by the author of its institution thought necessary to its continuance, it is, on that score, left to such ordinary and natural means as conduce best to its end; such as assembling, debating, and, by majority of voices, deciding, concerning such rules and principles as the society is to be governed by.

The law of this society is indeed made to their hands: They have no power of changing, adding, or diminishing; but the applying this law to particular cases, explaining the doubts that may arise concerning it, deducing consequences from it in things not explicitly determined already by that law, and the enforcing submission and obedience to their determinations, are the proper objects of their power and jurisdiction.

This power having been actually claimed and exercised by the apostles and their successors, without regard, nay, in opposition to the heathen temporal authority, is therefore, we say, not necessarily, in its own nature, dependent on such authority. And if we should say farther, that this society has an inherent and unalterable right to the exercise of this power, it would be no more than what every sect and party among us claims and practises, and what the defenders of an universal and unlimited toleration, by their own principles, are bound to allow and justify: And we may presume, such strict pretenders to reason will not say, that the church of England, declared free by

Magna Charta, established, fenced, and supported by our laws, is, even by that means, in a worse condition than the most inconsiderate sect or party now indulged or tolerated among us.

But this is what, at the present, we neither do nor need say, though it is more than the objectors will easily reply to; such, I mean, as are really of any religion among us: But for such indeed as have no religion at the bottom, nor any notion of a church, however, for their worldly interest, they may pretend to this or that party, by joining themselves to its communion (and too many such, we may justly believe, there are among us,) that such may be for ever silenced in this question, it will be proper to show them what the law of their country says in this case; that law, the obligation of which, whatever else they think fit to disclaim, they cannot but own and acknowledge. They are to know therefore, that

A convocation is an ecclesiastical court or assembly, essential to our constitution, and established by the law of it, by the same law as the gentleman receives his rent, or the member enjoys his privilege. And my Lord Vaughan, therefore, who made as great a figure in St Stephen's Chapel as ever he did on the bench, agrees, that a lawful canon is the law of the kingdom, as well as an act of parliament; and whatever is the law of the kingdom is as much the law as any thing else is so, for there are no degrees of comparison in the matter; a law cannot *suscipere magis et minus.* But the fuller state of this point will more properly fall under the two remaining enquiries, in one of which you have obliged me to show,

What law there is that commands or permits their assembling, conferring, or resolving, as a convocation, but the absolute free pleasure of the prince?

Before I give a direct answer to this question, I shall take leave to say, that, should it be admitted that the assembling of convocations is entirely dependent on the sovereign's will, yet, considering the great need there is at present of one, we cannot doubt of the king's gracious and ready concurrence to this purpose, upon the least motion of his grace my Lord Archbishop. And notwithstanding the disuse of a convocation, and the defeating the ends of it by repeated unwarrantable adjournments, during the life of the last metropolitan, yet the present, we question not, would zealously move and promote their assembly and session, to the honour of religion and good of the church, if he had intimation of the necessity and seasonableness of it.

His commendable warmth for the established church, against the enemies of it, on one side, assures us, that he will undoubtedly on this occasion express even a greater zeal (in proportion to the greatness of the danger) against those of the other: And as for his majesty's good-will, we do not, I say we will not, in the least doubt of it; though some, who would be thought to understand his mind best, and to be most in his interests, are pleased, in all companies, to admire and celebrate a prince of no religion as the best of governors: for which saucy insinuation, we hope in time that vengeance will find them.

Had we no hold on his majesty's kindness and affection towards the religion established by law, yet should we not suspect his compliance on the score of strict justice. His coronation-oath obliges him to preserve the rights of the church of England entire, and we humbly presume that one of the chief of those rights is a frequent sitting of convocations, as shall be largely made out by and by.

He has, since his accession to the crown, several times convened the Scotch assembly; and the church of England therefore, which pays as much regard at least to crowned heads as an assembly does, may justly expect from him as tender a concern for her welfare and interests. The friends of monarchy, who acknowledge the king their supreme head and governor, may, we think, as safely be trusted together as the professed assertors of a levelling parity, who pretend to no union with the civil power, no political dependence upon it, but to act separately, and set up for themselves.

Let men whisper what they please, nobody shall ever persuade us but that his majesty's judgment and piety engage him to be present at our service and communion: And notwithstanding all the contumely and reproach of our enemies, we cannot discover what sect or persuasion there is among us, either so amiable as to steal his inclinations from us, or so numerous and powerful as to make it a piece of policy not to espouse us.

I shall, in this case, very freely borrow the words of a certain author, who wrote either at the declension of the last, or the beginning of this reign. "We may," says he, "consider ourselves as the only great and united body of protestants in the kingdom, with whom all other parties compared bear no considerable proportion. For though the non-conformists, considered abstractly, make a vast number of useful people, yet, being laid in the scale with those of the episcopal communion, they are but few, and lie in a little room: And whosoever will be at the pains to balance the one against the other, even where the dissenters make the greatest figure, and may justly boast of their numbers, they will soon be convinced that the other doth far exceed them. And if it be so in cities and corporations, where is the greatest multitude, it is much more so in the country parishes, where they bear not the proportion of one to an hundred.

"Nor doth the church of England more exceed the other parties in her numbers than she doth in the quality of her members; for whereas they who constitute the separate congregations are chiefly persons of the middle rank and condition, the church of England doth in a manner vouch and claim all the persons of honour and of the learned professions; and such as have valuable estates, for her communicants: And though the other sort are as necessary in the commonwealth, and contribute as much to its strength and prosperity, yet they make not that figure in the government, nor stand in that capacity of having influence upon publick affairs. For not only the gentlemen of both the gowns, who, by reason of their calling and learning, are best able to defend our religion and vindicate our rights and privileges by their tongues and pens, but they whose estates, reputation, and interest recommended them to be elected members of the great senate of the nation, as well as they who, by reason of their honours and baronages, are hereditary legislators, are generally of the church of England, so that they who conform to the established worship and discipline, are to be looked upon and acknowledged as the greatest bulwark of the protestant religion in England, and the hedge and fence of our civil rights and liberties."

Thus far my author. Now, the use I would make of these reflections of his is, to shew that it cannot be worth any prince's while to discourage the church of England in order to gain the favour of any or of all these separating parties; and therefore that his majesty, we may be sure, will be tender of the interests of our church, when his own interest, as well as his affection and judgment, lead him to it.

But could it be supposed that a wise government would fall in with the dissenting side, and act by the measures which should, from that quarter, underhand be prescribed, yet can we not imagine that the dissenters themselves would interpose in this case to hinder the sitting of a convocation? They know that you pretend not to meddle with those that are without, nor to exercise any act of jurisdiction over them, but only to frame rules and decisions that should hold within yourselves, and to govern and judge your own members. You envy not them, I dare say, their legal indulgence, nor any privilege which they enjoy under it; nor do they, I hope, envy you your legal establishment, or any right that you claim from it. You differ, indeed, from one another in matters of discipline and ceremony, but in matters of faith and doctrine you agree; and therefore, if they wish well to that common faith, they will be glad to see it asserted against heresies and innovations by a synod of English divines, whose judgment, in points of this nature and importance, they and all the world must revere.

There can be no opposition from that side therefore: The greatest danger, in this case, is by some thought to arise from such as are enemies to all religion, and to all the professors of it; and consequently are most so to those of the church of England, because they are the firmest support of religion, by reason of their number and compacted strength, under a legal establishment: But though the encrease of these kind of men shews that there is great need of convocation, yet their interest, we hope and believe, can never be considerable enough to prevent its sitting and acting.

'Tis very hard to suppose that a government should be influenced to such a degree by men who can never be friends to any government, and who are incapable of having any effectual obligation ever laid upon them from the principles either of good-nature, duty, or gratitude.

Were the calling therefore of convocations lodged purely in the breast of the sovereign, yet could we have no manner of jealousy of his princely readiness to call them: But now, besides the king's good intentions, we have the good intentions of the law too on our side; and what that says in the case is to be the next and chief subject of enquiry.

An exact and full account of this matter cannot be given but by one that has great skill in our English laws and antiquities, and besides a great deal of leisure. The latter of these you know very well that I want; and I am sure, I know, that I want the former. I content myself to have law enough to be useful to my neighbours where I live, and to be able to serve my country in parliament, so that you must not expect from me a compleat history of all the rights and powers of a convocation, deduced regularly through the several periods of time and reigns of our kings, but only a short account how the matter stands, or ought to stand, by our law at present: and if, in giving this very account, you expect I should use a scrupulous strictness of stile and method, say not a word more or less than I need say, and every thing just in the very place where I ought to say it; in this too, sir, you will find yourself mistaken.

What I offer lies within a little compass; the books I shall consult upon this occasion are in every-body's hands; and yet, perhaps, what I produce from thence will have the advantage of appearing new, because we live in an age when convocations, and the learning that relates to them, are out of fashion, and even understanding men are content to know as little of an English synod as of a Jewish sanhedrim. But to return to our point.

A convocation is the highest ecclesiastical court or assembly; it is called and convened in parliament-time by the king's writ, directed to the archbishops; it consists of all the clergy of both provinces, either personally or representatively present: In the upper house are the archbishops and bishops; in the lower house, or House of Commons Spiritual, are the deans, arch-deacons, one proctor for every chapter, and two for the clergy of each diocese; this is the court.

Our laws are, by the best authors, divided into ecclesiastical and civil, and the same division holds for our courts; the same distinction is likewise used for causes examinable in those courts; nor is the distinction less common in respect of persons, of which the several instances and authorities are too plain and known to need any exposition. Now, as the parliament is the highest temporal court, so is a convocation, or national synod, the highest and most supreme court Christian within this realm, and each gives laws respectively to all inferiors.

The king, indeed, is supreme head over all persons, and in all causes within these dominions; our laws and our oaths, taken in obedience to them, have declared him so, and with sound reason, in contradiction to all foreign powers and jurisdictions; *but it* is apparent by our constitution, that the king is intrusted with the power of convening synods or convocations, in respect of the church, as he is with summoning parliaments, for the redress of grievances, and the publick safety of the nation, in the same manner, and under the same limitations.

'Tis true, a convocation cannot assemble without the assent of the king; his writ is necessary in order to it; but the question is, whether that writ ought not to issue whensoever a summons goes out for a parliament? And, in order to a resolution of this, it may not be improper to consider the great resemblance there is between a parliament and a convocation. Each consists, as I said, of two houses, and these have (or should have) their several prolocutors, one of which is so by virtue of his precedency and place, the other is chosen from among themselves. The one of these courts is of the same power and use with regard to the church, as the other is in respect to the state: Nay, though they have different names, and the word parliament be appropriated to signify a temporal legislature, yet anciently the same appellation belonged to both. A *Wittena-Gemote* signified what we call a parliament, and a *Church-Gemote* what we call a convocation.

It is observeable, therefore, that the judges use the same words with regard to the king's writ about a convocation, as they do when they mention the summons of a parliament; and to satisfy you that the one stands upon the same foundation and principle, with regard to the king's prerogative, as the other doth, it may be convenient to recollect the common-law maxims used, and frequently urged by our enemies for the one, and you will find them applicable in like manner to the other, viz. That the Kings of England can do nothing as kings but what of right they ought to do; that the king can do no wrong; that the king's prerogative and the subject's right are determined by law; that the king hath no power but what the law gives him; that the king is called *Rex à bene regendo*, *i. e.* according to law, because (say they) he is a king while he rules well, but a tyrant while he oppresses; that the Kings of England never appear more in their glory and splendour, and majestick sovereignty, than in parliament; that the prerogative cannot do wrong, nor be a warrant to do wrong, and they quote Plowden and other books to this purpose. They say farther, that parliaments constitute, and are of the essence of the government; that they are bulwarks of our liberty, the boundaries that keep us from the inundation of tyrannical power; that their business is to make and abrogate laws, and to redress grievances; and from hence it has been argued as self-evident, that if parliaments are so absolutely necessary in our constitution, they must then have certain stationary times of meeting and sitting for providing laws essentially necessary to the being and well-being of the people, and to this purpose several authorities, from old books and statutes, are urged for the frequency of parliaments, and thus run many of the popular pamphlets in the two last reigns.

Nay, they farther insist upon it, that were there no statute, nor any thing upon record extant, concerning the necessity of parliaments sitting to redress grievances, yet it must be so by the fundamental laws of the government, which would be very lame and imperfect without it; for otherwise (say they) the prince and his ministers might do what they please, and make their will the law and measure of our duty, which defects must needs be provided against in the essence and constitution of the government itself. And this (says one of those authors) we may call the common law, which is of as much value, if not more, than any statute, and of which all our good acts of parliament, and Magna Charta itself, is but declaratory. So that though the king be entrusted with the formal part of summoning and pronouncing the dissolution of parliaments, which is done by writ, yet the laws, which oblige him, (as well as us,) have determined how and when he shall do it, which is enough to shew that the king's share in the sovereignty, which is lodged in the parliament, is cut out to him by law, and not left to his disposal.

Thus far, and much farther has it gone, with publick approbation, and this before the Triennial Bill, by force of the common law, or certain ancient ordinances, presumed to be affirmative of it.

Now, to apply all this to our present purpose, let us consider our sovereign as a Christian king, whose religion is established by the laws, and the profession of it moulded into the form of a national church,—a church which, by the same law, hath its rights and privileges, and this privilege in particular, which is the subject of the present debate.

Let us take this view of things, I say, and then see whether every one of the axioms above-mentioned will not hold upon this account as they do on the other; does it not follow from hence, that though the king be entrusted with the formal part of summoning and convening, yet, since by the very essence and constitution of our church, a convocation ought to meet, sit, and act, does it not follow that the fundamentals of our government shew him when and how that power is to be exercised, and that it ought not to be at his free will and pleasure? It may not be grateful to enlarge on this topick, and therefore I forbear, but a farther application is very easy.

The statute of Henry VIII, 6. cap. 1, is strong for their calling, whenever a parliament is summoned; it runs thus:—"Because the prelates and clergy of the church of England called to the convocation, and their servants and families that come with them to such convocation, oftentimes and commonly be arrested, molested, and inquieted, our said lord the king, willing graciously in this behalf to provide for the security and happiness of the said prelates and clergy, by the assent of the great men and commons aforesaid, hath ordained and established that all the clergy hereafter to be called to the convocation by the king's writ, and their servants and families, shall for ever hereafter fully use and enjoy such liberty and defence in coming, tarrying, and returning, as the great men and commonalty of England called, or to be called to the king's parliament, do enjoy, and were wont to enjoy, or in time to come ought to enjoy."

Now this, by the way, gives them the benefit of the 5 Henry IV. cap. 6, and of the 11 Henry VI. cap. 11, and all other privileges in respect of their persons and retinue, which the members of the House of Commons enjoy. But what I urged it for is, that the king, the great men, and the commons, esteemed a convocation to be an assembly which was frequently and of necessity to meet, and sit too, and act; for, otherwise, what need had there been to make these provisions for them, if they were to be called only once in a century or two, according as the sovereign was or was not in humour? The act says, they were frequently and oftentimes arrested and inquieted in their coming; and by consequence they came, and met frequently.

That the convocation is summoned by the king's writ, is no argument that it is a precarious assembly: For, at this rate, all or most of the writs under the great seal, which are either for the publick good or private relief, may be said to be precarious too. But we say, that the law of the realm hath directed the king, or at least his chancellor, keeper, or other minister, having the custody of the great seal, to issue such writs; and they can no more be omitted than any single peer's summons to parliament.

A convocation may be considered not only as a court or assembly for the making laws in ecclesiastical matters, but as a court, properly so called, having jurisdiction in respect of crimes ecclesiastical; and so runs Coke's account of it, where he declares its business in part to be the preventing or suppressing heresies and schisms, and that therein they proceed *secundum legem divinam et canones sanctæ ecclesiæ*; and in ancient time it was frequently and of necessity used to that end, for without it there could be no punishment of heresy.

Fitzherbert, in his Natura Brevium, (a book I have heard the professors of the law vouch as good authority with them) saith, that 'tis the statute of 2 Hen. IV. cap. 15, which first enabled the ordinary of the diocese to convict of heresy; and this, by that law, without the king's writ. But then the 25 Henry VIII. cap. 14, doth repeal that statute, and directs the ordinary to transmit no heretick to the lay-power without the king's writ first obtained. But before the statute of Henry IV. every person was to be convinced by a provincial, if not a national synod; *i. e.* by the archbishop and all the clergy of that province, as appears by the recital made in our old writs to that purpose, the form of which runs thus: *Salutem, cum venerabilis pater Thomas Archiepiscopus Cantuar. totius Angliæ primas, de consensu et assensu ac consilio episcoporum et confratrum suffragan suorum, nec non totius cleri provinciæ suæ in concilio suo provinciali congregat*, &c. had declared and adjudged, &c. Now no man will say that this act of jurisdiction was precarious, and at the king's absolute will and pleasure, whether it should be exercised or not.

The ancient writ whereby the bishops were summoned to parliament doth seem to intimate as much as I argue for in this case. It hath the common recital of all writs of summons to parliament: But then, as I find it in the new edition of the Register of Writs, (Append.) it adds to the command of the bishop's presence these words following:—*Et hoc, sicut nos et honorem nostrum, ac salvationem et defensionem regni et ecclesiæ prædict: Expeditionemque dictorum negotiorum diligitis, nullatenus omittatis; præmonentes decanum et capitulum ecclesiæ vestræ Gloucester ac archidiaconos totumque clerum vestræ diœcesis, quod iidem decanus et archidiaconi in propriis personis suis, ac dictum capitulum per unum idemque clerus per duos procuratores idoneos plenam et sufficientem potestatem ab ipsis capitulo et clero divisim habentes ad parliamentum prædict personaliter intersint, ad consentiendum iis quæ tunc ibidem de communi consilio regni nostri (divinâ clementiâ favente) contigerit ordinari. Teste meipso*, &c. I shall make no remarks on the words of this writ, they are plain; nor will I dispute Coke's exposition upon it, which is, that these *procuratores cleri* were called to consent to those things, which by the common council of the realm should happen to be ordained, so as their consent was to be only to such things as were so ordained; and, therefore, that there might be an act of parliament without them. I will not pretend to censure the logick of this *ergo;* nor shall I concern myself in the history of our English parliament, how anciently constituted, or what share the clergy had therein, or when they ceased to have it. Whatever becomes of those points, this to me seems certain, that the *premonition*, or warning mentioned in this writ, being to those who are members of and constitute the lower house of convocation, is an argument of invincible strength to establish the necessity of convocations meeting as often as parliaments.

I must admit, that it is said in the second part of Roll's Abridgment, that the Archbishop of Canterbury was prohibited to hold such assembly by Fitzherbert, chief justice, because he had not the king's licence; but he adds, that the archbishop would not obey it; and he quotes Speed for it. I shall not consult that lame historian for a law-point; and it seems strange that Rolls should cite him. But however his assertion doth not affect what I contend for, that the fundamental rules of our constitution command the summoning and convening of a convocation whensoever a parliament is summoned. Neither peers nor commons can assemble but by the king's authority; and yet we think their meeting not to be entirely dependent on pleasure.

Look into the abridgments of our law; you will find a convocation there always described as a meeting of the whole clergy to consult of matters ecclesiastical in time of parliament. Look into our common vocabularies, where terms of law are expounded, you shall find that Blount, Minshew, and the rest of them, in their exposition of the word constantly add the same circumstance of time.

Pardon me, sir, for sending you to books of this kind; their first and chief use indeed is to explain words, but they serve also to shew the nature of things as commony believed and understood under the use of those words; and to this purpose they have been employed by very great men upon very great occasions; witness the debates about the abdication, which are very full of dictionary learning.

One thing more I shall observe to you on this point, out of a speech of Grimston's, spoken in the house about the canons of Charles the First's time. You may see it at large in Rushworth. His great complaint there is, that the clergy framed these canons out of parliament-time, and out of parliament-time gave subsidies. And according to the account given us of this debate in Whitelock's Memoirs, the question was, Whether they were not dissolved by the dissolution of the parliament, without special writ to that purpose? And there were great opinions on either side of the question, all which implies and allows that they were to sit and act in parliament-time; and I think nobody will mistrust the House of Commons for being willing to allow the clergy greater privileges than they really had.

Thus far, I think, our way is plain and clear. But supposing all this, the question still is, Whether or no the convocation may confer, after their summons and meeting, without the king's special licence and assent? In answer to which, I must acknowledge, that the common received opinion is in the negative. However, if what has been offered already with regard to their convening have any weight in it, it must hold also in some degree with respect to their conferring and treating when met, about matters proper to their cognizance.

If they are a court, and have their jurisdiction, or are a legislature, and have the power of making ecclesiastical laws, both which they certainly are and have, then the liberty of conferring and discussing is necessary to their very existence; for otherwise they are an assembly to little or no purpose whatsoever. If their tongues are to be entirely at the king's will, 'tis improper to give their resolutions any title but the king's rules and ordinances; they are to all intents and purposes his, upon whose will not only their meeting, but their very debating depends. This is too harsh to be asserted or supposed of a free English synod, which, in so many respects as we have heard, resembles a free parliament; and cannot therefore be unlike it in that which is most essential to it, a freedom of debate and argument.

The prerogative power of assembling them by writ doth not import a power of licensing or confining them in their debates, any more than it doth in the case of a parliament. Nor doth the writ of summons necessarily imply any thing of this nature when fairly considered. It is in this form:

Gulielmus Tertius, Dei Gratiâ, Angliæ, &c. Reverendissimo in Christo patri et fideli consiliario nostro, Thomæ eâdem gratiâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopo, totius Angliæ primati et metropolitano, salutem. Quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negotiis, nos, securitatem et defensionem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem et tranquillitatem regni nostri et subditorum nostrorum ejusdem concernentibus, vobis in fide et dilectione quibus nobis tenemeni rogando mandamus quatenus præmissis debito modo intuitèr attenditis et ponderatis, universos et singulos episcopos vestræ provinciæ, ac decanos ecclesiarum cathedralium nec non archidiaconos, capitula et collegia totumque clerum cujuslibet diæcesios ejusdem provinciæ ad comparendum coram vobis in ecclesiâ cathedrali Sancti Pauli Londini vicesimo secundo die Novembris proximi futuri vel alibi melius expedire videritis cum omni celeritate accommodâ modo debito convocari faciatis, ad tractandum, consentiendum, et concludendum super præmissis et altis quæ sibi clariùs exponentur ex parte nostrâ. Et hoc sicut nos, statum regni nostri et honorem et utilitatem prædictæ ecclesiæ diligitis, nullatenùs omittatis. Teste meipso, apud Westmonasterium 12. die Octob. Anno, &c.

There is nothing, I say, in this writ that can be pretended to imply that a licence to treat or debate is necessary, or that the king is to propose the heads or subject matter upon which they are to treat or debate; nor would such proposal imply that they could treat of no other that's proper for their consideration. The reason suggested for their call is some urgent affairs relating to the security and defence of the English church, and the publick peace and tranquillity of the realm; it is in order to their treating, consenting, and concluding *super præmissis et aliis quæ sibi clariùs exponentur ex parte domini regis.* Here are no negative or restrictive words; nor is it said which shall be proposed to them; and it may be a question in grammar, whether the *quæ clariùs exponentur* ought not to be referred to the *aliis*, as the last antecedent, and not to the *præmissis*. But supposing the words to have a general reference to all that foregoes, it can amount to no more than this, that the particular occasion of their meeting shall be signified more at large to them when they are met, which is what is practised in the case of parliaments by a speech of the king's, or of some one of his chief ministers; but it cannot be concluded from hence that therefore they are confined not to discuss any matter that is not thus proposed. Because the king says, that the urgent affairs relating to the security and defence of the church, which occasioned their assembly, shall be more fully represented to them there and then, on the king's behalf, does it follow, therefore, that, when assembled, they must not discuss any subject which is not so represented? I shall not, at present, entertain any doubt whether these words were anciently and constantly inserted in those writs, because I have not sufficiently enquired into it. But did the writ run always thus, yet no inference, I say, can be drawn from thence to deprive them of their freedom of debate and treaty about matters purely spiritual and christian.

Ere I dismiss this writ, I must observe to you (though a little out of its proper place) that 'tis tested the same day with the summons to parliament; that it commands an assembly of the clergy the same day with their meeting; and by the whole tenor of it, it appears that the weal of the church, and of the state, the peace of the publick, and the king's interest, are all concerned in their convocation and assembling. One would think, that the consequence from hence should be, that, whenever this writ goes out, they should not only meet formally, but sit and act as the parliament do; that there should be a session of convocation as well as a session of parliament; that the lower house should be formed into a body, have its prolocutor, and opportunity given it to propose what shall be thought necessary for the good of the church; to pray the removal of scandals, inconveniences, and grievances; and to do in ecclesiastical affairs what an House of Commons would claim a liberty of doing, at due times, though the king had no money to desire of them. This, I say, one would reasonably expect from the issuing of such a writ, and from the nature of the thing, and not that a convocation should be summoned year after year, and parliament after parliament, for no other end and purpose but merely to be adjourned; that a venerable number of men should be called to town once or twice every winter, from all quarters of the kingdom, in order to be told that they must go down again.

It is plain, that convocations ought to be held as often as parliaments; but surely this is a very odd manner of holding them. Were a parliament thus summoned and adjourned, ere the lower house had made a vote, or so much as chosen their speaker, I believe the members of that house would hardly allow this to be holding a parliament.

But they tell us the case is different, and that, though the parliament, whenever it meets, acts a course; yet a convocation cannot, without being particularly impowered by the king to that purpose. If this assertion had truth in it, it would indeed go a good way towards excusing every thing; but I have shewn already, and shall shew farther, that there is no manner of ground or colour for it. Even Prynne himself, in his 2d tome of the History and Vindication of the King's supreme Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, doth not pretend to stretch the prerogative in this matter any farther, than to prohibit the clergy's assembling in synod without his summons, or their debating and concluding any thing in prejudice to the crown and kingdom; all which we fully and freely allow. But he never says, as I can find in any of those three voluminous works of his, or in his animadversions on the 4th of the Institutes, that a licence in particular is antecedently requisite to a debate; or that a general licence under the broad seal is necessary for a deliberation. But, were either of these necessary, yet, for that very reason, it ought to be granted; and it matters not much whether we say that a licence ought, *ex debito justitiæ*, to be granted, to empower them to deliberate, or whether they have of themselves a power of deliberation, without such licence expressly given. Nor can any argument be drawn for the necessity of this licence from its having been desired, (which, whether it has or not, I, who live in the country, cannot readily answer,) the speaker of the House of Commons prays a liberty of speech, and that liberty hath been sometimes granted under restrictions and limitations; for instance, in Queen Elizabeth's reign: And it is too well known that she did sometimes commit members of the House of Commons for pretended excesses in the use of that liberty. Notwithstanding which, in every reign since that time, such liberty of debate hath been affirmed and allowed to be their original right, without prayer by them, or licence from the king to that purpose. And the present speaker, therefore, when first presented in the House of Peers, did (as I remember) by order or intimation from the house, omit to ask it. However, the asking it is no more an argument for its being dependent on the sovereign's pleasure, than it is a proof that they have not, of right, a freedom of access to his majesty's person, because at the same time they ask that also. No, these are fundamental rights essential to their constitution, without which they might be an assembly of men, but not a parliament. The very word parliament is derived from *parler ment*, to speak one's mind, according to Coke's etymology: And to say, therefore, that a parliament may be without liberty of speech, is to use the word without meaning any thing by it. Should, therefore, liberty of speech have at times been formally asked by the convocation, and as formally granted by the sovereign, yet this would not hinder its being their right and due without prayer, and a franchise necessarily incident to their assembling. Their desire in this case must be interpreted to be only an instance of the respectful duty of the clergy towards the crown, and not a real proof of the authority of the crown over them: And to say otherwise is to wound the liberties of the parliament through those of the convocation.

But I must not leave this parallel here; it will be to our purpose to consider a little farther, what is usually alledged in behalf of the rights and privileges of parliament. The great friends of liberty (as they would be thought) argue thus; that not to permit them to sit, debate, resolve, and act, and thereby answer the great ends for which they were instituted, is expressly contrary to the common law, and consequently to the law of God and Nature, which are its foundation, that thereby a violence is offered to the government itself, that 'tis a plain infringement of the people's fundamental rights and liberties. They quote 2 Rich. II. Numb. 28, as very notable to this purpose. 'Tis in these words, or to this effect:

„ Also the commons in parliament pray, that forasmuch as petitions and bills presented in parliament by divers of the commons, could not heretofore have their respective answers, that therefore both the petitions and bills in this present parliament, as also others that shall be presented in future parliaments, may have a good and gracious answer, and remedy ordained thereupon, before the departing of every parliament; and that to this purpose a due statute be enscaled or enacted, in force for all times to come." To this the king's answer was, " That the king is pleased that to all such petitions delivered in parliament, of things or matters which cannot otherwise be determined, a good and reasonable answer shall be made and given before the departure of the parliament."

Accordingly Coke observes, in the 4th of his Institutes, that petitions being duly preferred, (though very many) have been answered by the law and usage of parliament, before the end of it; and this, he says, appears from the ancient treatise *de modo tenendi Parliamentum*, that the parliament ought not to be ended while any petition remains undiscussed, or, at the least, unto which a determinate answer is not made. He says farther, that one of the principal ends of calling parliaments is for redressing grievances which daily happen; and then as to the departing of parliaments, it ought to be after this manner, saith the Modus, *viz.* There should be publick proclamation and demand in parliament, and within the palace of the parliament, whether there be any that hath delivered a petition to the parliament, and hath not received an answer to it: If there be none such, it is to be supposed that every one is satisfied and answered, at least so far forth as by law may and ought to be. And this practice our arguers say is consonant to the king's coronation-oath, which is, to grant, fulfil, and defend all rightful laws which the commons of the realm shall chuse, and to strengthen and maintain them after his power. If you think fit you may read more to this purpose, about the practice of evil princes, and the fate of evil counsellors, who acted or advised the contrary, in the State Tracts, printed for Richard Baldwin. And to what you there find on this head, you may add farther, that though the city's remonstrance against a prorogation before the business in hand was determined, was the forfeiture of their charter by judgment in *quo warranto;* yet a parliament in this reign hath reversed that judgment, and by a side wind therefore hath declared and established the antient right of parliament to sit, and act, and redress grievances, without being cut off in the midst of their business by hasty and abrupt prorogations.

I may seem, sir, by this long account of what some men say in behalf of parliaments, to have strayed from my point, but indeed I have not, for all this is in some degree applicable to a convocation. The liberties of the church do in great measure run parallel to those of the state; and both of them must, according to the nature and constitution of our English government, stand or fall together. It would be needless here to repeat the same things with a small difference of words, inserting the convocation instead of the parliament, and the church instead of the realm.

I had rather leave this to be done by you, and shall add only, that an English Christian king is as much obliged by the laws and usages had and accustomed in this kingdom, in regard to the church, as the sovereign of England is with relation to the state.

It is, I know, objected commonly in prejudice to the liberties of a convocation, that they have oftentimes been commanded by the king's writ, to deal with nothing that concerned the king's power or dignity, his person or state, or the state of his council and kingdom, in the following terms:—*Quod nullo modo præsumant consilium tenere de aliquibus quæ ad coronam regis pertinent, vel quæ personam regis, vel statum suum, vel statum consilii sui contingunt:* Or, as the form of other writs is, *quod nihil attentent in prejudicium coronæ:* And again, *ne indicto consilio quicquid in nostri vel status nostri vel regni nostri prejudicium statuatis vel facietis.* Several prohibitions of this kind are mentioned in 2 Roll's Abridgm. We own it, but what follows from thence? That because by writ they may be prohibited to meddle with that which doth not concern them, therefore they must not meddle with that which doth concern them, without special licence? Excellent reasoning indeed! Now, methinks, the inference is quite on the other side: That since these prohibitions are only to keep them from excess, and within their just bounds, it is evidently supposed that they may intermeddle with any other matter without express licence; it is implied, that when assembled they might act, provided they kept within those restrictions limited and mentioned in those writs: They cannot, indeed, invade any man's property, nor proceed contrary to the king's prerogative, common law, statute, or custom; they cannot do any thing in prejudice of any of these, but still all this supposes that they are at liberty for debate in other matters, not interfering with those limitations.

But, besides, I have this further to add concerning these writs; they were at first framed upon occasion of the supposed dependency of the English church upon that of Rome, and the clergy's application to the pope in many cases, which, ceasing by the Reformation, methinks much of the reason of these writs vanished too: And, upon this account, I have often thought that the form of our common prohibitions, directed to ordinary courts, was very extravagant; they run, *in exhæreditationem nostram et contrà coronam nostram*: A form, for the use of which there is now, I think, no manner of colour or reason.

But in the 12th Report, 22, 'tis said, that they cannot confer nor execute any canon without the king's licence, and 'tis urged to be a resolution of the two chief justices, and other judges, at a committee of the lords in parliament, 8 Jac. I. 'Tis true it is there so said, and so laid down: But this report is not of the greatest authority; several opinions contained in it are agreed not to be law. 'Twas published in a time when the church was under persecution, and all its rights invaded: Besides, this was not the opinion of these judges, by way of judgment upon any case depending before them, but only by way of opinion or advice before a committee of the lords. And if we consult Coke himself, we shall find that what he alledges in justification of this opinion of theirs, is by no means satisfactory and concluding: He urges the prohibitory writs, which we have already admitted and considered; He insists upon the invalidity of those canons which oppose the common law or statute, customs, and prerogative, and gives instances of some canons deemed and declared void upon this account. This, it seems, is the foundation they went upon, and all that could be pretended in behalf of their opinion, except only the 25th Hen. VIII. cap. 19, which is mightily insisted on: And yet in the same place it is agreed to be an act of parliament made in affirmance of the common law, and to prove it to be so, the 19th Edw. III. (*titl. quare non admisit* 7,) is cited, where 'tis held that if a canon law be against the law of the realm, the bishop ought to obey the king according to the law of the kingdom: He quotes the 10th of Hen. VII. 17, and the common instance of bastardy, upon which came the *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari.* Further, Coke very wisely observes, that before the act, a *disme*, granted by the clergy at the convocation, did not bind the clergy till the king's royal assent was had, 20 Hen. VI. 13. But no more doth the commons grant of a subsidy till the king accept it, though it were *per quandam indenturam sigillo prolocutoris communitat. sigillat.* as one of the lawyers Books of Entries, which I have seen in the Temple, shews it anciently to have been.

This is all that is offered in behalf of that opinion, and I leave it now to any fair and impartial man to judge whether it be reasonable and well founded, especially considering what has been already alledged on the other side in these papers, and shall be further offered in what follows.

It is owned by these judges that this statute is only an affirmance of the common law, and if so, then it can never preclude the convocation from conferring, debating, and resolving without the king's licence; because this, at common law, before the making this statute, was their undoubted right, and, for any thing I can find to the contrary in the statute itself, it is their right still. The words by which this right is pretended to be cut off are these: "That they shall not enact, promulge, or execute any canons or constitutions, unless they may have the king's licence to enact, promulge, and execute them." The plain intent and meaning of which words is, that they shall not presume to make any ecclesiastical law or constitution of themselves, *ex merâ authoritate propriâ*, without the royal concurrence: But does this any ways hinder them from conferring and debating, and framing the draughts of canons beforehand, in order to the king's confirmation afterwards? "They shall not enact, promulge, or execute," therefore they shall not consider of what is fit to be enacted, promulged, or executed: They shall not do that which is necessary to be done in order to enacting, because they shall not enact; I hope, for the sake of the profession, that there's no law, because, I am sure, there is no sense in this kind of reasoning.

The common law and constitution of the realm is the same in this point in respect of parliaments as convocations. Now, suppose a statute made in these very words, for parliaments, would it be pretended from thence, that the lords and commons might not debate and vote, and frame draughts of acts, without express licence? I am confident, that all which such a statute would be construed to amount to would be this, that they should not presume to make an act of parliament by themselves without the king; and further than this, therefore, it cannot be extended in respect of a convocation.

Should the convocation vote a constitution, and humbly prepare it for the royal assent, without a licence antecedent, and the king afterwards give his assent to it, would not a canon, thus made, be lawful and binding? Undoubtedly it would; and if so, then a licence to confer cannot be antecedently necessary.

To what purpose is such a licence before-hand to make canons, since the king's assent must be had to them afterwards, ere they can be promulged? Does the act say that there shall be a double licence from the king? That he shall assent once to the preparing and framing canons, another time to the promulging them? Does it mean any more than barely this, that before a canon can be enacted, promulged, or executed, the king's concurrence must be had? And is not that had unless it be given before-hand and afterwards too? They must have the king's licence to enact, promulge, and execute; that is, (to put a Latin word into English) they must have his leave; and have they not his leave, amply and effectually, when he joins his authority to theirs, to make those, to all intents and purposes, canons, which before were not so, and could never have been so, unless he had agreed to them? A leave in general to make canons is given them by their very writ of summons, and a leave in particular to make this or that particular canon; and what other leave beside these can there be imagined or desired? If all they do towards making a canon, before the royal assent, comes far short of enacting, promulging, and executing, then it is certain that they can want no particular licence for it; for they are forbid only to enact, promulge, and execute without licence, and therefore they can do any thing which comes not under any of these restrictive words, though they should have no leave for it: But now, that to prepare the draught of a canon, in order to the king's giving his assent, is neither to enact, promulge, nor execute it, I hope there need not many words to prove: It is not to promulge or execute it, that's plain; and it will be as plain, that it is not to enact it neither, when the force of that word is duly considered. To enact, is to give the authoritative fiat to a law, by which it becomes obligatory; in this sense the word is constantly taken in our acts of parliament: But does the convocation do any thing of this kind, when they prepare a canon for the assent royal? Do they pretend (or can they be construed to pretend) by any thing of theirs, that goes before that assent, to make a canon, which shall be a law of the realm, and binding? Nobody will say it: And therefore, if all they do before they offer a canon to the king, in order to his assent, rise not up to enacting, 'tis plain that they want no licence for it.

I am ashamed to have dwelt so long on so plain a point; but 'tis the only pretence of law that our adversaries have on their side, and therefore I was willing to give it a nice and particular examination.

I shall add only to what has been offered in this case one argument, which Coke himself has (against his will) furnished me with. He says (in the fourth of his Institutes, 323,) that the king did often appoint commissioners to sit in convocation, and take notice of such things as they meant to establish, that nothing might be done in prejudice to the crown. *Quo jure* this was done, doth not appear: But, however, it proves, that they had liberty of conferring and debating; for if nothing could be discussed but what they had express licence for, there could have been no occasion for such a practice. And if this were so at common law, before the statute of Henry VIII. it must continue so still; for the statute, as we have seen, has left their liberty of debate and conference just as it found it.

But, sir, whatever restraints may be pretended to be laid upon them, by this act, with regard to the making of laws and constitutions, yet the exercise of their jurisdiction, as they are a court properly so called, is certainly left free and entire to them. Their power of proceeding against any bishop, priest, or deacon, for heresy or schism, or any other spiritual offence, is not in the least restrained or touched by this act, or by any other act of parliament whatsoever.

And now, sir, though I have, I think, sufficiently answered your second question, and shewn what right a convocation has to meet, sit, and act, by the laws of this realm, yet I shall, *ex abundanti*, throw you in a reflection or two to the same purpose, from Magna Charta and the coronation-oath, two oracles which, in claims of right, should by no means be left unconsulted.

Let us consider Magna Charta, for which the people of England have so often contended even to blood, and which has been forty times confirmed by parliament; and it is owned by every Englishman to be only a royal publication of the common law: it pronounces *quod ecclesia Anglicana libera sit*, that the church of England shall be free. Now, this surely, in the strictest meaning of the word, implies a liberty of doing all that is requisite for a church to do, and of using all its necessary powers and jurisdiction. 'Tis said *Ecclesia Anglicana*, which imports a national church; and to a national church it is certainly incident to have national synods, or convocations; and in like manner, to those synods to have freedom of speech and debate about matters proper for their cognizance, relating to the being or well-being of the body, as a church.

Thus to be allowed to act and do, is to be a free church; and therefore this privilege must be included in the words of Magna Charta, or else they signify nothing; especially if we take in the explanatory words that immediately follow there, *Et habeat omnia jura sua integra, et libertates illæsas; i. e.* "and shall have all her rights entire, and her liberties untouched." And I think, if the church of England has any rights, privileges, or liberties, as a church, this we contend for is one, and the first of them.

That it is so, you, sir, can argue better than I, from the very form and being of a church: I confine myself purely to an account of what the law says in the case; and as to that, if you want farther satisfaction, I refer you to Coke's Institutes, Lynwood, and Prideaux's Synopsis of Councils; look there, and you will find evidence abundantly enough to convince you, that the law takes notice of this as one of the chief and undoubted privileges of the church of England. I would recommend to your perusal too Cotton's Abridgment of Records, where you will find the concurrent sitting of a convocation with that of a parliament plainly proved: I have not time to instance in particulars, nor is this a place proper for it.

But the coronation-oath must not be forgotten. It was framed and established by the convention-parliament, 1688. In it the archbishop or bishop says, "Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern this people of England, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the statutes that parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same?" The king answers, "I do solemnly promise so to do." It is then further said by the bishop, "Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the protestant reformed religion established by law? And will you preserve to the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain to them, or any of them?" The king's answer was, "All this I promise to do." And then, laying his hands on the Holy Gospels, he said, "The things which I have here before promised I will perform and keep: So help me God." And then he kissed the book. Now these words are plain and certain, and can have no doubtful meaning. The people of England are to be governed according to the laws and customs of the realm; and those are known: The protestant reformed religion established by law is to be maintained, and that is, as professed in the church of England; for no other was then indulged, much less established. The bishops and clergy of the realm are to have all their rights and privileges preserved: This too, for the same reason, is to be understood of the church of England, and of her bishops and clergy; and answers exactly to that passage in Magna Charta just now produced, concerning the *jura et libertates Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ;* which, in this clause of this coronation-oath, is directly Englished: And therefore what I said in that case I say again in this, that if the church of England have any rights or privileges, this of assembling, debating, and conferring, is certainly one and the chief of them.

It would be needless, after this account of the coronation-oath, which obliges his majesty, as king, to produce the declaration he made while Prince of Orange, or the unanimous opinion of the great men and commonalty of the realm who first declared for him; both this and that were plainly directed at the preservation of this church and her rights, of these bishops and their clergy, and the several privileges belonging in common, or in particular, to them.

You may make what inferences you please from hence, as to the disuse of convocations under the last archbishop; we are sure his most sacred majesty did ever oppose their sitting and acting.

Thus, sir, I have given you my opinion at large concerning the second point proposed; and now that is done, the third will give us no trouble. For to your last question, "Of what force and validity canons framed by the king and convocation are?" I answer, in a word, that they need no confirmation of or by the parliament, provided they do not impugn common law, statutes, customs, or prerogative. Smyth and Bird's case, in Sir Francis Moor's Reports, is plain and full to this purpose; where the then Lord Chancellor, Popham Chief Justice, and Chief Justice Cook, (no great bigot for religion, or the power of the church,) and Fleming Chief Baron, magnify the usefulness and necessity of the ecclesiastical laws; and, in the third place, have resolved, that the canons of the church, made by the convocation and the king, without parliament, shall bind in all matters ecclesiastical as well as an act of parliament. They allow, that the convocation of the clergy was once a member of the parliament of this realm, but afterwards, for its ease, severed; and yet carried its peculiar function within it to the convocation-house. And Coke says, that it was resolved, 21 Henry VIII., by both houses, upon conference together, that, when the convocation makes canons, appertaining to them, and the king confirms them, they shall bind all the realm, Moor 782, 783. And according to this is a little report, which goes under the name of Noy. 100. Hill. 2. Jac. I., where, before many noblemen, archbishops, and bishops, and the justices, and barons of the Exchequer, it was held and agreed, that the king, without parliament, (and by that they must mean in convocation,) may make constitutions for the government of the clergy. And the books quoted against our notion, as 21 Edward IV. 45, and 20 Henry VI. 13, acknowledge, that they bind the clergy, though not the laity, without parliament. Whatever those books say, I, for my part, can see no reason why, in things of a spiritual nature, the rules of a convocation should not oblige us, as our acts of parliament, in things of a temporal nature, oblige them. 'Tis not my province to argue how far they oblige us in *foro conscientiæ:* Only this I may say, that though the common law religion, which was paganism, knows nothing of the validity of such canons, made by our ecclesiastical rulers under a religious prince, yet the Christian common lawyer, who owns himself a member of the church of England, according to the laws of his country, must and will reverence them as obligatory.

The canons of an English convocation would, I am sure, claim a particular regard from us now, upon the account of those persons who chuse and compose it. They are, at this day, I am persuaded, the best, for their number, of any clergy in this or any other kingdom in the whole Christian world: 'tis a bold word, but a true one, considering either their parts, learning, virtue, or piety. I pretend not to justify every particular person, but desire any man to shew me a number like them, in any profession or science whatsoever, which so much have answered the ends of their institution, and are so great an honour to their calling. So that, in truth, we of this age have no reason to decry that gown: 'tis venerable in itself; and the men who now wear it do in a very particular manner deserve our respect, either as we are Englishmen or Christians: 'Tis both our interest and our duty to support their honour, unless we resolve to turn all religion out of the kingdom: And this is a truth, which the most considering of their enemies must see and acknowledge.

To their eternal honour it must be owned, that in the last reign they stood up in the defence of the laws and liberties of their country resolutely and bravely: And 'tis pity, methinks, but that those laws, which they so well defended, should now protect and defend them also in their turn. They should have their share, at least, in those liberties which they then did more than their share to preserve: They ought certainly to enjoy to the full all the privileges they formerly had, if we think not fit to give them new ones: This they may honestly expect at our hands, upon the score of past services.

My lords the bishops, indeed, by reason of their high station in the house of peers, and the great business, which, on that account, their hands are full of, may not miss their seat in a convocation-house: But the inferior clergy, the priests, who are in no other capacity of serving the church and kingdom to purpose, but as assembled in synod, are at leisure to reflect often on the neglect with which they are used, and the methods that are taking of making them useless. They are, though under the bishops, a considerable member of the ecclesiastical state. No canon can be made without their assent; and if the canons are not observed as they should be, they have a right to complain of the default, and to move for a redress, and not to be suffered to do this at a time when there is so much need of it, and when the rights of all other bodies are so tenderly preserved, they think to be a very great and designed hardship upon them.

There was a time, indeed, when the clergy were deemed publick enemies, and used as such; viz. in the reign of Edward I.; but it was upon a very honourable account, because they asserted the laws of the realm. The king at that time did, by commission, against the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom, pretend to collect money without the assent of parliament, not from the clergy only, but from the earls, barons, and commonalty of the realm. The latter did too many of them submit; the clergy stoutly resisted it: So that Sir Robert Brabazon, the king's chief justice, pronounced openly in the King's Bench, (*in terrorem,*) that from thenceforth no justice should be done at their suit; and that justice should be done against them in the king's courts at any man's suit. This passage I marked when I first read the Institutes, as a very extraordinary one, ('tis page 529, 2 Inst.). I suppose you will think it so too, and that England was then blessed with a righteous chief justice!

The place, God be thanked, is now a little better filled with one, whose justice the clergy may certainly depend upon, if not upon his favour. While he presides in that court they are safe: And it is to be hoped that the same good Providence that brought him thither, will (upon his removal, whenever it shall happen,) prevent any Brabazon, or enemy of our religion and church, from succeeding him.

Thus, sir, I have given your three questions the answer I promised: I am sensible, upon a review of this letter, that 'tis a little of the longest either for your or a more publick use; but you know I have a right to Monsieur Paschal's excuse in the case, and may truly say as he did, that I have not time to make it shorter.

I am, sir,
Your most obedient
Humble servant.

A true and impartial Narrative of the Dissenters' new Plot; with a large and exact Relation of all their old ones. Together with an Account of the chief Conspirators' Names and principal Consults; as well as of several Persons of Quality who have abetted and encouraged them. Declared, and ready to be deposed before any of his Majesty's Justices of Peace. By one who was deeply concerned therein. Published for the discharging his own Conscience, undeceiving the World, and Promotion of Peace and Unity. 1690.

Some sly Whig has here turned the weapons of irony against the Jacobites.

The Index.

1. THE introduction to two sorts of persons whom this discovery will disoblige.
2. The scheme of the whole design here discovered, traced up to its original in the year 1541, whence it has been continued to this present year, 1690.
3. An account of the rebellious principles of that ringleader of heresy and sedition, Jack Calvin of Geneva, with the chief principles on which he built his own and all succeeding rebellions.
4. Of the propagation of these his principles among the French, Dutch and Germans, with the tumults and mischiefs thereupon arising.
5. The affairs of England at the beginning of the Reformation: Calvin's pragmatical intermeddling in it, and his repulse. His letters to young Edward, and what an happiness it was to the church of England that that child died so soon.
6. The progress of the plot during the reign of Queen Elizabeth.——The moderate men who favoured it; the propagating Calvinistical notions, contrary to power and order, both in church and state, and how they were received and imbibed by queen, lords, and commons.
7. What happened under King James, and vindicating the innocent catholicks from the guilt of the Powder-Treason.

8. How this design was carried on during the reign of King Charles the First, of blessed memory, and the bloody effects it had in his barbarous murder, clearing the innocent papists of it; wherein of the true character of the latitudinarians of that age, Usher, Downham, Wilkins, &c. with the mischiefs they did by their moderation, and the brisk opposition they met with from those good men and learned divines, Sibthorp, Manwairing, Heylin, &c. and all others who were firm and right in those reigns.
9. What happened after the Restoration, and the great expectations the faction and their friends then had of confounding all things again, with their enragement at the disappointment at the Savoy, and how it came about; with the scheme of their new plot, ever since carried on, and the methods they *took* for their revenge thereof; the

(1.) To persuade the world, that the king and his brother were reconciled to the church of Rome before they came over.
(2.) That the nation grew debauched on their return.
(3.) That the papists burnt the city.
(4.) That there was a real Popish Plot.
(5.) Their opposition against King James's succession, in the Bill of Exclusion.
(6.) Their actual conspiracy at the Rye-House.
(7.) Their closing with the toleration and addressing.
(8.) Their present plot and design to overthrow the church by the following methods:

First, Infecting the people of all ranks and degrees with their fulminated notions of government and allegiance.

Secondly, Declaring against the ill practices of such as do not please them; whereas they ought to take them all upon themselves.

Thirdly, Prevailing with many of note, both in church and state, to be earnest for the removal of several essential pins and nails in the ecclesiastical model; wherein is a short digression, containing sundry unanswerable reasons against any alteration or moderation.

1. Because it would disoblige the papists.
2. Because the parties grieved will never be satisfied, and so they say all.
3. Because there are several good men that cannot be at the doing it, and therefore it would not be legal.
4. Because by reasonable ease is meant none at all.
5. Because it cannot, and shall not be mended. And,
6. Because the king shall enjoy his own again.

Fourthly, Their last method, and highest step of their plot, wherein are exposed all the weak pretences for any moderation.

The Introduction.

No person, that has not lived altogether out of the world, can be ignorant, at the very first view of these papers, that they must needs disoblige such as are concerned therein, since the more criminal any man is, the more unwilling he will be to have himself dilated, and his faults exposed to publick view, and the more animated against those who do it: But, alas! that is not all the ill treatment their author expects, for he is too well assured there are a sort of men, even on the other side, whom he pretends to serve by this design, by discovering the intrigues of their enemies against them, who, whatever reason and gratitude dictate, may yet look unkindly and a-squint upon him after all his labour, and urge that either through weakness he has lost, or through falsehood betrayed, the cause he undertakes to defend. All that he is careful to *say in his* excuse, either against one side or the other, is, that he hath two friends nearer than either, to wit, Truth and Justice, whom he will make it his principal care not to offend in this relation; and, in the mean time, shall not be much concerned what is thought or censured of him. Nor will he trouble the reader with any other prelude, but (endeavouring as much as possible to avoid prolixity, as contrary both to his own genius, and the palate of all understanding judges) fall immediately on the matter of fact.

Having been but too long acquainted with the intrigues, and very cabala of that party whose dark deeds I am now decyphering, [finding the late great revolution, and even a king of their own, had wrought but little mutation in their tempers, but all the catholick world were now plenarily satisfied that nothing would please them but the old root-and-branch work, and beginning myself cordially to detest such principles and actions, where they indeed are justly chargeable, I opined I was bound, under the strictest obligation to my country, no longer clandestinely to stifle what I myself knew in the matter; what I have been an *Auritus et Oculatus Testis*, that is to say, an eye and ear-witness unto, in fine, to discover all their perpetrated villainies, both of them and the (as they are denominated) moderate party, who join with them, and that not only in this our own Britannick world, but the abutting kingdoms and countries; and that in former ages, as well as this current, to give the clearer scheme of that funest conspiracy which has been so long labouring, which will be a necessary induction to that whereof I myself have come to the proper knowledge.

And in order hereunto, it will be needful, first, to give some general scheme of the whole design of these pernicious men, which will indifferently serve for past, present, and, I fear me, also future ages, the unprejudiced view, and clear proof whereof, I persuade myself, will convince the deluded world they are indeed a far different people from what they have been vulgarly accounted.

The design, which you will say is a terrible one, and therefore had need be well proved, as it shall be beyond all possibility of answer, was this, in short, "To go as far as possible from their catholick mother, whom they most rudely called the Old Whore of Rome, and never to have any correspondence or symbolizing with her, nor give her any hopes of future accommodation; by consequence, to entertain nothing in God's service which had been notoriously abused by her to superstition, insomuch, that the use in such cases they thought hardly separable from the abuse. Heartily to desire all churches might be settled by this rule, according to God's word and right reason, but if their lot was cast in any, in their judgment yet wanting somewhat of what they desired, modestly, as Beza calls it, to declare their dissatisfaction thereat, but yet not make an open schism and rupture, nor desist from their respective duties, unless required to submit to such usages as they esteemed, not only less convenient, but even sinful; or to testify and subscribe their approbation of such things as their consciences, after the calmest and strictest examination, could not approve. For default of which compliances, if forced out, yet using all candour towards such as remained within the pale, interpreting all things fairly, not widening the breach, but heartily desiring its closure. In state,—Albeit they would be thought far from encouraging the licentiousness of the rabble, or private persons, who have nothing to do in the government, yet they must own they cannot, nor ever could, rack themselves up to those high-flown principles, whereto some have only restringed loyalty and obedience, nor can believe that God and Nature made all the world for no other end than to be slaves to the lusts of some few great robbers, but that the good and happiness of mankind is the topmost law and surest rule, whereunto all obedience is to be squared; and that this obedience has protection for its correlate so eminently, that there can be no more one without the other, than a king without subjects. On which account, they also think there is neither treason nor heresy in those words of Calvin, so often exclaimed against as contrary to all government, *si qui nunc sint*, *&c.* If there be, &c. (hereafter largely recounted,) being of the opinion that the estates of a realm may, and ought to enquire into abuses of that nature, when notorious, intolerable, and remediless, and that in such cases, arms are lawful, albeit for the ill consequents, never to be taken without the greatest extremity.

"Here is (as they say) all their plot and design, if you will credit truth and them; and herein have been induced to embark, one way or other, all those of other reformed communions, who have not been so zealous as others for the continuance of those long make-baits (as they call them) amongst us, or who, in civil matters, have not primitive zeal enough to hold up their throats by legions, till the swords of tyrants were blunted, and their arms weary with teaching them the exercise of passive obedience; the instances of which in both kinds, and their many foul plots to attain their ends, shall be tracked in that, and likewise subsequent ages, down to this present year, 1690."

For which account, I need not be ashamed to acquaint the reader I am chiefly obliged to Dr Heylin's useful histories, (of whom more hereafter,) an author of that undoubted credit, unbiassedness, coolness, exactness, and faithfulness, that the very catholicks, in our late controversies with them, have been at the commendable pains to epitomize and print his History of the Reformation, not refusing to have their cause stand and fall in the judgment of the world by that account he there gives. For which reason some have thought it were to be wished that Fox's Lying Legend and old Wooden Martyrs were thrown out of our churches, and this doctor's precious works there chained in their room.

It was (as he informs us, p. 6, History of Presbytery) in the year 1641, that Jack Calvin himself, that predestinary and sacramentary pestilence, (as he tells us he is called,) came to Geneva, that nest of mischief and all wickedness, the very name of which is half a plot, and which, had it been long since sunk in its own lake, what had the world lost? Here the faction, with Calvin's instigation, tumultuously and rebelliously plotted against, expelled, and abdicated their lawful lord and bishop. "Thus," adds the same author, "was the Genevian discipline begotten in rebellion, born in sedition, and nursed up in faction." What needs more argument, after such strong authority? Yet take Hooker's, in his Ecclesiastical Polity, (though care is to be taken to stop your nose at some passages in him, lest you snuff up some dangerous commonwealth maxims,) who, in confirmation of the catholicks and doctor's assertion against Calvin, and that considerable branch of the reformed churches distinguished by his name, assures us, p. 3, "That before Calvin came to Geneva, the bishop was gone, and the government popular." And p. 7, from his own works, "That Calvin protested he neither had learned nor taught to resist those in authority; therefore was going to leave Geneva."

Furthermore, since many would think it but a piece of justice to make him the author of all sin, who makes God so, (although that also he and his followers have face enough to deny,) do but mark, good honest reader, how this very man laid a plot, with a brood of little ones in the belly of it, which have since crawled about over all places, and in all ages. The design takes but a little room, but, being of the nature of gunpowder, does the more mischief, being couched in a few lines of his Institutions; which yet, as the doctor, p. 22, have proved the sole ground of such rebellions, treasons, and assassinations, as have since disfigured the church of Christ, (at that rate not excepting the Gunpowder-treason and last Popish-plot;) "If there be now," saith he, "any popular magistrates ordered to moderate the licentiousness of kings, as of old the Ephori, Tribunes, &c. and with which power, perhaps, the three estates are seized in each kingdom, where they are solemnly assembled, so far am I from hindering them to put restraints on the exorbitant power of kings, as in duty bound, that I conceive them rather guilty of perfidious and wicked dissimulation, if they connive at them when they turn tyrants, or insult their people, or betray their liberties, of which God has appointed them the guardians."

You have heard the indictment, nor can he deny it, nor will all his, or his partizans *If's* and *Perhaps's* save him from being a notorious Williamite, and enemy to the late (and present too) good King J——; for clearly hence have flowed, not only all past stirs made by the stubborn hereticks, as that good man just quoted, in his time observed, but even the present monstrous revolution. For were it not those pestilent *ordines regni*, the estates of the realm here, which pretended to dispose of the imperial crown to whom they please, for those very reasons before alledged, nothing but the pious endeavour to introduce catholick religion, &c. as if any one had any thing to do to call kings to account, although they caused to be cut all their sheepish subjects' throats, besides God in the other world, and his vicar in this?

After Jack Calvin, and his associates at Geneva, had hammered out first their discipline, and likewise this doctrine aforesaid, to make room for the same, they used all diligence to cause them to be embraced and promoted both together in all parts of the catholick church, whereby, as the so often cited author declares, infinite damage was done thereunto; catholick bishops deposed, the beauty of churches defaced, order ruined, images broken, the catholick religion every where went to wreck, and all things in disturbance and confusion. But especially the princes felt the mortal effects of those poisonous protestant doctrines, wherever they got uppermost, whether in Germany, France, or the Netherlands.

In Germany, the electors dared to set up the protestant religion without the emperor's leave in their own territories, and when professed, dared by arms to defend that and their subjects lives, as well as assist their brother hereticks of France, in which, how wickedly they acted, and how God blasted and cursed their enterprizes, see p. 94, book 3, and try if the relation thereof will not cause ye to abominate such practices; if not, the doctor hath pawned his credit and honour to no purpose.

As concerning the Netherlands, to some of which (as p. 90) some well-meaning, but weak prince, had granted several indemnities and privileges, when succeeding princes, more puissant and wise, who were satisfied in that useful maxim, *that they were not slaves to their oaths*, had been pleased to revoke them, and bring their subjects into that state of slavery, which so many great men have assured us is the very primitive state of nature: Those wicked countries, I say, dared to defend their liberties; and albeit there may be somewhat of truth in it, that many catholicks, as well as hereticks, embark in the affair, yet we may safely say they were mere rotten hereticks at heart, or they would never have therein acted. But the open ones were undoubtedly the most active in that rebellion, under their head William Prince of Orange, whose family was looked upon by them as the main support of their sinking cause in all those parts of Europe, and who, slily pretending to be a good catholick, was all the while a secret Lutheran heretick, which heresy was even bred in his bone, having sucked it with his mother's milk. But yet for this very reason he left them, and turned Calvinist, (because he found the Calvinists men of another metal, more quick and stirring, and easily exasperated against their governors, from the by-named principles, and consequently more fit to advance his purpose;) but an ordinary character for one, whom his flatterers called the saviour of the protestants, and one of the bravest princes in Christendom, but yet the best this (you may judge how) unprejudiced author thought his due, p. 99. But see how vengeance overtook this their ringleader in the height of all his glory, for being at Delph on the 10th of June, 1584, a brisk young fellow did excellent service for the catholick cause, by presenting him with three poisoned bullets, whereof he immediately died. From whom lineally descends one, who is now as great a plague to the holy church of Rome, and as much a darling of that contrary party, and has yet been flattered by fortune with as much glory as this his ancestor. But notwithstanding the cutting off this head, as has been said, more sprung up; those in this country turned out their sovereign Philip II. and have ever since pretended to be free states, and high and mighty lords, not without the assistance, as will be hereafter accounted, of the heretical queen and parliament of England.

This in the Netherlands. Neither were their plots in France less numerous; forasmuch as the Genevian schism daily getting ground in that kingdom, several princes of the blood were, at several times, corrupted thereby both in their faith and allegiance, and highly guilty of lese-majesty against their sovereign. For example, that notorious Coligny, who, with his party, so often appeared in rebellion against his sovereigns the Guises, who, under the king, ruled all France, or rather over him; and that the actions of him and his party were encouraged by Calvin, and ministers sent from Geneva on purpose to preach the people into rebellion, p. 53, is as clearly proved in the same page, from two infallible arguments, because the pope was so persuaded, and because Calvin, writing to Bullinger of those actions, extremely disapproves and condemns them. It is as certain that Beza himself, and the admiral, promised Poltrot the assassin all the reward this and the other world could afford, to murther the brave Duke of Guise, the irreconcileable enemy of the hereticks; and this the confession of the murderer, (who could have no other ends in it than to speak his conscience, p. 68,) having no force put upon him to oblige him to a lie, being only diverted upon the rack in the most exquisite torments a man could endure, sufficiently satisfied most men of the truth of it; for, on the other side, Beza and the admiral had not impudence so much as to vindicate themselves from this accusation any other way than by the most publick and solemn manifestoes, declarations, and protestations of their innocence, to their dying day. But they were known to be Calvinists both, and therefore no great heed to be given to what they say.

About the same time, to consummate their treasons, they called in foreign aid for no other pretence but to secure their liberties and religion, p. 69, (namely, the English hereticks, and by thus giving up their country as a prey to the lust of those strangers, the antient enemies of that crown, who pretended still to the dukedom of Normandy, were guilty of an action of such a disloyal, impolitick nature, as no pretence of zeal could either qualify or excuse;) which wickedness on the English side, in assisting those rebels, was punished, as *Heylin tells* the world in *the by-gone lines, with* cross winds, ill success, and infectious diseases. *See the* difference between the good man's modest judgment, and that of a puritanical queen and parliament, who being, as well as the Hugonots, possessed with the principles of their mother city, dared, for want of more grace, to call this war just and necessary, and even religious, in their acts for a subsidy to carry it on: but more of this in the affairs of England. Let us now look back to the event of all their rebellion and conspiracies in France. The churches vengeance lighted upon them unexpectedly, and destroyed above thirty thousand, with their ringleader the admiral, on black Bartholomew-day, 1572, without giving them time to say their heretical prayers before they went into the other world; which action, in a time of profoundest peace, under the fairest pretences, against the most solemn oaths, upon no provocation, plotted and accomplished against so many innocents, (as their friends call them, supposing it possible that a Calvinist can be so,) is by those who favour them exclaimed against, as one of the most brutish, barbarous, and bloody villainies since Herod, and before the Irish massacre.

And accordingly observe with what warmth, zeal, and just detestation, the doctor gives an account concerning it in p. 75.——[*The celebrating of the wedding in the death of the admiral on St Bartholomew's-day, and the slaughter of thirty thousand men within a few days after.*]——And further he saith not.

It is time now to come to the affairs of England, wherein we are more immediately touched, and of Calvin's intermeddling here with what he had nothing to do with, nor received any thanks for, that is to say, the reformation of our church;—but indeed planting his too fruitful seeds of schisms and seditions amongst us.

But Cranmer and Ridley knew so well the temper of the man, and how pragmatical he had been wherever he got in, (p. 236, 237,) and how destructive his notions were to the sacred hierarchy, that they would have nothing to do with him or his assistance. On this he wrote to the young king himself, thinking to seduce him, and had at last, as well as the heretick bishops about him, in effect instilled into him so much piety, temper, and moderation, that, as the same author remarkably has it in such memorable words, as deserved to have been engraven and eternized on his own statue of brass, "It was none of the infelicities of the church of England that this prince died so early."

But what yet deeper designs he managed at this time against the church, and how he plotted the forming of it after his own model, we may more than conjecture from the letters of a vigilant catholick, found in Queen Mary's closet, of sanguine memory, and communicated to Queen Elizabeth some years after her coming to the crown by a minister of state; wherein the politick priest acquaints his correspondent, that it was the result of the most refined thoughts in their communion, by all means to heighten animosities among hereticks, their uniting having been feared, and terribly alarmed the Romish see, inasmuch, as Calvin himself had made proposals to young Edward, on some terms, to admit of episcopacy among the foreign protestants, to join all in the same confession of faith, and acknowledge that king their protector and head, which would have been of fatal consequence to the catholick cause; on which account, they bent their utmost endeavours to have his proffers rejected, and accordingly accomplished the same. When this was shown Queen Elizabeth, she protested she had rather than half a year's revenue her brother had seen this, and than a year's, that she herself had seen it before: But what matter is it what Queen Bess's judgment was in the case? She will have enough to do to answer for herself, whose reign we are now come to.

In whose long (should I add tedious) reign, all the church and state began to contract those ill humours, which afterwards overrun both, and made us a scorn to onlookers, then, since, and now. It was then that the open-professed puritan fell foul on "sundry rites and ceremonies, as the cross, surplice, &c." as stinking so much of Romish superstition, complaining moreover the church wanted farther refining. But what could they have done, had not the moderate men joined their cause, and promoted it more than they themselves could have done? For albeit they were satisfied in the rationality of all those ecclesiastical decreets and usages; yet, for the sake of peace and quieting those complainants, and easing their consciences, and avoiding the scandal of schism in those particulars, they were inclining towards a relaxation; nay, had great hopes also to have accomplished this their notorious plot and design, had not the ever loyal catholick party, in mere zeal for the protestant religion, by law established, obstructed their intentions, and baffled their hopes. So saith Bishop Horn, in a letter to that arch-heretick Bullinger, at Zurich, about this time. "We have laboured," saith he, "to get the Act of Garments, &c. to be repealed, and had obtained it the last session of parliament, and hope to accomplish it in this, had not the papists hindered it." And several more of them wrote to the same purpose, albeit they had before but over-much damaged the church, by persuading the queen to have images removed therefrom.

See we nextly, how these subtle serpents prevailed with that queen to be in a plot against herself, and embarked the lords and commons in the same design. This they accomplished by inducing sundry principles destructive to power general and absolute impery, both into her judgment and her kingdoms, whether laity or clergy; namely, "that kings might be resisted, if they endeavoured to destroy their subjects;" which position they contrived a bishop, well inclined to their party, should impudently write, and in barefaced print dedicate to the queen, with whom that, and such advice, had such success, that she assisted the rebellious subjects both of France and Holland against their liege-lords and tyrants, the kings of France and Spain. Whereunto the lords spiritual and temporal, as being likewise soured with the same leven, entirely consented, and granted liberal supplies therefore, and the clergy subsidies; daring moreover, in their very acts of parliament, to style these just, necessary, and religious purposes. From which practice, how is it possible but evil-minded nations will subsume, that if queen, lords, and commons, if clergy and laity, persons of all estates and all characters, once and again did own and defend, assist and promove such an action, they either were all the grandest hypocrites, or else did truly, in their judgment, think it was in some cases lawful to defend religion and rights by arms; and, by consequence, lop off that luxuriant branch of power, whereby princes might, how they please, use their subjects, and be worshipped by them as a certain great prince is by the Indians, that he may do them no harm.

Furthermore, may it not be worth pain to find what influence Beza and his Hugonots, with other Calvinists and Zuinglians, had upon ours in this reign. The English puritans were almost resolved to leave the church, and make an open schism; Beza, with design to injure us more by their staying in, and distracting all, writ a letter to them, persuading them, for avoiding the mischiefs certain on such a breach, to continue still in the church, and use those ceremonies required, although not declare they judged them lawful, whereas they did not. Some would think this argued much temper and Christianity, but they must be mistaken, seeing it is as impossible for one of Beza's kidney to do a good action, as to be a good man. Howsoever, hereupon they did continue, although it is a doubt soon assoiled, "whether or no their room would not have been better than their company?"

It is a very melancholy consideration, how many great men among us were leaning to these same opinions: Horn, before-mentioned, Grindal himself, with many other prelates, and, as we are told, a great part of one convocation; and in the state, Knollis, Leicester, North, &c. all judging, that on account of much mischief in that and succeeding ages, felt and foreseen by some things, called by them not essential to our church, they might with much more profit than damage suffer some retrenchment. But these their wishes and plots succeeding as well as Hacker's, Coppinger's, &c. blasphemies (which yet we cannot persuade them to own) all fell to the ground, without any fruit to their content during her reign; in which even the defection of the papists from our communion, which they joined the first ten years, is by the admirable Heylin charged on these same persons as a perfect branch of their plot, in p. 259, notwithstanding the world is so unhappily mistaken as to think the direct contrary. Consequently, what more clear, than that all the attempts made on that queen by the papists, Parry's conspiracy, Babbington's, the Queen of Scots, and even eighty-eight itself, and the Spanish invasion, are justly chargeable on this party. And therefore,—*Christianos ad Leones!*

The succeeding reign of King James would afford a very large field, and tempt to expatiate on their plots therein: As their sham-plot of the Gunpowder Treason, thrown upon the catholicks to render them odious, albeit they have so frequently, when thereon interrogate, assured the world it was a mere trick of Cecil's (their religion not permitting them to equivocate or lie) with others truly innumerable. We might furthermore account somewhat of their principal plotters, the strongest fautors of the moderate party; namely, Abbot (and his followers and admirers) who refused to judge in so luscious a case as that of the Lady Essex's virginity: But this, and the plot at Hampton-Court, with that when they brought their abettors hands by the thousands, must be briefly past over, to make way for what is of more concern in the time of his successor; for whatever subterfuge may be taken for other reign's transactions, those which occurred during that of King Charles the First, of blessed memory, were written with a sun-beam, yea, engraven as deep as those infamous stigmas in the brows of their great champions, and shall be as clearly proved against them in the ensuing paragraphs.

That prince was hardly warm in his throne, but the plot before begun was carried on with more life than ever, to set up the faction in church and state, and destroy the wholesome government in both established. Pursuantly whereunto, they, and the party which favoured them of our own, caused delate sundry of the king's ministers, questioned that supreme, imperial, absolute, unaccountable, illimited power, so oft insinuated as inseparably inherent in the crown of England; pretended things were not well managed, good men not advanced, viciousness not restrained, but encouraged, the laws not executed against popish recusants, but suspended, the trust concredited not observed, money illegally exacted, and property invaded; and, finally, no hope left to have things fairly remedied, subsuming, that arms were necessary and lawful to remove ill counsellors, and vindicate liberties, though pretending the king's name and authority, until their plot was ripe, and the moderate men and they together ruined three of the best kingdoms, and one of the best princes in the world. How great the opprobry of this action was, is obvious to be cognosced by all the world. But suffice these arguments subsequent to make it plainer, if any need were, and that this great cry was entirely without any reason at all, and they who made it ventured their lives and lost their blood, only to have Abner's elegy. Because,

1. Our liberties had no invasion: Some small things might be, as are in the best governments, but not worth minding or speaking of;—only sending all over England to demand money by prerogative, without parliament, and force the stubborn and rebellious, who refused to give to Cæsar the things which were not Cæsar's, to suffer confinement for their pervicacity. Moreover, our religion was not in jeopardy, nor our laws transgressed, inasmuch, as albeit some hundreds of popish recusants were liberated from legal durance, and likewise the pope's nuncio was here actually resiant, and plots discovered, and offered to be deponed against the king's person, and government, and laws, by the Romans: Moreover, albeit that the queen was a zealous propugner of their religion, and likewise mortally averted the protestants name and thing, and was so entirely trusted, as to obtain and dispose blank commissions, of which use bad enough was made, yet still we behoved to contradict our own senses, and in no wise believe that either our laws or religion were endangered.

Furthermore, it ought to be well adverted what sore mischief moderation wrought in the councils and actions of that age, seeing those enstiled moderate men, the trimmers of that dispensation, were even more noxious and obnoxious than others openly enlisted, as was observed in the reigns by-gone, and shall be in that succeeding. They were in the state for capitulating with sovereignty, preserving liberty, their great Diana; nor thought it damnable to keep their own by any lawful means, or refuse to part with it, saving in a parliamentary way. In church, for accommodation and moderation, and rather inclining to favour the dissenter than the catholick,——accordingly not over fond of additions or superstructures, or refinings on the ceremonies: They believed a man might be saved by the merits of Jesus, without bowing at his name within church, and swearing by it as soon as he came out: That it was not absolutely necessary to salvation to have the church windows rendered devout, by darkening them with pictures of the Trinity: That it was not a mortal sin to call the altar a table; nor of the essence of the sacrament, to have that railed in: Nay, worse, they believed a Calvinist might be saved, and dared hope as much of John Calvin himself, (though many others would as soon be of Origen's charitable opinion, that the Devil might). Neither did they conclude all those were reprobates who believed in predestination: They thought, by Dr Heylin's leave, it was lawful, yea, even praiseworthy, to keep the Lord's day as a sabbath; and that time as well full out employed in reading God's word and singing psalms, as in playing at foot-ball or morrice-dancing: Nay, to lay open the very core of those fanatical pustules and blains that infected the sick nation, they would have been condescending to amove, or leave indifferent the cross and surplice themselves to save the souls of their weak brethren, and induce peace and unity in the church. What need we name all who promoted these pernicious designs, and avowed the by-named principles? Who more noticed that way than the puritanical Usher?—Of whom need we any worse character than that the dissenters honoured and loved him? Who was nothing else, as Dr Heylin, so much his superior equally in learning, piety, gravity, and good nature, tells the world, but a walking bookseller's shop, with a deal of old lumber in his head, and who was notoriously puritanical in most points of their before-mentioned creed. Of the same batch was the Bishop of Lincoln; the name——and——Thing Man, Bishop Downham, Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, Bishop Wilkins, who might as soon get to the moon in one of his own chariots, as accomplish the less improbable project of union with these dissenters, to whom he was himself too near allied. One fanatical principle more I had even slipt, to which all these beforementioned, and numbers of the same leven, were almost sworn; namely, That his holiness was Antichrist, and his metropolis, the famous city of Rome, mere Babylon: Wherein he that cannot smell a notorious plot against the very root of all government, has no nose: For his holiness being, it is well known, a great temporal prince, this reflecting upon him in that capacity does so likewise upon all others; on which account no wise prince would suffer those in his dominions who defend such a dangerous maxim. Let me add, the reviving that unmannerly position in the late disputations against the catholicks, after it had been given them so frankly by so many great doctors, the asserting and vindicating, and almost quoting the homily for it, could bode no good to the church, but too plainly indigitate that some designs were hatching, which have since been produced into maturity.

But to return from this digression, while I am describing to my unwary countrymen the plots and designs of bad men in this reign, and the brooding mischiefs of fatal moderation, let not those excellent persons be forgot who stemmed the tide against it, or rather rushed down the stream and over-bore all opposers; like good soldiers, very generously letting the ship split all to shivers and sink to the bottom, rather than suffer any interloping.

Shall those great names, Sibthorp and Manwairing, be ever forgotten, or how bravely and freely, like kings, they gave to the king? It is true, it was what was none of their own; but there's the rarity; it is mean and vulgar only to give what is so: But to give rights of kingdoms, power of parliaments, liberty of levying what taxes he pleased, without the old dull formalities of saying, By your leave, to the lords and commons, and of the other side preaching the people into damnation, if the stingy wretches should refuse even to send their heads in a bandbox, if it were their sovereign's will and pleasure to ask for them. This, in good truth, was worth both giving and taking, and really deserved, between man and man, as good a deanery or bishoprick, in consideration, as any in England.

Of the other side, the making so many compliments, kind faces, and cringes to his holiness at Rome; the leaning that way in a just detestation of fanatical zeal, which swagged to the other; the pressing the very highest pinnacles, nay, vanes, of what one meetly enough terms *Sesqui-conformity*; the abominating and almost excommunicating all foreign churches; the running down law, *ignoramus* lawyers, (Selden and such like,) and the saucy tribe of Jack gentlemen. These were some of the noble expedients by which those worthy men opposed the faction, and took such effectual care to prevent and cure the schism in church and state, and all deplorable effects thereafter arising.

Among those memorable persons, signally instrumental therein, let us by no means forget the grave, ingenuous, and good-natured Dr Heylin. How much is really owing to his pains and honesty we have already occasionally accounted, though too much can scarce be said on such a subject, of whose truly remarkable works, and those two especially, his History of the Reformation and the Presbyterians, we may, without invidious reflections or comparisons, boldly affirm, that hardly ever were two books written like them, and that they deserve only to be compared with another one. And while the sensible part of mankind, and all those who are firm and right, are but satisfied of it, let the dissenters and trimmers in England bark on at them, and rail at the discovery of their frequent plots therein contained, and insinuate, as they will scarce fail, that it is a great question if he belies and abuses the church of England more in one, or themselves in the other. But notwithstanding all this heap of calumnies, and others of the same kind, in a late History of the Reformation, enviously cast upon him by a little scribbler, whom the Vicar of Cosmus-Bene has soundly jerked up for his pains; I say, in spite of this and a thousand times more, the doctor is by all unprejudiced persons acknowledged to be one of that undoubted veracity, that they no more question one iota of the truth of either of those histories, than they do the same author's famous account of St George, who killed the dragon and the seven champions of Christendom.

But graver and sadder matters exact more seriousness. These perilous persons, the subjects of the present discovery, carried matters yet much higher, and having first seduced a vast body of the church of England into their cause, and much the larger part of both houses of parliament, at that time to take arms for the vindication of those liberties and that religion, they, you see how unjustly, pretended in so much danger; nay, having insinuated (as they are certainly a very cunning sort of people) some of their own principles into the king himself, who had formerly assisted the French protestants against the oppressions and contraventions of their own king, and so fully imbibed him with the lawfulness thereof, that to the very day of his martyrdom, after the severest examination of his closest thoughts, and acknowledging some evils which reason of state had, he thought, pushed him on formerly, he yet never was known to look on this as any sin or error, in word or writing, though grantedly so pious a man and of so tender a conscience.

After they had, by these methods, and a long war, ruined the royal interest and family, they consummated all in the most execrable of villainies; erecting a pretended court of justice, whereon, by a process for that end intended before by them, they condemned, and (I had almost said) crucified their lord and master. They will deny this, without doubt, as confidently as they were innocent; charge the guiltless catholicks as guilty of contriving, effecting, and rejoicing at it; and pretend their detestation of a fact so devilishly barbarous and inhuman. For defence of the poor catholicks against their calumnies, suffice it, they have no solid argument to make good their assertion, only that, during the war, more papists were in the rebels' army than the royal side, as appears by a publick proclamation under that martyr's own hand; that his death was before consulted and agreed on, at Rome and in the Sorbonne; that several known priests were actually present, some disguisedly, even in office, and assisting at that execrable villainy; that there was publick joy and triumph thereupon, and a sword flourished over his head, by a jesuit, when it was accomplished. But these are arguments must be blown away instead of being answered.

And under the same class we may rank the excuse of the party against their having any hand in this innocent blood. They urge, forsooth, that the ends of war attained, they were now, and had been, openly for peace; were satisfied with the king's concessions, embraced a treaty, even agreed on terms, expected to have made themselves and him happy; that the house of lords, commons, city, and country were all of this mind; that it was only the usurper and his army who acted what was thereafter done; yet not daring to attempt it until the city was disarmed, the house of lords dissolved, the commons purged and altered; that when the usurper's intent was perceived, seventy odd of their ministers went in a body to him, dissuaded him from it, remonstrated against it; and when the fatal blow was over, regretted it as deeply, bewailed it as truly as a mother would have done the untimely death of her only child; that there were of their number who, after all entreaties, caresses, and persuasions, absolutely refused ever to see him more; that for this, and other as pregnant reasons, they no more think the body of them either indiscriminately or eminently concerned in the action, than in all the wild and wicked blasphemies and immoralities of the ranters, and other enthusiasts of that age, which thereafter pestered and exposed the nation, and which, with just as much reason, are by their enemies most injuriously charged upon them. But all this, as in the case aforesaid, it is not worth the while to attempt to answer.

It is time now to remind my loving countrymen of what many of them, as well as I myself, if they will take the pains of reflection, cannot chuse but remember, to wit, the restless endeavours and intrigues of that party, who, you see, have been plotters from their very cradles, since the happy period of the Restoration; at which time the expectations of the factions and their friends could not but be great, and their hopes extremely sanguine, to attain their long-desired ends of confounding the church by uniting unto it; or, as they and theirs would rather phrase it, happily closing the long-bleeding wounds of these kingdoms.

And how all things seemed that way disposed, had not Providence and some good catholick friends, ordered it otherwise, is a melancholy reflection to any true lover of his country and religion; for the long and fatal mischiefs, the sins and scandal, and shame and opprobry, and yet uncured wounds given and taken of all sides, for what was not worth half the cost and pains, had inclined many considering men to desire an end of them, by taking away the very root of these distempers, to wit, our unhappy divisions, with which none but were sufficiently tired. Thereupon fair advances were made, and strong inclinations, even in the heads of parties, to make an end of what they were so much ashamed of.

Followed next the conference at the Savoy, wherein ten to one but the work had been accomplished, many deep heads being laid together on the design, which, had it been done, who can guess the mischiefs had thereupon succeeded inevitably? The poor catholicks must never have hoped to have breathed, or had one push more for Holy Mother. Trade had flourished, England had been strong, famous, and invincible. (What to do, but to make it proud and factious?) The most Christian king had never arrived to that height of grandeur and glory in plundering, burning, massacring his own, and all other nations in Europe, and letting in the yet more Christian Turk on the other side of Germany, had we been all well at home, and fit to keep our antient station, the balance of Europe; all those heats and ferments amongst us had been avoided, and a great deal of brave blood unspilt, or made better use of, (but as for that being such as inclined to this party, you will say no great matter;) peace, quietness, and eternal security had been entailed on these nations to future ages, instead of still remaining spite, malice, and such animosities, as God knows when we shall see the end of them. (But what then had become of Doctors Commons?) So that, after all plausible pretences, you see there lie very heavy inconveniences of the other side, besides some yet to be named, to over-balance this union then plotted. How nimble were Bishop Wilkins and others pretendedly ours? How concerned and intent on this fruitless embrio? And how handsomely were they and the hopes of the faction disappointed by that means, and for these yet further weighty and subsequent reasons?

Had it come to maturity, and the people of England had leisure to be all intent on the common good both here and abroad, in probability a certain favourite could not have grown so great and topping as he afterwards did on the ruins of his country's liberties and glory.

Moreover, neither had the royal power been exalted, nor prerogative extended, to signify what the king and his judges thought meet; or those rights, which cost our foolish ancestors so much blood, and so many thousand lives, generously sacrificed to our resentments, had not the breach been left open, and opportunity still to play party against party when thought necessary by state-ministers.

The prudent means used to hinder what would certainly have obstructed these great ends, were near one and the same on both parties, that is to say, exasperating former sufferers, rubbing their old galls and wounds, foretelling future repetitions of the same, encouraging both sides to stand upon higher terms than of themselves inclined to, assuring them they should be granted, smiles on those who were most averse to union, of the stiffest, sourest, straitest-laced consciences or humours, frowns and slights on the contrary, who might look for their next preferments in Heaven, by which happy methods the plot was prevented, the schisms perpetuated, and all broken in pieces.

See but what councils this threw the moderate men upon soon after; how it exasperated and enraged them, and what calumnies they invented on the state in succeeding times, to bring about their ends; one of the most notorious of which was, the two royal brothers being reconciled to the see of Rome before their return. It was, truth is, an unlucky motto placed on the pedestal of the then Duke of York's statue, at their triumphant entrance into London, in the year 1660, out of the poet, *Magnæ spes altera Romæ,* The second mighty hope of Rome. It is also as unhappy a circumstance that we have the word of this second hope, (that word never yet forfeited,) that the first made good the implied character and died, as he had in his heart lived, in the Roman communion. But yet again we have his own royal word so often of his being cordial in the protestant, that it must still remain a moot-case whether of the two we are to believe.

Other as pernicious insinuations they had, were that the nation grew sensibly and notoriously debauched, and such as would not be courtly enough to kick their wives out of bed and house too, and take a thing genteeler in their room, were counted and named arrant fanaticks, and enemies to the government; no good church-men, loyal, nor any thing else that was good, or fit for preferment; yea, that the influence and poison of those cursed practices, to make men villains and atheists, that they might be fit for slaves and papists, prevailed so strongly, and was rooted so deeply, that it is not yet eradicated, and is like to find work for one age more, as it then produced a fire and plague, both too weak to conquer it.

The last of which, the fire, they are so impudent to charge on the papists; albeit they have not a syllable for it, but some old bundles of depositions there anent before the House of Commons; the positive confessions of parties engaged in it, and a disaffected inscription on the monument since razed; but on the other side two or three whole Observators contrair thereunto. By the way, see a certain mark who are in this plot all along discovered, namely, whoever believes the papists burnt the city, and the duke had any hand in it; and all who dare be so impudent deserves as sound a fine as he that now holds his head so high.

The next method they had to blacken the government and innocent catholicks together, was the pretended Popish Plot. As for Coleman's Letters, whereof they so much flourish, how easily might they be forged by that party? or, which is more likely, he himself a fanatick; or, what is more dangerous, a beast, a trimmer in his heart, contriving all only to disgrace his good master, and being hanged for nothing but the good of the cause? And for all the rest of the plot, Roger's writing, and Oates his whipping, has sunk it so deep, that it must never expect to rise more till King James comes back to Whitehall.

To let pass their plot to exclude their lawful sovereign, and, when that failed, their infamous conspiracy to blunderbuss the king and all the royal coach-horses at the Rye-house, which they, as well as the jesuits, had impudence enough at their deaths to profess themselves as innocent of as the child unborn. To omit that, and their contumacious refusals to deliver up charters, and all the musty liberties of their forefathers, go but into King James the Second's reign, and if you do not see enough of their practices to surfeit you, never believe Heylin, Roger, or me again.

How eagerly those gudgeons leaped at the toleration, how greedily they swallowed it, what universal unanimous addresses they made, how many masters of misrule left off their ordinary occupations of tinkers, glovers, and coffee-men, and took up the extraordinary vocation of test-menders, government-patchers, and regulators, who has yet forgot? Or how eagerly and universally they sided with their enemies to destroy the church?

What matters it, if they pretend in their defence, that their accepting the toleration amounted to no more than not plainly telling the king they would not take it, whereas they ought to have petitioned him to have set the rabble once more a pulling down their meeting-houses about their ears: or further, that they were flesh and blood, and being surprised with unwonted ease, after what is better forgotten than recounted, should some few of them run too far before they stopped to see where they were going: That those who went thorough with it, were for the most part only the meanest of their rascality, scarce a man of name or credit engaged, and all their body plainly disapproving it: That the addresses were nothing but words, without hearts and hands either, unless a very few, and those dirty ones, and such as wrote more marks than names: That they honoured and reverenced the clergy established, for their vigorous and noble defence of both law and gospel by their writings and sufferings, and no persons in England more sincere and hearty rejoicers at the delivery of the bishops, or more satisfied with their behaviour. This, I say, is their plea; but there is an easy way of answering it altogether, for it might be troublesome to do it by piece-meal, and that is, over-ruling it, and there is an end of it. After adding, that the moderate men notoriously joined them in disobedience all this reign. The bishops before-mentioned, Maudlin College, Oxford, Cambridge, towns and corporations, refusing to give liberties and religion, plotting in concert with fanaticks, and not fearing the wrath of the king.

It is now high time, and no doubt the reader greedily expects it, to enquire what further steps they have made in their continued conspiracy since the last great turn of affairs, which is here my particular province to declare and depone, if need be, and for which intent principally I undertook this present task.

That their old plot is still on foot, to accomplish those by-named designs, no honest man but firmly believes, as much as I myself do; it is the general discourse of both city and country. How far they have proceeded therein, and the methods they have lately used, and do so at present, to bring it to perfection; a grateful and useful work, deign to accept, O reader! from one who has had the misfortune to know but too much of that affair.

The main stroke of their design was to infect all degrees of the nation with their bygone maxims concerning government and allegiance, whereunto we are indebted for all the late and present hurly-burly; for had the people still continued in their old governable opinion, that their throats were to be cut for God's sake, and they were by no means to lift up their hands against his anointed, though to repel the stab of a villain commissionated by him; had they but remained possessed with that furious desire of martyrdom some of the primitive Christians were, and run their necks into the noose as fast as they themselves, upon racks, wheels, and wild beasts; had we still believed a king to be such an image of the Divinity, that he could no more cease to be what he is than that can, but that the obligation of all the rest of mankind to the first-born of Adam, and so downwards in the patriarchal line, by Fergus the First to King James, were inviolable and eternal, and an unpardonable sin on any account whatsoever to oppose or infringe it; then, undoubtedly, we had still continued, I say, not in the same, but a much less pitiable condition than we were before our great deliverance, as it must be called. It was the parting with these principles made way for what since happened, and indeed drove the king away more effectually than either his own conscience or the prince's army. Now whence came this alteration but from such principles as before-named, industriously disseminated, we may know by whom, and now, alas! embraced by every body?

Oh, where is the glory of passive obedience! The honour of non-resistance! The decency, the utility, the bravery of those particularities and characteristicks, of which our enemies began very tartly, but a little too early, to wish much good might they do us! What a small sacrifice had it been to have two or three hundred thousand hereticks small brains beat out, or weasons whittled, and all the churches in England whipt out of their heretical pravity into catholick mass-houses? And how much better, and more acceptable had this been, than thus for the moderate men to run hand in hand with fanaticks, and loaded us with so many dung-carts full of shame and ignominy, that we shall hardly ever be sweet again?

But observing there were many of their party, after things were come to a kind of settlement, who seem contrary to all government, discontent and murmuring at this, and all affairs not managed the way that pleased their fancies; restless and uneasy, neither fearing nor loving God nor the king; for a commonwealth, or rather anarchy, and nothing at all; of too good and keen memory as to others faults, and the most forgetful things alive of their own; desirous to embroil all again, like a troubled sea, ever working, muddy, and uneasy; finally, downright against monarchy, and the government established in church and state; and, in a word, for all or none. Cunningly adverting, I say, there were such persons amongst them, and such as often made a great noise, and were noticed by all who valued their own liberties, as persons dangerous, and to be suppressed; lest these should be thrown on the whole party, and thereby injure and oppress them all, which they now began to apprehend, they totally disclaim and loudly protest against such persons and actions, most uncivilly refusing to own them or their tenets, acknowledging there are so many of them they could be very well spared, and heartily wishing any other party had them; also concluding, they could no where go but they must meet some of their fellows.

But the main hinge of the design, the very poison and point of it, is that which follows: They are desirous of having several essential nails and pins pulled out of the ecclesiastical model, which they have been often enough told is of such an exact and nice constitution, as the least alteration therein would infallibly ruin all the building. And if this be not a plot, there was none to kill the king at Newmarket. In this they had as many abettors as there are latitudinarians in the kingdom. Some notorious ones they had in the last reigns, not now alive to help them, particularly Judge Hales, who was dipt in this plot over head and ears, and so lost to any sense of honour and religion, as to be acquainted with Baxter himself. Several living both then and now, all the moderate divines, once well met in a lampoon, lashing them so smartly, that the blood almost came through gowns, cassocks, and all, although they (as their way is) aver, that vengeance fell on him who made it, being a little after accidentally killed in a quarrel, (which is a truth we cannot deny.)

Could we but purge the convocation, how many of this kidney might be garbled out of it? And especially, how thin would the upper house remain? To tell truth, there is hardly any distinction between these moderate men and those plotters themselves, their desires being the same whether in the church or out of it, namely, to have alterations; whereafter, the minds of men are of late so notoriously gadding, that it may be good service, and a pardonable digression, to insert sundry of the closest and most remarkable arguments which have or may be urged against them, to confirm all that are not quite lost, of the mischief and unreasonableness of moderation.

1. Because any such thing would mortally disoblige all good catholicks. Scandal is not to be given; they have had too much already, as was touched in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Some, it is true, believe we ought to take more care of disobliging our friends than enemies, and that we are not quite so distant from them as from the papists, since three articles are not so many as almost all nine-and-thirty; and if those could caress them, how much more we? And that on one there is no hope of doing any good as there is on the other. But this, it may be said, the second argument takes off.

2. Because the parties complaining will never be satisfied; and so they say all, protest, and resolve, man, woman, and child.—Whatever offers have, may, shall be made—never talk—propose—argue.—Here could we put in a word, some would ask two or three short questions—When? Where? What? and till those were answered, dispute no further. Let them alone, and on unto the next.

3. Because there are several good men which ought to be, and cannot be present at such alterations, therefore they would not be legal. If any says, Who hinders them? they are very impertinent to ask such a question as nobody can answer. But there are more yet, as,

4. Because by reasonable ease, formerly promised them, is meant none at all; for if all they desire be unreasonable, why then a due temper is such a one as all things were in before. Although it be extremely probable, this neat interpretation was not thought on when the promise was made, any more than at present approved by such as then made it; yet all must confess it was a dexterous turn, and as handsome a trial of skill as any in that excellent author who lately made use of it. [The pretended history of the convocation.]

5. Because one may safely pronounce of every individual word, syllable, and letter in controversy, that it cannot, shall not, nor ought to be amended.

The two first branches of the argument, it is acknowledged, are the strongest, it cannot—because all things are so consummately perfect, as to deny any addition or subtraction. It shall—that shews power, and what more great than—*sic volo*—on which account, not much need of the last. It ought not—for several under causes and reasons.

(1.) Should we begin, there would be no ending; that is to say, there is no difference between staring and, &c.

(2.) It would argue weakness—in other terms, would convince us fallible, and as mere men as our forefathers;—a most egregious imputation!

But there is one dormant reason stronger than all these, and a thousand more, which none but friends are admitted to hear.

6. Because the late king shall enjoy his own again; which is so clear by its own light, there needs no further illustration; and if all these weighty ones prevail not to dissuade from lukewarm moderation, I know not what will.—But do an enemy justice; let us therefore, to evite partiality, account what arguments the party have for moderation and accommodation, in which, reader, you will still perceive more of the venom of that plot they are now engaged in.

These momentous arguments, which they think carry demonstrations in their bellies for moderation, and compromising differences, are only such weak ones as follow: The glory of God, the interest of Europe, the good of England, and all the king's majesty's dominions in general, and of all parties, even particularly taken.

They pretend that God's glory is engaged in it, because it would prevent sundry scandals and inevitable mischiefs in religion. The atheist would no more argue that the great duties of natural and revealed religion, and vice and virtue themselves, about which there was such a noise and clutter, were nothing but trick and politick contrivance, not believed by such as teach others to obey them; because he saw them as earnest, and more, for small trifles, what they themselves acknowledged but the gawds and trappings of religion. Were this schism cured, wherever the fault lie, or whether of both sides, the people would be, they think, more solicitous about matters of more concern, their care and study taken off from what is less considerable, and true saving Christianity and a good life much more heeded, now almost totally neglected; since it is impossible for the mind of man to be at once equally intent upon two different objects. Furthermore, many heinous scandals avoided; whereas different parties now snatch up, and keep alive, whatever ill things they hear of one another, not valuing how much common Christianity is injured by their so doing, the very office of the ministry rendered vile and contemptible to the world, all sacred mysteries slighted and ridiculed; yea, as different parties are under or at the top of the wheel, this murmuring and repining at them above, that pressing and crushing such as are below, which mischiefs they think it is impossible to evite, considering the passions and weaknesses of even the best of men, as long as there are different and separate interests and communions.

And the next thing they urge (like subtle plotters as they are) is the interest of Europe, pretending all Christendom to be affected with England's concerns, that island having been always accounted its balance, unless when we ourselves break the beam. Were we united here, how would the ravishers of Europe's liberties tremble who already are not very secure? This has been touched in another reign, but deserves, they think, deeper consideration. What one thing would France wish like a war within our own bowels, to divert us from piercing into those of his own country? Which, if matters continue as they are, the contrary is rather to be wished than expected. Next to that, a division of our councils, interests, and designs, whereupon ill men would still work to widen them and distract us, must needs hugely gratify him and all our enemies.

And what would more conduce either to our profit or glory they further urge? For even making allowances for the vanity every nation has for itself and for its force, as well as a particular weakness that way wherewith we are charged by our neighbours, how unjustly let others determine: One thing is certain, that in the field there is not a braver people under the sun; and number for number we make our party good against any opposers whatsoever; I will not say as one did, while God stands neuter, but may while he does not fight against us. Not to instance in our late rencounters with our slaves the Irish, for they seem only made to be kickt, beaten, and run away, all other indifferent judges acknowledge it; on which account, and our happy situation, none care to meddle with us if they could help it. So that were this present rub well over, whose happy success in the common course of things nothing can hinder but ourselves, nothing here but our new sprouting cursed animosities, divisions, fears, jealousies, and whimsies of one another, effectually making what we fear. Were this once well over, we might expect the happiness, tranquillity, flourishing, wealth and ease, which God only knows when we had or now are like to have.

Moreover they pretend, it would be likewise the true interest of every particular party. Could this be proved and believed, without any doubt we should be all friends to-morrow; for ingenuously, after all, there is the great Diana that sets us together by the ears, and, in truth, worth a wise or honest man's concern, every one being obliged to provide for his own house, and secure his own happiness, so it be by lawful ways, and not contrary to publick good. But these we generally slip, few but minding more what they feel than what they see. Unite these together, and the business is done; to which they persuade themselves this plain account will much conduce (albeit, ten to one but it displeases all sides) as these moderators are the most unlucky men in the world for that.

Let us consider, say they, the churchman as established in his possessions and privileges, by the law of the land, the inclinations, promises, oaths of his sovereign, and genius of the larger part of the people, which, were there need, this demonstrates: In late elections, no dissenters have polled on one side, many church-men of the other, together with all the dissenters; yet the last outnumbered, where we have been so unhappy, they say, as to fall into parties. His interest is to preserve what he is legally instated in, and to get and keep the love and esteem of the people.

He apprehends all this in danger from what has lately happened in Scotland; from the distempers, folly, and wickedness of many, who are professors of that tolerated party which dissents from the established form, whom he finds, hears, sees, and is assured to wish his destruction and his own party's exaltation; albeit he be morally certain, from his life and manners, that this cannot be conscience whereupon he acts. On this he is, as he ought certainly to be, solicitous to preserve what he is in actual possession of,—(who blames him?—) and is assiduous to countermine those designs, or rather hopes, of ill-meaning persons.—Nor is he to be discommended.—But then, ten to one he runs farther, breaks into a passion, cries they are all such, and this is the bottom of their conscience and pretences to religion; is tooth and nail against any moderation and accommodation with them, and very probably wishes their toleration again taken from them, of which he thinks they make so ill use, and is resolved to promote the doing it. Now the question is, If here he go not too far? which will be presently answered by these moderators, who will take upon them to prove he mistakes his true interest, or rather overruns it; for, say they, the thing he desires is not oppressing others consciences, but securing himself, and what he has, from such as either have none at all, or very large ones; and to this they will shew him the infallible way. Take off what objections such as are of undoubted probity and religion make against your communion, lighten their burdens, and these men will love you for ever. Then the best, of most name, estate, and honesty, are yours. The remain a headless, witless, senseless, pretenceless rabble, that must drop of themselves, and in a few years all things be peaceable again, and run in their own proper channel. But then comes interest, and says, What shall we do with their clergy? We have (at least) enough of our own, whom they will take bread from. Answer they,—But the fleece will accompany the flock, and many a golden fleece too will return with these shepherds, more than enough to build new churches and maintain them sufficiently, for that there is no very considerable number of their pastors now left; for if in one parish in this city there are . . . . . . meeting-houses, and the parish-church is already more than filled, guess what might be done by all those, or but the most considerable, if once united to the same communion.

The interest of the modest and moderate dissenter is to live comfortably in this, and secure the other world hereafter, which he cannot do if he act contrair to his conscience here, which, he says, he has endeavoured to satisfy concerning the points controverted, but cannot think compliance lawful, and therefore is sure, whatever it may be in those otherwise persuaded, it would be a sin in him; and if this be true, of which God only can be judge, who can justly blame him? Especially when he adds, and solemnly protests, that he thinks schism a great sin and plague, and would part with any thing but his conscience to avoid it: That he would be very unwilling to have the imputation of doing or not doing any thing out of mere contradiction to lawful authority, which he thinks a silly, spiteful, and sinful practice: That if he did not come into church, were the gates made but a little wider for him, without desiring to have them pulled down for that purpose, he must of necessity submit to be looked upon as one of no principles, conscience, faith, nor honour. And what seems fairer than all this? He thinks it, on the other side, well worth his care to consider of a way of living for himself and family, and would be willing to have some security of what he enjoys, and suitable provision made in other circumstances: Still who can blame him? But the mischief is a warm contribution, of sometimes 2 or 300*l.* per annum, is a very comfortable importance, not easily parted with. Hence desires of union are apt to languish. The heats of ill men on the other side charged on the whole party, magnified into a design to ruin them, or a malignant spirit, at enmity with God and the gospel, and conversion of souls, and alledging that they only make the breach so incurable, and that they will never hope nor desire its remedy more. He is, as well as all other parties, too tender towards ill men, who espouse his, though a disgrace to any, and it is very possible, a little imposed upon by too sanguine hopes, in numbers here, and success in other places. There he does as certainly mistake as others in other things mistake him, or those commonwealth's men who shrowd themselves under his name, whom he no more approves than he thinks the state ought to fear; since those that are of them, are for number and discretion much like Venner's gang, and must believe one shall chuse a thousand to make their cause sprout again; but, however, secure once this troublesome interest, and all will be well enough. And that is not impossible to be done, for if he has a church and preaches in it, the most of his people have such a respect for him, they certainly follow him, and who shall forbid them to drop as much in a church-bason as in a plate at a meeting-house? Or ought a little difference here to out-weigh the inconvenience of so many great ones in other cases? Or were there but a hearty desire of union appearing, would not authority take care of those matters?

At this long, tedious rate, do these neither flesh nor fish preach about their idol Moderation. If as much as this cannot be accomplished, they are for the next best until that shall be attained, a union in hearts and affections, cordial kindness, allowances, forbearance, meekness, and I know not what apostolical cant, to attain that plot and those ends they drive at.

They will say that one side is very immodest, if not content with toleration granted by parliament, assured by the king's word; it grasps at either half, or all that which is none of its own; murmurs at the government, because it gives not on until it has nothing left; faint in their allegiance, and give colour what their enemies assert, that they will never be contented under any government, or favour, or encourage those indeed of that humour.

That the other side is very unkind as well as impolitick, if from heats and follies on both sides it should forget what it formerly promised in the days of adversity, what kindness it then received from those who on provocation enough were courted to destroy them; and had they entirely joined that interest at that time, whereto they had such advantageous proffers, things had been now in another manner of posture than they are. If because some would have too much, they would take away all that they have already given, and tread the steps of one who took not very prosperous counsels, to render friends enemies, and then make those enemies desperate. And if they forget to consider that the more conscience a man has himself, he tenderer he is of another's, while he that has none is like the debauchee, who, because he has no honour or virtue himself, thinks nobody else has any, and deals with them accordingly.

So much for this plot.

The Price of the Abdication.

That the candid reader may not stumble at the threshold, I judge it necessary to advertise him, that by abdication I understand not the king's voluntary resigning his crowns, but, as in fact it was, the conventions declaring the throne vacant, and electing a new king.

Before this, these kingdoms enjoyed the blessings of peace and plenty, the confluence of an immense wealth by an uninterrupted trade, and the entire fruition of the product of their lands and industry without any diminution by aids, taxes, or polls, for the space of eight or nine years together.

Not only the utter deprivation of the subjects, of all ranks, of these benefits, may be the first instances of the price of the abdication, but the innumerable national and personal losses and damages, which may be piled in the scale, have increased the items to a prodigious charge.

The very source of all which our fatal ruins was the expulsion of the king, whose study and desire was to have preserved his people in peace and freedom of traffick (as Mr. Pepys has demonstrated beyond all cavil) during the confederates war, which, to this day, by an infinite increase of riches, these kingdoms might have enjoyed, as well as Portugal, the states of Venice and Genoa, the Duke of Tuscany, and the two northern crowns, if the Dutch ambition, circumvention, and craft, and English treachery and covetousness, had not prevented it.

To insert by detail the advantages we have lost by want of the neutrality, and the damages we have sustained by being engaged in the war, scarce falls within computation. It may suffice, in a ruin so diffusive and epidemical, to suggest some general heads, proportioned to the design of an abstract, leaving all, who have any sense of their country's good or evil, to enlarge their reflections.

The Spaniards have a wise proverb, *That evil comes well which comes alone.* The mischievous abdication reached not only the king's royal person, but, at one stroke, cancelled all the antient fundamental laws of the constitution of the English monarchy, as my Lord Nottingham himself declared in his speech at the convention, even but two hours before the vote for the abdication and vacancy was carried but by two voices in the lords house: He then asserted, that if they owned there was an abdication, and that the throne was declared vacant, that it followed inevitably, that the antient government was dissolved, and that their lordships were no more peers, but might be justly ranked among the plebeians; the consequences whereof remotest posterity may bewail, as the very sapping our mounds and banks, which should fence the throne against the frequent inundations of rebellion and usurpation, unless the example of the dismal mischiefs this hath, and will further bring upon the kingdom, makes them wiser and more cautious than we have been, who, many of us, have seen and felt the miserable calamitous condition of all degrees of men, during the rule of the Long Parliament, their general, or his bashaws.

How tyrannically they executed their new ordinances, put strained glosses on the old laws, filled their high courts of justice with executioners of their illegal commands, fleeced the people by assessments and loans, and, after successes had hardened them in mischief, and money from the body of the people did not satisfy their greedy worm, they sold the crown, bishops, dean and chapters lands, and those they stiled delinquents estates; and, lastly, after their pardon and *quietus est* to compounders, Oliver found a new way of decimation, to make all who had 100*l.* a year, and had compounded, to pay an annual tenth.

None who lived in that age can forget these things, or the regal and loyal blood was spilt by their civil or martial courts; and our posterity, when they peruse the records of our trials or judgments, not only in criminal, but civil matters, where those they style Jacobites are concerned, the illegal imprisonments, sentencing to death, fining, pillorying, making them pay double taxes and penalties upon refusing the oaths, &c. will not find much difference betwixt the former and latter proceedings, or rather tyranny.

The penalties on the clergy for not taking the new oaths are parallel with the old sequestration, only but so much the worse, as that no fifth parts are allowed to their wives and children. Though the convention allowed to twelve some share of their just revenue, yet the Dutch stadtholder was not so merciful as to pay one farthing of that designed kindness. And the insatiable thirst for money, now that the country is so exhausted, puts the commons upon sale of forfeited states, and without peradventure when our fund fails, church lands may be in danger; and they, as well as orphans estates (a project lately set on foot) may be brought into the exchequer, and the clergy have stipends only, as at this day is practised in Holland and Scotland.

But a yet dearer rate hath been paid for the abdication, even the hazard, without sincere repentance, of the damnation of the souls of the much greatest part of the clergy; if wilful, or imposed perjury, be in the class of mortals sin. Those all had taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy to their lawful king, enjoined and established by act of parliament.

And that the good will of the government might not be wanting to involve the whole laiety in the like guilt, they also are enjoined under severe penalties to take the new oaths; which act had a double edge, not only to enforce the compliers into a combination to support the governing power, but likewise to exclude from places of honour and profit all such as conscientiously refused to take such oaths, that they might be supplied by their own creatures.

Hence it is we hear so many repine that the clergy so generally took the oaths, whereby the opportunity was lost of filling their cures with dissenters; but they hope, ere long, they shall compass an oath of abjuration, which, they assure themselves, will not only change the majority of gowns for cloaks, but purge many out of civil and military places, and so make room for new legions.

Such supplanting one another is a certain concomitant of all revolutions of this nature, in which none can have any security of his durable station but such who equal the glibbest fane that will veer with the smallest breeze; for ambition, covetousness, treachery, and revenge, being the constituent qualifications of all men who co-operate in revolutions of this kind, it is not to be expected they will alter their natures.

And hence it is, that neither ministers of state, officers in profitable posts, generals or admirals, must ever expect a freehold in their places or employments under such like governments, which, together with the great arbitrariness or corruptions those discover when they have got power, are the natural and genuine causes why few usurped governments are long lived.

But some may look upon the alterations of laws, and the affrights of damnation, as matters of no great moment, since, as to the first, they believe all people ought to submit to such laws as those make who have power to compel; and to the second sort, they screen themselves under the awful force of the imposers, and the hard state eihter to venture future damnation, or present starving; and most have the faculty to put furthest off the evil day, and are prone to say (whatever their reluctating consciences suggests) that it is better to hope for God's mercy to their souls, than to trust rapacious men with their estates.

But it will puzzle a profound casuist to resolve what plea can be made at the supreme tribunal, for those who had lands or money competent for a ten years subsistence, for them and their families, and so were not necessitated to perjure themselves for bread.

I shall leave these therefore to their own defences, and come to that, the loss of which mankind most concernedly bewail, and that is, the price of the abdication in *pecuniis numeratis.*

If we peruse our annals, parliament-rolls, or records of the exchequer, we shall scarce find any three or four of our kings since Henry IV., nor all the kings preceding him to the Conquest, exclusive, have, in their respective reigns, had so much given by parliaments, as hath been given in these five last years; especially if we add the standing revenue, which *communibus annis* used to be two millions, as most men have computed. And I have reason to believe, that if all the losses the subjects have sustained in the same compass of years by this war, solely occasioned by the abdication, could be computed, it would surmount what this kingdom hath suffered by open war in two hundred years.

It is well known that Queen Elizabeth maintained a war near upon thirty-four years against the crown of Spain, then as much feared and envied as France is now, and during that war expended great sums in supporting her interest in Scotland: By her money, to the value of 800,000*l.* the assistance of her martial men and shipping, she gave the chiefest maintenance, if not the foundation and being, to the United Provinces: She plentifully supplied the Duke of Anjou, the princes of the blood of France, and more especially King Henry IV. She maintained a long and chargeable war in Ireland, and was at great charge in providing against the Spanish invasion; yet, for the support of all these, she had not, in her whole reign of forty-five years, as much as has been drained from the subjects in some one of our late years; and was so tender of oppressing her subjects, that she remitted one subsidy, if not more, and paid duly what she borrowed on privy seals.

We might have made an early estimate what the price of the abdication was like to amount to, by the earnest penny given to the Dutch of 600,000*l.*, more by 400,000*l.* than they spent in the expedition, and more by 500,000*l.* than the ransom of our famous King Richard I. cost. Yet, I believe, it is now obvious to all, that if the interest of the States General, to hook us into the support of them and their war, and depriving us thereby of trade, and the gaining of our men, money, ships, and ammunition had not been a more prevailing cause than the pretended preserving us from popery and slavery, we might still have enjoyed our king and our money.

Had some unmerciful leeches contented themselves with exhausting our vital blood, (money,) in the space of one annual course of the sun, we might have borne it with less regret, as owed the excesses of scorching heat, or tempestuous years: But we have seen a five years successive and annual encrease of our taxes and polls, and no prospect of abatement, so long as the government is able to squeeze, or our veins run, and not one successful exploit, much less campaign, to encourage us to part with our coin without reluctance.

Those who pretend nicely to calculate the money paid by the country, (for some thousands go to assessors, collectors, and officers of the exchequer more than is accounted for as clear incomes,) together with the standing revenue, find it, including this year, to amount to thirty-two millions, besides the vast arrearages of debts; so much the price of the abdication hath cost in specie. But, if we tack to these the prodigious sums the kingdom hath lost, not only by the obstruction of trade, by which singly many thousands of families have been ruined, but by the ships and their cargoes taken by the French or lost by shipwreck, being compelled to steer dangerous seas for avoiding enemies, it will be found to fall little short of what hath been given in some numbers of these chargeable years.

So that our posterity will be as much astonished how the subjects were able to pay such infinite sums, as that ever an House of Commons should be so extravagantly prodigal in granting them, and will set an eternal brand of infamy upon those members, (already in good measure discovered,) who, to obtain offices, profitable places, or quarterly stipends, have combined not only to vote whatever hath been demanded, but, that they may be thought worthy of their wages, in some things exceeded the expectation of the government.

I will not presume to calculate what hath been distributed to these pensioners since the Revolution, though some reckon it at a million; and there are who can tell that

Mynheer B——ting and Guy of Heddon are captains of the band, and when 150,000*l.* was lodged for such secret service, and since their stipends out of the treasury hath discovered several of them, 20,000 guineas at a time, out of the privy purse, is intrusted with my Lord B——ting, the Dutch almoner, to be distributed according to order; so much more are these stipendiaries preferred before the soldiers, who adventure their lives for the government, and yet are some months in arrears for subsistence, none being caressed but such as study and labour to augment the exchequer.

It is remarkable, that such as have been hitherto detected, have had no other plea, besides their merits in promoting the abdication: One of which, rather than he would quit that topick, cast a very undecent reflection upon the Prince of O—— his first declaration, wherein his highness was careful to avoid all expressions, as if he had the least design upon the crown. And yet this doughty knight affirmed, that at Exeter, in recompence of his service in going to fetch and accompany the prince hither, to the hazard of his life and fortune, he had promised him the weeding, that is, the underwood, of the forest of Dean; however, it seems the prince, (who is not very liberal in rewards for services, how considerable soever, as my Lord Churchil, Admiral Herbert, and others can witness,) finding it of 200,000*l.* value, gave him 7000*l.* I pass by the remainder, and the lord who got only a reprimand for endeavouring to stifle the witness of his receiving 40,000*l.* because they are so notoriously known; and it is hoped Mr Squib and others will detect more, that lists of them may be sent into every parish of England, as a fit mark of infamy upon such betrayers of their trust.

This sort of claim of merit not only opens a wide gap to let in swarms of other pretenders, but manifestly shews that the price of the abdication is never to be discharged while such jackalls are able to find prey for the Belgick lion; or till the people (when they are made sensible of such combination) shall take some effectual course to secure their purses, which they ought more to endeavour than against highwaymen and their under-hand setters, who fleece not whole countries and kingdoms, as these pensioners do: surely we ought to learn something from camels and dromedaries, beasts of burthen who couch down to take up their load; but when they find it more than they are able to bear, either refuse to rise, or else cast their load. I leave the application; though I know it will not be made by such as design to load us till our backs are broke, and that by a seeming contradiction, of laying the heaviest burthen upon us, by taking all we have from us.

Neither is this profuse giving of money all their talent; but more mischievously they contribute to the ruin of their country, by obstructing or rejecting all bills for publick good. It can never be expected that any bill for dissolving this, or the frequent meeting of parliament, shall pass while the house is so pensioned and officered. They know their present incomes; and if the house should be broken up, they might hap to be excluded the next: So that, till they be purged out, it will be in vain for any good patriot to attempt such a bill again; which ought to excite all true lovers of their native country, both within and without doors, to use their utmost endeavours to trap such vermine.

Our old parliaments used to be very jealous of a standing army; but such an officered House of Commons will constantly encrease it, and make the country pay them; and seeing that the government pay them so ill in the camp, and thereby they run so much in debt that they are not secure from arrests in the head of their troops, I wonder not that Cutts, Matthews, and other men of the blade, take such pains to get sanctuary in the house; and when once they grow so numerous as to be able to carry a vote, it is not to be doubted but they will endeavour to make their camp and quarters sanctuaries also, and then we shall be governed by martial and military laws of their framing for the interest of the Mamalukes.

Neither is this to be looked upon as an ungrounded jealousy, if we reflect upon the many offers made towards it. What otherwise hath been the meaning of the denial of the bill for frequent parliaments the last session, and the industry used this session to render it abortive? It is true, the great outcry of the country, that the defeating of the bill this session was to be ascribed to the influence of pensions, caused such, as wanted the courage to own it barefacedly, to struggle less against that "touching free and impartial proceedings in parliament." But the denying the royal assent clearly proves which party in the house is more valued and esteemed, and not only precludes all means of vindicating the honour of the House of Commons from the odious names of pensioners, but heightens the suspicion, that such are preferred before the innocent and uncorrupted; who ought not to forget what was said to P—— Lewis of Baden by ———, That he believed he had angered the gentlemen of the House of Commons, as if he gloried in the exploit, yet he knew how to please them; he knew the *aurum potabile* which would do it.

What can the country judge now of the freedom of future parliaments? The direct opposite to freedom is bondage and slavery; if our parliaments be denied the privilege of free and impartial debates, there can be small hopes that the country, after all the preceding impoverishments, shall not be reduced to absolute slavery, when the law-makers shall be at the entire disposal of a junto of council, or a single direction of a pension-pay-master, or be governed by Dutch deputies.

We must now expect no more burning of pastoral letters, or titles of conquest. Those, who from a publick spiritedness would labour to have grievances redressed, must have patience to another reign; since, at the price of all the millions and myriads given, they have not been able to obtain one single law of benefit, abstracted from such as were not enacted directly for the support of the government.

In fine, if this way of proceeding be not redressed, our parliaments will signify no more than those of Paris, and be of no other use but to register edicts of the sovereigns, and impose the taxes on the people; but I leave the further prosecuting of this matter to the wisdom of the sincere patriots of their country, who are not to be tempted with the golden bait.

If we cast our eyes abroad, we shall find locusts to devour what these palmer-worms and caterpillars leave; nay, we are so kind as to send more than we can spare to feed these freebooters; from Piedmont to the Swiss cantons, all north the Rhine to the German Ocean, along the Mosell, the Maize, and the Scheld, our silver in specie hath been transported. Though the mines of Potora would not satisfy the cormorants of those spacious provinces, yet, lest they should unlink the chain of the confederacy, we are forced to fasten it with our ingots, and lest we should not extend it to Vienna, a great general is sent to importune it. Thus our once fortunate island is made a prey not only to 80,000 blue coats at home, but to the eagle and eaglets, the Batavian lion and his whelps abroad; while we have nothing but the feather in our cap, that such princes and states are not only indebted to England for the assistance of our auxiliary troops and fleets, but of our exchequer also.

But to return to our own country; let us take a view of the miseries the subjects since the abdication have endured.

We have scarcely had one gazette these three months, in which the scarcity of bread and the apprehension of famine in France hath not been aggravated, while it is certainly known, that at Paris it is cheaper than in London; and yet we find no such provident care as the French king takes, to have it sold at cheaper rates, by encouraging importation from Ireland, where wheat is now sold for 2*s.* a bushel, which here is 10 or 12*s.* And when Swedes, Danes, or Hamburghers bring corn, in hopes of a good market, we publish them seized as prize, being designed for France. They tell us a wild story of the troops drawn from Piedmont into Dauphine, to prevent the insurrections of the people for want of bread, as if the quartering of such numerous troops

at

were likely to increase the grain, or that the French king should bring his troops into barren provinces, which were the ready way to make them join in the insurrection. But we never touch upon the actual insurrections at Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, Stafford, Salop, Northampton, Sudbury, and Colchester, and other places, to prevent the buying up their corn to be transported to France, as some maliciously gave out, when it was well known it was for Holland. But the charity of the new Bishop of E——y's wife is remarkable, who, when a lady was condoling the condition of the poor here, by reason of the dearness of bread and all eatables, replied, "But, God be thanked, there is a greater scarcity in France."

It were an easy matter to draw up a book of the excessive rates of all things for the belly and back, which now are paid, in proportion to what they were before the abdication, because they are daily experienced by every house-keeper, to the necessary pinching of themselves and their families. That loaf of wheat-bread, which was then sold for *3d. ob.* is now *9d. ob.* and so proportionable, or at least double, in other food; that silk, which was sold then by retail at 13*s*. the pound, now at 30*s*.; the muslins, and all East India commodities, three times the price.

You can scarce pass one street in ten, in this populous city, where you shall not hear the shop-keepers avouch, that where they take 1*s*. now, they used to take 20*s*. before the abdication; yea, I am very certainly informed, that several tradesmen, who, against Christmas, used to return in their trade 100*l*. a week, this Christmas received not so much as would pay their quarterly tax. Several of the best accustomed inns in the town do avow, that their cellars are fallen 3 or 4*l*. in a week short of their usual vend. He must be a great stranger in the city, who hears not every week, or almost day, of some substantial or other inferior honest tradesman being blown up, or delivering themselves into the King's-Bench or Fleet, taking sanctuary, or absconding.

Neither is the condition of the country any better. Upon the road, and every bating-place, you hear the complaints of the inn-holders, that they take not the twentieth penny they formerly did; and in most corporations and market-towns there are scarce three or four publick inns, where there used to be ten or twelve; the shopkeepers scarce take as much in a week as will pinchingly keep their families; and a quarterly tax is more difficult for them to provide than formerly their rents.

It would pity any one's heart to see, upon this last quarterly tax, what straits the poorer sort have been reduced to for the discharge of it, some having their bedding or other moveables distrained; others, to avoid the charge of the distress, bringing their pewter or brass, all which were sold in the open streets for half, or under rates; and this not in some few places, but in multitudes over the counties of England.

In the country, it is every day's discourse of some or other quitting their farms, and betaking them to smaller ones, unless their landlords settle their rents and give them respite for them; and many of them have run so much in arrears in these late years, that their landlords would be well content to quit them for a moiety in hand: So that by consequence, the nobility and gentry find a great diminution of their usual incomes by the impoverishing of their tenants, which is solely to be ascribed to the want of trade, and vend of our manufactures, by which many thousands of families subsisted. So that those who have kept their half-score of cows, a team of horses or oxen, and hundreds of sheep, are forced to take up with a cow and little parcels of ground; and such as have been able to maintain their families with good beef, mutton, and pork, are forced to live on roots and offals of meat, and eat barley, turnip, and pease-bread, and their beverage be water or small drink; cheese, milk, and butter, and coarse rye, barley, or pease-puddings, are reserved for festival days. It is too well known in this great city, how many there are who formerly lived in fashion and credit, who are now forced themselves, or by substituting their wives or children, either privately to beg alms in a more genteel way, or in the streets, in a low tone, with moving importunity, to lay open their condition to such as they judge have the countenances of compassion; while others imprison themselves in their poor lodgings, to feed on the scraps the common beggars furnish them with.

There are some, indeed, who, not having been bred to callings or labour, or having been well descended of creditable persons, have taken a worse course of the high pad; who, being apprehended, are sure to find no mercy, because they have a general character of Jacobites; and on that account are sure of a furlough or passport to the other world.

But to pass these as criminals, whose punishment carries a face of justice; there are others, who are called state-criminals, and who may justly be added to the rolls of the impoverished or ruined by the abdication, not only by their chargeable imprisonments, whereby they and their friends suffer, some being detained six months, or more, and then, nothing being proved against them, forced to give in bail; or if any colour of a crime appear, then be detained till an unmerciful fine be paid. So that, by one method or other, very few can escape beggary or undoing.

But, over and above the before-mentioned impoverishments of the country, there is another oppression from the soldiers, which hath and doth fall heavy on particular persons. Some while, contrary to law, they were quartered in private houses, and paid nothing; and in their marches left the townships to defray the charges of their carriages and horses. Now they are quartered in publick houses, where they have for 4*d.* fire, candle, lodging, and two or three meals a day for every private centinel; so that the host loseth sixpence a day generally by them, and are seldom paid but by bills from their officers, especially when their subsistence-money is in arrear. And the proclamation for redress is clogged with so many chargeable attendances, even at last to apply to the treasurer at London, that most chuse to lose all rather than complain; though the soldiers are sure to have it deducted out of their pay, as in the case of their free quarter in Ireland was notorious, though the country never was paid. Into what by-pocket this money goes is worth a parliamentary enquiry; to establish more punctual payment to those people, who are the numerous tenants to the excise-revenue, and ought not to have this additional oppression.

I pass their insolences in their quarters, their robbing and pilfering, and the arbitrary and illegal trepanning of men for recruits, or pressing for seamen; the relating of whose practices, if people made their several grievances known, could not be contained in quires of paper.

At this rate we have purchased the jewel of abdication by selling, or having ravaged from us, all that we were worth to obtain it; which may very well be judged by the difficulties the House of Commons find (the majority of which have given full proof of their willingness to have ample supplies provided) in quest of the ways and means to procure such. By which it is evident, that we are come to scraping of the ark, and that we shall have all our projects for raising money exhausted this year; since some, who have made the nicest computation, judge, that there is not much above six millions of money now in specie in the nation, of which two-thirds have undergone the Dutch circumcision; so that, if any be sent out in specie the next year to the confederates, we shall have a pitiful pittance left.

Let us now quit the city and the country, and take a tour to the camps, garrisons, and barracks of the soldiery, and there we shall find what an ocean of blood, as well as treasure, it hath cost to support this precious abdication.

The numbers of men (most protestants I presume) who died the first expedition into Ireland, in Monsieur Scombergh's camp at Dundalk, at Londonderry, and the north of Ireland by the plague, together with the English slain in skirmishes at the Boyne, where Scombergh fell, as his son got his death's wound at Marsiglia in Piedmont, and those lost before Limerick, are computed at 60,000 men. And of the king's army in the several battles, rencounters, sieges, together with those knocked on the head or shot in cold blood, under the notion of rapparees, and famished to death, or transported, are thought to exceed that number; the whole kingdom also, before the war, as plentiful as any kingdom in the north of its bigness, was in three years reduced to a famine of all things, if England and Scotland had not supplied them; so that the woods and mountains were strewed with famished carcases. I might add the cruel proceedings against the miserable Irish, even after the reduction of the country, by free-quarter, plunder, and imprisoning by 500 at a time; among which, decrepid old women 100 years old, in a barren island near Dublin, where no tree grew, and scarce a tussock of grass in twenty yards, where the sands or rocky ground was their bed, and their own rags all the covering they had; and their food was only sour milk and bread, to use the expression of the eye-witness relater, as coarse as if made of bran and grains.

What a price hath Scotland paid for the abdication by the extirpation of episcopal government! As to the cruel usage of the regular clergy, the plundering, rapine, and burning whole towns during the hostility, the barbarous murther of the clan of Glenco after the Highlanders submission, the imprisonments, booting, fining, and forefaulting, I must refer the inquisitive to the several treatises published on those subjects. It being judged, that since the Revolution, that kingdom has lost, of those slain in battle in their own kingdom and in Flanders, above 40,000 stout men. And as to the support and entailing an expensive war upon them, they enjoy the privileges of the abdication in common with England and Ireland.

Let us now take a view of those troops who have the most strenuously maintained this abdication, and we shall find, that though all the taxes and impositions which have been extorted from the country have been for the support of these, yet they have likewise had no cheap bargain.

If, from the relations of such who have returned yearly from Flanders and our navy, or by the annual recruits sent to both, we may calculate the loss of our British soldiers there, no less than 70 or 80,000 have perished by the edge of the sword, or diseases. And the new troops voted to be raised, if it can be accomplished, will be in a very fair way to see the greater half of their number dead in ditches and highways, if they escape in battle, unless their officers have more care of them than those who hitherto have had the conduct of our countrymen.

It were indeed some encouragement for those, who, of choice or necessity, follow the trade of war, if their generals took care to provide necessaries of all kinds, and a constant pay, which is their goddess, and casts the scale with them as to the justness of the quarrel; but ours have been so inhumanly neglected in this particular, as if they were English dogs (as the very allies usually style them) rather than men of valour, or worthy of regard.

It is too notoriously known, (though our liberal parliaments have given to the full whatever have been demanded) that our troops have been sometimes whole years uncleared, and some are so since their first mustering, only they have some scattered months subsistence-money, by which, and spunging at their quarters, they keep life and soul together; and if one may believe the officers come from Flanders, or residing here, the most of the soldiers are twelve or thirteen weeks in arrears for very subsistence, where their officers are not in cash to advance something, or gain them credit in their quarter, till the pay-day; while the Dutch and foreigners, in the same service, are punctually paid.

As to the officers who have served in Flanders, they unanimously relate, that out of every 20*s.* they receive for themselves, four or five is deducted for advance, agent-money, return of the money by Dutch exchange, portage, &c. even though it be sent hence in specie; and no doubt but subalterns and private centinels share in this deduction, so that the Commons must either take some care to prevent such abuses, and make strict enquiry who have the benefit of such defalcations, or provide an allowance for high running Dutch exchange; unless they judge it only their province to give, give, and never enquire into the disposal.

But to add to the discouragement of our troops, not only the Flemings and catholick confederates, but the Dutch themselves, openly express a contempt of our nation, and study all manner of ways to impose upon the soldiers, by enhancing the rate of whatever they need for victuals or necessaries, nor will deliver them any thing without ready and broad money; though they oblige them to receive what the Dutch hath circumcised, which they publickly do in their shops, and from thence send it hither again, while we are as busy to execute such as have learnt the trade of them. I pass by other aggravations, and come to more important matters.

There appears not any likelihood that the soldiers can be better provided for in future, since the best paid of them want eleven weeks subsistence; and it is certainly known, that there is besides this (which will be 225,000*l.*) four millions owing, and of all the money voted 500,000*l.* is all can be provided in three months; so that the creditors, or soldiers, or both, are like to get a small share; since it is demonstrable, that if all which the house has voted could be raised, which is like to fall short at least two millions, there will not be left so much remaining as will pay the debts already owing.

And to add to the utter discouragement of our men at arms, if there be one piece of service more difficult than another, the English and Scots must be upon it; witness Steinkirk, where whole battalions of the Dutch and confederates, with somebody, besides Count Solmes, in the head of them, contented themselves to be spectators, how the English bull-dogs (as they styled them) would behave themselves; and would not adventure any of the more darling confederates to sustain our shattered troops, even to gain them any sort of honourable retreat.

How many British officers and soldiers, the very flower of the whole army, fell that day, as beasts destined for slaughter, our countrymen ought never to forget, nor ever think they have the satisfaction of gentlemen of arms till they see their general put other confederate troops upon such like destructive service, which indeed was in some measure done at Landen; though it was done with a mixture of British, Spanish, Brandenburgh, and Hanover troops, while the dear native Dutch were more safely posted, the more easily to make their retreat.

But to return to the business of Steinkirk: It would have melted the most flinty breast (to use the expression of some spectators) to have seen how those of the English and Scots, who got off, all covered with blood, and martyred with ghastly wounds, were piled into carts and waggons, by 6 or 800 waggons at a time, to be conveyed to Brussels, whereof several died by the way; and when they arrived there, to see how they were promiscuously, dead and living, tumbled as dung out of the cart. Upon which inhuman spectacle some of their wives became perfectly distracted, one or more, at the affright, dropping their abortive births in the streets.

I might give an account how ill the sick and wounded soldiers are treated in hospitals, and how hurried out, not half cured, to make room for others; and how small allowance is made to the unserviceable invalids to sustain them in their return for England; and how many die by such hardships, as also the ill treatment of the seamen; but the letter from Dort and the advertisement at the end having given some short touches of these matters, for brevity's sake I will omit them; but it cannot be passed over in silence what an officer assured many of, and offered to prove it by oath, that at Helversluis 6 or 700 of those sick turned out of hospitals died famished, neither being relieved by charity or care of their officers. It may be worth enquiry, why no cautionary town is secured in Holland or Flanders, where so many English perish for want of such retreating places and hospitals to accommodate the sick and wounded. Our wise ancestors had that foresight, and made such due treaties for cautionary towns in Queen Elizabeth's, yea, and in Oliver's days.

I cannot but here further note, that though the Commons voted a credit for borrowing 400,000*l.* for the present payment of the seamen and victualling the fleet, yet there was very lately but one hundred and twenty thousand pounds advanced, or owned to be received; and it seems, that either some other more pressing occasion hath diverted it for the benefit of the confederates, or else it is presumed that the tars are such good-natured fools as to take promise of future for present payment; it being, it seems, a fundamental maxim in this government, that expectation is a firmer tye of military fidelity than fruition itself. But whatever the true cause is, that these seamen are not paid, they must be more obliged to the charity of their neighbours than the care of the government, if their wives and children be not starved this winter.

It's true, so many of their element have not been slain as of the land forces; there have however multitudes of them died by sickness, the speedy dispatch of which dead, or dying, into the sea, hath concealed their numbers; yet not so, but by the yearly pressings, the reports of the surviving ships crew, they are computed at 20 or 30,000. And every traveller is witness what numbers of the dismissed sick they have met upon the roads in despicable cloathing, with empty paunches, like wandering ghosts, which shews no great care of such necessary men.

What encouragement, therefore, can it be for our countrymen to send their sons, relations, or servants to such shambles, to be ill treated, ill paid, and miserably exposed to destruction, while their officers are so inhuman to them, they gaining more by their deaths than their lives? By a general connivance, they enjoyed the dead men's pay till the spring following, when they are to perfect their recruits, and when they promise the poor deluded creatures all the fine things imaginable; but it is not long ere those trepanned souls find what I have hitherto related true, if not much worse.

Upon this head I cannot pass by one remark, that, notwithstanding all the care the parliament hath taken to prevent false musters, yet it is obvious, that there is scarce one company mustered, wherein from 10 to 17, or 25, unlisted men are not hired, at 2*s.* 6*d.* on a muster-day, to supply the defects; so that a third or fourth part of the money appropriated to maintain the private centinels, goes into officers pockets for six or nine months in the year at least: a matter worthy of a parliamentary cognizance, and a severer law, or their absolute with-holding their hands for supporting such armed and couzening harpies.

Thus, with all possible brevity, plainness, and sincerity, I have laid down some heads of the price of the abdication; being fully satisfied that there is neither city, town, or village, in these three kingdoms, which cannot justify one or other of these particulars, and may not add other instances of the exorbitant price of the abdication, and will resent the same accordingly, when they reflect how, by the ambition of one and the treachery of others, a gracious king (whose great design was to have enriched his kingdoms, and preserved them in peace) hath been forced to beg his bread abroad, and we reduced to the utmost beggary at home; and, instead of a new heaven and earth, which some promised themselves, we have purchased an hell and purgatory; and, in lieu of redresses of pretended grievances, have accumulated real ones of the most oppressive nature; and find all parliamentary endeavour to redress them disappointed, or rejected with scorn.

This appears manifestly in the answer returned to the late representation of the House of Commons. The house say, "they cannot, without grief of heart, reflect that several publick bills, made by the advice of both houses of parliament, have not obtained the royal assent; in particular one bill, entitled, 'An Act touching free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament,' which was made to redress a grievance, (as noisome as a standing pool that corrupts,) and take off a scandal relating to the proceedings of the Commons in parliament, (the now confirmed outcry against pensionary members,) after they had freely voted great supplies for the publick occasion, which they impute to no other cause than the insinuation of particular persons, who take upon them, for their own particular ends, to advise the king contrary to the advice of parliament, and therefore cannot but look on such as enemies to the king and kingdoms: Therefore they desire him to adhere to the advice of his parliament, and not to the secret advice of particular persons, who may have particular interests of their own, separate from the true interest of him and his people."

It might have been expected that a direct and categorical answer should have been given to so home an address; yet it seems the houses, for all the millions given, must be treated only with whipt cream or perfumed air; which would not have satisfied, if the *Adepti* had not found their account in a previous treat of a 23,000*l.* distribution. Let us, however, consider the gracious answer; such, as if any of our preceding kings had made upon a petition of right, or the like occasion, it would have enraged an hornet's nest; and no less than the voting a fresh address, or adjourning till they received a more satisfactory answer, would have contented the house.

How can the people believe no prince ever had an higher esteem for the constitution of the English government, when neither our statutes or law-books know any other but that of hereditary monarchy, to which elective is diametrically opposite? Such courtly compliments were neither made by King W. Rufus, King Stephen, King John, Henry IV., Richard III., or Oliver, who have been precedents of docking the entail of the crown.

How can any say, he hath a great regard to the advice of parliaments, when, at that very instant, neither the advisers of the rejecting the bill are dilated, nor the prayer of the representation touched upon?

How can one be persuaded, that nothing can so much conduce to the happiness and welfare of this kingdom, as an entire confidence between the king and people, without explaining what people are intended? For the complex body of the people and pensioners have very different interests, and the majority of the representative people were, at the voting the representation at least, no such confidants; neither when the *le roy advisera* was pronounced could it be truly said, that he would by all means endeavour to preserve it, when, contrary to expectation and interest, if the maxim laid down be true, the prince rejected so solemn an advice.

Since therefore such apparent flaws may be found in the assertory part, it would be worth our enquiry, how they are amended in the promissory part of the answer, in these words: "And I assure you I shall look upon such persons as my enemies which shall advise any thing that shall lessen it." Even oracles never wanted ambiguity. The Commons declare who were enemies to the king and kingdom; here those are characterized who must be reputed enemies to the king only. It is not *tanti*, whether they be enemies to the kingdom or not, so as they be fast friends to the king; how dexterous soever the advisers of the answer thought themselves. The not complying with the parliamentary advice, and the so loose answering an address of that importance, will more than once rivet it in the minds of the people, that a pensionary party, however unfaithful to the interests of the body of the people, are only to be caressed, and have the character of friends; and the true patriots of their country must be calumniated with the epithet of enemies, who lessen the confidence betwixt king and people.

However, since the golden shower hath laid the tempest, let us consider what we must expect upon the calm. There may be danger from rocks and quicksands, though the storm be over. We talk much of apprehension of a French invasion; a court artifice, to hasten dispatch of money-bills and that of naturalization.

The consequence of this latter bill, if it pass, may more effectually enslave us to the French Huguenots and foreigners than ever we can expect from the transmarine arms.

We shall then find the provident care of the Commons, in having the new-voted troops to consist of, and be officered by the king's natural-born subjects only, by this naturalization transferred to these foreigners, who must be the janisaries, and spahees, and pretorian band.

These shall then be armed, and the only people confided in, to prevent the fear of any English desertion. The Duke of Leinster, a naturalized foreigner, is already dignified with the title of general; the French Huguenots, as is well known, are daily and nightly disciplined in their houses or out-fields, in small bodies, to learn the use of arms; reformade officers to command them are in readiness; and the granting commissions for the new levies is only suspended till that bill pass. We shall then see those refugees soon strut in their buff and feathers. This act will not only be of infinite damage to the trading part of the nation, but in the most effectual manner subvert the English freedom. Our court, councils, and camp will then be governed by such confidants; and, that which will gall some, these will be the only pensioners. These fresh, hungry, fluttering French flies will suck the very marrow out of our bones, and be like snakes we have lodged in our bosoms.

Then shall we feel the utmost price of the abdication: It behoves, therefore, not only all the manufacturers of this great city, but the body of the kingdom, with great vigilance, industry, and resolution, to prevent the endenizing and arming of such; unless they will tamely yield the meat out of their own mouths, the clothes from their backs, and themselves and posterities to be reduced to slavery and beggary.

A short and easy Method proposed for the Extirpation of Popery, in the Space of a few Years. By a Person of Quality. 1690.

This pamphleteer proposes to exercise upon the Roman catholics of Great Britain the same tyranny which was practised upon the Moors of Grenada by Ferdinand King of Spain, and at once to expel the whole sect from the British dominions. It is curious to observe with what reluctant hesitation the writer seems to admit, that, in the event of their exile, they might be permitted to sell their estates and remove their property.

THE dreadful revolutions, plots, and conspiracies which have been promoted by the Roman catholicks in England since the Reformation, are of that nature, and have caused such fearful convulsions in our church and state, that it is a great argument of the goodness and providence of God that we have been able to bear so many shocks, and to avoid so many deep designs, as have now twice, within the memory of man, brought us to the brink of ruin.

We must be very impious, or very stupid, if our last deliverance has not been able to make us adore the boundless goodness of God towards us his sinful and unthankful servants; he having defeated the hopes, and totally overthrown the contrivances, of that restless, implacable, perfidious faction, when they seemed to be in such a condition that they need fear nothing but the almighty power of God miraculously exerting itself, as in the case of Senacharib, which they neither feared nor suspected.

The non-resisting doctrine had so tied the hands of the church of England-men, that they thought they might safely insult over us, and ridicule the bond that bound us to our good behaviour. The dissenters were, as they thought, so obliged by the liberty of conscience, and the fulsome applications they had made to them in many ill-writ pieces, and by the favours bestowed on Pen and Lob, the two patriarchs, as they would have been thought, of that party, that they not only suspected no opposition from them, but really conceived they would have been more than scaffolds in the ruining design they had then on foot. The gentry were reduced to the utmost degree of contempt; and the nobility, who only were capable of putting a stop to such notorious and impolitick encroachments on our birthrights and liberties, were not only closetted, examined, re-examined, turned out of their stations, brow-beaten, ridiculed at court, and, in short, driven into the country, but they were also, by all the arts that were possible, rendered odious to the crown, contemptible to one another, and of no use to their inferiors.

The army, which was the next great engine to bring about their design, was managed with more art than is commonly considered; for, first, there was a party of Roman catholicks mixed with the common soldiers, to be as it were spies and tempters, to creep into all the places of their resort, to observe their words, looks, and actions, and to take the opportunity of all their needs, crimes, vices, and follies; to pervert them, and draw them over to the church of Rome; and, in the mean time, to secure them from contriving any thing that might interrupt their projects upon us. Secondly, they punished all who deserted the service with the utmost rigour and severity, to keep up their numbers. And, thirdly, they sent them to quarter in those places that had in any degree refused to comply with their wills; and not only suffered, but encouraged them to outrage, and sometimes to murder their hosts: but, to be sure, in all places they very much impoverished those that entertained them; and, in the interim, they kept all in awe and quiet, while these state-mountebanks practised upon their lives, consciences, liberties, and properties.

A people thus harassed and beset, one would have thought, had been consigned to ruin and destruction: For where could our deliverance begin? The parliament, which was our last resort, was at the same time practised on with all the art and address that the wit of men or devils could invent; and he must be of a deep reach, or a sanguine complexion, who, in the beginning of September last, could hope to see a free and quiet parliament meet and sit one month, to represent, with any degree of liberty, our deplorable state and condition, much less to redress any of our grievances.

We had one hope, which, if they had left us still, we had certainly been as quiet and as patient as Job himself; and that was, that the Princess Mary of Orange would, when God thought fit, succeed his majesty, and then we promised ourselves a day of redemption from all our calamities and oppressions; so that our posterity would at worst see better days. To deprive us of this remote comfort that scene was laid, and the Lady of Loretto solicited to procure a Prince of Wales, to reduce us to an utter desperation of any redress for ever. And now they thought they were so secure of the day, that they might attack the heretical bishops and the whole body of our clergy at once, and make them eat their own dung in the face of their respective congregations. If they had complied, the whole nation would have abhorred them as a parcel of cowards; if they did not, the ecclesiastical commission was to have mowed them down by wholesale; and when the people had been once deprived of their faithful and learned shepherds, the wolves, in sheeps' cloathing, hoped to have had much better success than hitherto;

but the bishops interposing, so united the inferior clergy, that this design proved abortive; and the declaring the bishops' petition a seditious libel, and so much the more dangerous because penned with great modesty and humility, so far opened the eyes of all men, that the most ignorant saw nothing less than the extirpation of the protestant religion was aimed at.

The army, however, which was the great wheel in this most dreadful machine, was for the most part protestant, and had expressed so much joy at the acquittal of the bishops, in the camp at Hounslow Heath, that they clearly saw, till it was new-modelled, it could not be relied on; and therefore the French and Irish were to be invited over, and the companies changed by degrees. And when six of the officers at Portsmouth had, with the greatest humility imaginable, only desired leave to fill up their companies with such men of this nation as they judged most serviceable to the king; or otherwise, that they might be permitted, with all imaginable duty and respect, to lay down their commissions; for this offence they were brought up prisoners to London, and it was given out they should be hanged, as perhaps they had been, if Monsieur De Avaux's memorial, given in at the Hague, had not come in that very post, to enlighten our little statesmen, and shew them their approaching danger; and yet, after all, the tenth of September last they were cashiered at Windsor.

And when the storm from Holland seemed unavoidable, with what insolence did they treat the eleven proposals made by the bishops, and the petition presented the seventeenth of November last by the bishops and peers about the town. So that, till the army began to go over to the Prince of Orange, and the greatest part of the nation had declared for him, no parliament was to be thought of, and the dispensing power was the most sacred of all the prerogatives of the crown.

That we may not imagine all this was undertaken and entered upon without good consideration of the difficulties the Roman catholicks were to meet with, I would desire my reader to peruse a small piece by them, published in the year 1685, during the first session of parliament of James II., stiled, *Salus Britannica*, or, The Safety of the Protestant Religion against all the present Apprehensions of Popery, in folio. "The design of which," as the author himself tells us, "is to examine what national operation or influence a real popish crowned head can ever have over the lives, liberties, or estates of Englishmen as now enjoyed, and the religion of the kingdom, as at present established, and by confuting even the most substantial of their imagined dangers, to dissipate those false fears of popery," &c. pag. 1. And, in truth, I believe no man can deny but he has very effectually proved, that it is utterly impossible for a popish prince, who has none but these three kingdoms, to set up popery in this nation, and that all he can gain by the attempt will be the ruin of himself. And certainly they could not but apprehend this might possibly, if not probably, be the event; yet, after all, king and kingdom was at last to be sacrificed to the holy see of Rome; and on they went, when they had proved it impossible to succeed.

I need be the less exact in setting down what they have done, it being within the space of four years last past that they have had the management of affairs, and so all things are as fresh in all men's memories as if they had been acted but yesterday: I think, then, that I may, from these premises, safely conclude that a more daring, restless, and implacable faction never appeared under the sun than this is; and that it is the interest of every true English protestant, of what persuasion soever he be, to do his utmost to free this miserable nation from the danger and fear too (if it be possible) of ever feeling again the dire effects of popish zeal, or rather fury.

Our wise ancestors, for above these three hundred years, have been labouring to restrain this demoniack by laws, oaths, and tests; and when all the methods of severity failed, we have tried the charms of kindness, trust, friendship, and reliance; we set up a prince of their communion, and opposed all those that would have excluded him, with a zeal which made us look a little too much in love with one who seemed designed to be our scourge by Heaven itself. When he had declared his religion, and some of his party, amongst whom Nevil Paine was one, had given us clear indications of their rage against us, yet we in parliament not only attainted, and thereby ruined the late Duke of Monmouth and his party, but, when some gentlemen proposed to have the security of the protestant religion taken into consideration, the house declared, they would entirely rely upon his majesty's promise for the security of their religion, which they valued more than their lives." And, before this, when Charles the Second, the 30th of April, 1679, to avoid the Exclusion-bill, proposed very advantageous restrictions of the authority of a Roman catholick prince, the church of England-men rejected them, for fear they should too much weaken and expose the regal authority; not to mention the favours shewn to all the whole Roman catholick party during the fierce prosecution of the popish plot in that prince's reign. Well, what could have been done more than was, to oblige men or Christians to treat us like friends, when they had an opportunity to express their gratitude? No, stay you there, gentlemen; we Roman catholicks have but one friend in this world, and if you are not for him too, stand off; expect nothing from us but ruin and desolation. Will you repeal the penal laws and the tests? Why? I cannot betray my religion; then make room for one that will turn out; *procul, procul ite profani.* And we all know what followed; and I suppose nobody in this generation will have so little wit as to pretend any more to oblige a Roman catholick by any of these things.

Well, will oaths bind them? No: they have a pope, and a maxim that will frustrate that ligament whenever it is for their convenience to be free; and of this we have seen and felt too much already. Will laws? If you catch and hang the priest, the traitor, the cut-throat, he is made a martyr; his crime is denied, palliated, excused; or it may be justified and defended, as occasion serves; and yet, after all, they shall have the satisfaction of clamouring against you for a persecuting church and a bloody nation.

Well, what is to be done? Why, for my part, I can see but one possible method to quiet the nation; and that is, once for all, to clear it of these monsters, and force them to transplant themselves, not out of the English dominions, but out of this island: As long as they continue amongst us, they neither can nor will be quiet; priests they must and will have, and that ferment will suffer nothing near it to be at rest. The remembrance of what is past will irritate the minds of men, and make them jealous of future evils; so that no care of the wisest and best governors can long keep the nation in tranquillity and peace, if these men-catchers are suffered to nestle amongst us. But then I would have this extended only to England and Scotland, because Ireland would be laid desolate by such an expedient; and if the English nation, which has not above 40,000 Roman catholicks, were once cleared, it would very easily suppress and revenge any attempt that could be made in that kingdom.

Besides this, all femme-coverts, all persons above sixty or fifty years of age, all day-labourers and handy-crafts-men, might be excepted; these can maintain no priests, nor much embroil the peace of the nation, or at least for no long time; but then all the nobility, gentry, merchants, and rich tradesmen of that religion, I think, ought to be sent packing, and, for the future, a law be made to disfranchise them, and make them incapable of possessing, purchasing, inheriting, or transmitting any lands, tenements, or hereditaments to the value of forty shillings per annum or upwards.

To make this the more easy yet, it were fitting that every individual person should be asked, whether he had rather leave his country or his religion? And all that would promise the latter upon oath to be excused; but so as to forfeit their estates if they relapsed after the oath so taken, or brought up their children in that religion.

Secondly, To allow all that would transplant themselves the full value of their estates, both real and personal, their debts being first paid and deducted. This would enable them to live in as great, or a greater equipage and grandeur in our plantations as they ever had here in England; and if they removed into Germany or France, Italy or Spain, their estates would make their lives easy, and their banishment honourable. The world is wide; and if I were one of them, I would never stay for an act of parliament, but would certainly sell what I had and be gone, that I might enjoy my religion and my estate in a warmer climate.

But, alas! they love their country too dearly to leave it. What is it in England they love? The civil liberties they had brought to the utmost limits of destruction; the religion of England they hate above all other; the earth is not more fruitful, and the air is much colder, than that of other countries; and I am confident the English humour is so far exasperated against popery, that half an hundred years will not allay the fever the last four years have raised in the English blood against popery; so that they have nothing to attach them to England but the sullen hopes of being a plague and a terror to us.

But it will be said, the transporting so much wealth out of the nation will too much impoverish us. This ought well to be considered, and a true estimate made both of the estates and debts of the Roman catholicks, and of the methods of returning their effects beyond the seas, and then perhaps it would rather increase our trade than abate our wealth; and as for the weakening us by the taking off so many of our people, this, I am sure, is a mere chimera; two or three thousand persons would be the utmost that we should lose; and those who bought their estates would be better subjects and neighbours than ever they will be as long as they continue Roman catholicks.

It is not to be imagined that all, or any considerable part of this wealth will be transported in English money in specie, but merchandise, bills of exchange, &c. so that I am confident we have more sent away to the jesuits college beyond the seas in seven years, than would be carried out in specie on such an occasion; and hereby we shall at once rid ourselves of one of the greatest plagues that any nation ever struggled so long with.

Nor would it be only profitable but just; they have given us the greatest provocation that ever was given by men to men. Did ever 40,000 men, in any other part of the world, ever before endeavour to do what they themselves had proved to be impossible? Did ever such an handful of men before, by fraud and violence, design to enslave a free, to impoverish a rich, to subdue a valiant and generous nation? What could they mean by the force they in print and common discourse intimated, that was to compel us to give up our laws, if fair means would not do, but a massacre or a French invasion? Let them consider how they have treated those of our religion in France and Piedmont, and then tell me and all the world if we have treated them in the same manner, when we have sent them away with all they can justly call their own, only that we might not be forced to ruin them by a slower prosecution.

The facility is equal to the justice of this method; they are few in number, hated by all the rest of the nation; and, besides all their former misdemeanours, have, by the late attempts upon the religion and liberties of England, so far increased the aversion of all degrees of men amongst us, that they will find very few to pity them, and not many to speak for them.

The only objections I can foresee are, first, That it will impoverish England to suffer them to carry away their estates, and look too like popish cruelty to turn them out despoiled of what they have, or of a great part of their fortunes. Now this objection must be considered in parliament, because no one man can make any thing near a true estimate what the value will be, their debts being deducted, till a true account is given of their estates and debts; and then I verily believe it will be found much less than it seems at first.

The second objection is, that it will weaken us, and strengthen our enemies, to lose so many of our people. To this, I say, it is apparently otherwise; for if those estates were in the hands of protestants, they would much more contribute to the union and strength of England than the persons of these Roman catholicks can do, of whom we can make little or no use in civil or military affairs, at home or abroad, in peace or war: And if they were added to any other country, the peace and union they would leave us in would infinitely overbalance the loss of their persons, and, as I believe, of their estates too.

But now, on the contrary, if they be continued still amongst us, we may still struggle with all those inconveniences, which have necessitated our ancestors to make so many laws against them; and the severities which must be used to keep them under, will by degrees, when the memory of the late transactions is worn off, beget compassion; and that will grow greater as they grow fewer and less dangerous; and yet at last, one single jesuit may destroy the best of our princes, and two or three gentlemen of estate may disquiet and enjealous a whole county; and when all is done, no hopes are left that any lasting peace can be made with them; so that as long as there is any of that religion in England, there is a ferment in the veins of the nation which will cause dreadful paroxysms.

Their emissaries will also sow dissentions between us and the dissenters, and exasperate the parties against each other; so that the good correspondence which is now between us and them, will, in a short time, be turned into hatred on both sides, if all the care imaginable be not taken on both sides of these incendiaries, which will never be wanting whilst we have a popish nobility and gentry, how small soever it be in number.

The seminaries at St Omers, Doway, &c. are kept up by the nobility and gentry of that communion, and tend very much to the imbroiling and weakening England, and the advancing the interest of France; but will soon dwindle away if they had no supplies from England, as they could have little if we had no popish nobility or gentry, and the lands of England were only in the hands of protestants.

The retiring of his late majesty into France is another strong inducement; as long as he or the Child is living, they will have a pretence to plot and cut throats, and they will have some to pity, and others to applaud them; so that, if there were no other reason, this alone were sufficient to determine the question, unless we are resolved to shew ourselves as careless of a protestant prince as we have been over-fond of a Roman catholick; which will be an ill recompence for our deliverance.

The Speech of the Right Reverend Father in God Anthony Lord Bishop of Meath, when the Clergy waited on his Majesty at his Camp near Dublin, July 7, 1690. Together with his Majesty's most Gracious Answer.

The battle of the Boyne was fought upon the 29th June, and William immediately followed up his success by advancing to Dublin, where he received the congratulations of the Right Reverend Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Meath, at the head of the protestant clergy.

May it please your Majesty,

We are some of the remains of the clergy that have ventured to stay behind our brethren in perilous times, and under great discouragements, for the discharge of our duty to God and the people. Two of us are bishops, who, together with five more in the kingdom, thought ourselves obliged to continue here, to preserve the succession of the clergy, by the ordination of priests and deacons, and the seminary of the church, by confirmation. The rest of our members are the clergy of this city, and the rural clergy. The former of these have staid upon their charge, under great wants and discouragements, having not only been deprived of all their maintenance, but exposed to daily dangers, in and for the discharge of their duties: And the latter are persons driven from their cures, and forced to seek relief and sanctuary in this city.

We may possibly be censured by those who understand not the grounds and reasons of our continuance in this kingdom, as trimmers, or favourers of popery: From the first we are able to acquit ourselves, having been guilty of no compliances but such as were the effects of prudence and self-preservation, such as were at once both innocent and necessary, to be observed to a power that was able to crush us far worse than it did: And we are so far from being guilty of the latter, that we humbly conceive that we could not more effectually oppose the growth and inundation of popery, than by keeping up the publick assemblies, by sticking to our flocks, and preventing their seduction by the Romish emissaries.

We do not come to crave your majesty's protection for our persons, our churches, our religion, or our properties, which have been all in some measure invaded: Our persons have been imprisoned, our churches taken from us, our properties destroyed by a late act of parliament that took away our tithes, and the free exercise of our religion for some time interrupted. A request of this nature might perhaps look like a distrust of your majesty's care of us, and seem to contradict the glorious design of your coming into this kingdom. We are sensible that the generous end of your majesty's presence is to rescue us from the oppressions and tyranny of popery; and we are well assured, that the same paternal affection that moved your majesty to pity our distress will still protect us now we are delivered.

We come rather to bless God as the author of our deliverance, and your majesty as the happy instrument raised up by his providence for the effecting it; to express our gratitude and duty to your majesty, who has a double title to our services, not only as our king, but as our gracious benefactor and deliverer; to pray for the success of your majesty's forces, for the consummation of that good work that you have with so much personal hazard undertaken; that you may carry your victorious arms into other countries, where the cries and the groans, and the oppressions of the afflicted protestants are as great as they have been here; that God would be an helmet of salvation to you in the day of battle, and deal with you as he did with Nebuchadnezzar, when he promised him the kingdom of Egypt for his hard service against Tyrus: May he likewise recompence your hard labour in this kingdom with the addition of another that is famore valuable; and may you prove as happy and successful an instrument in the succouring of others as you have been of the poor afflicted people of this kingdom.

His Majesty's Answer.

I am come hither to deliver you from the tyranny of popery and slavery, to protect the protestant religion, and restore you to your liberties and properties; and you may depend upon it.

A Word to a Wandering Levite: Or an Answer to Dr Sherlock's Reasons concerning the taking of the Oaths, with Reflections thereupon. By a London Apprentice of the Church of England.

> Would any man bring two pityful cases upon the stage at once, his case of resistance and his case of allegiance, the first being to exercise tyranny in exercise, and the other to exercise tyranny in title, which we call usurpation, and having declared against tyranny in exercise in the mean time, and having likewise stood out against tyranny in title for some years, take the silly method at last to reconcile all together?
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> JOHNSON'S *Notes on the Past. Letters*, pag. 55.

Anno 1690.

The Wandering Levite is an irreverent designation for no less a divine than Dr William Sherlock. His biographer thus states the circumstances by which he incurred the reproach of the high churchmen.

" After the discovery of the Rye-house Plot in 1688, the doctor observing that the principles of resistance to a popish prince were warmly abetted by some eminent persons, and were also frequently urged in vindication of rebellious practices against the government, drew up a set of arguments in support of the court doctrine of absolute non-resistance, which he published the following year under the title of "The Case of Resistance to the Supreme Powers stated and resolved according to the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures;" and he continued to preach the same doctrine after King James Second's accession to the throne. However, though he maintained that neither popery nor tyranny in the prince could excuse the subject from the duty of passive obedience, yet he entered with the first into the controversy against the papists, and distinguished himself by a great variety of performances published on that occasion; and he is allowed by his warmest adversary to have wrote well upon this subject. After the Revolution, he remained for some time under the influence of his former principles, and, refusing to take the new oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, was, with other non-jurors, suspended in 1689 from all his preferments: The chief of these was the mastership of the Temple, which had been conferred upon him in 1685. During his suspension he published his celebrated treatise entitled "A Practical Discourse concerning Death," in 1690. But before the expiration of the year he complied with the new established government, and, taking the oaths, was reinstated in all his preferments; of which, though forfeited, yet, by the lenity of the administration, he had not been deprived. Great clamours were raised against this step in his conduct by his old friends whom he had left: Whereupon he thought proper, for the satisfaction of the whole party, to publish his reasons for it, and the piece came out the same year, entitled, "The Case of the Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers stated and resolved according to Scripture and Reason; with a more particular Respect to the Oath lately enjoined of Allegiance to their present Majesties, King William and Queen Mary." The doctor having in this book ascribed the change of his political opinions chiefly to a passage which he had not before observed in Bishop Overal's Convocation Book, there was printed in the following year "An Answer to a late Pamphlet, entitled, Obedience and Submission to the present Government demonstrated from Bishop Overal's Convocation Book, with a Postscript to Dr Sherlock's Case of Allegiance." To this our author replied in his "Vindication of the Case of Allegiance to Sovereign Power, in Reply to an Answer in a late Pamphlet, &c. with a Postscript, &c."—*Biogr. Brit.* vol. vi. p. 3679.

To the Reader.

WHAT constructions have been put upon Dr S——k's late book concerning the oaths, I need not multiply words to acquaint you; but my opinion is, that he has been more over-seen, or more seen-over, within these few years, than in all his life before: I have only reflected upon the preface of his book, not thinking it worth my labour to answer the book itself, which would swell too big. I presuppose he will be displeased at what I have done, but it's all a case to me, for I design no ill in it, only to let him see that the world takes notice of his actions, and that my bookseller may be set to work as well as he.

In the first page of his preface he begins with these words:

Doctor. I need not acquaint the world with the occasion of publishing this book, which indeed is extorted from me by the rude clamours and unchristian censures of some, and the earnest importunacies of others.

Paraphrase. I am ashamed to let the world see my folly in print, but am compelled to it; so many busy tongues having buzzed it about the town to the utter ruin of my reputation: My w—fe and some near friends have importuned me to publish my reasons for now conforming to the oaths.

Doct. 2. My taking the oaths of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary after so long a refusal, has occasioned a great deal of talk and a great many uncharitable guesses about it, faction and blind zeal always wanting either the wit or the good will to guess right.

Paraph My complying with the oaths by my w—fe's instigation, contrary to my conscience, in hopes of a mitre, has given good matter for the judicious to reflect upon my proceedings; guessing exactly at the reasons, loyalty and religion always wanting either the modesty or ingenuity to be led blindfold.

Answ. Good doctor, be not so angry at so small a matter as a report of uncharitable guessers, as you are pleased to call them; indeed it is no matter of admiration, for what man of sense can be silent, and not reflect upon such strange proceedings as these of yours? First, you will not take the oaths till after mature deliberation, or some other reason, you have at all, and swear right or wrong: If the oaths were lawful, why did not you take them before, there being time enough to consider of so weighty an affair, and so learned a man as Dr S——, one would think, needed not a school master, nor a counsellor in this matter; and if the oaths were not lawful, why did you take them now? Was your conscience more tender then, or was the persuasions of a w—fe now the greater persuasive, to one or the other? May not people with good reason say you act against the dictates of your own conscience, having formerly preached against what you now act, and act now for interest-sake against what you with so much zeal formerly preached?

Doct. 3. One would have thought it most probable conjecture, that a man who had forfeited all his preferments by refusing the oath, and had for ever lost them, had not the government been more mild and gentle in delaying the execution of the law, acted very honestly and sincerely in it; and if so, that there is also good reason to believe, that if the same person takes the oaths, he acts honestly in that too; for what reason is there to suspect, that he who would not swear against the present persuasion of his conscience, to keep his preferments, should swear against his conscience to get them again?

Paraph. I had fully persuaded myself, that the world would think, because I had like to have lost my place for not taking the oaths half a year ago, I was a real and honest man: That being presupposed, they might with good reason likewise entertain that honest credibility of me now I have taken the oath, which I declare at first my conscience would not suffer me to do; for who could think I would do any thing against my conscience?

Answ. Under correction, doctor, give me leave to propose two things, which I offer to your serious consideration.

First, if you had a servant in your house, to whom you had revealed a secret concerning your life, and he had faithfully sworn to conceal it from all persons living; now suppose you was gone over to F——, and had left your son in possession of your goods, and this aforesaid servant with your son; if, after you were gone, your son should go to this servant, and tell him, if he would not reveal this secret which he had sworn to keep, he would turn him out of his service; and so threatens him from time to time, (though suffers him still to enjoy the benefits of his place) but he holds out against his master's threats and promises, knowing in his conscience if he did it he was perjured; yet at length, by the importunity of some friends, he reveals it, and took another contrary to the former, (being first promised preferment) to your son; who at your return acquaints you with the whole matter. Now how could such a servant look you in the face? or with what indignation would you look upon him? Would you not turn him out of your service? out of your doors? banish him from your sight? and brand him with the odious epithet of perjurer? Nay, your son would not trust him any farther than he could see him; because he that will act against his conscience once, why may he not do it always when occasion offers.

Secondly, suppose this servant, to excuse himself, should alledge that he expected you would never return; he waited long for your coming, and delayed the time in hopes of it; his conscience was too tender to reveal the secret at first, but the threats of his master, and importunity of friends, he judged a matter of moment enough to excuse his infidelity to you, and his taking a new oath in opposition to the former: So that he revealed your secret with as safe conscience as before he concealed it. Now, doctor, if there be any such thing as conscience in man, speak, or at least think sincerely, if this servant was to be trusted? if he was not to be rejected of all men? and if his conscience was not seared? Could you ever love that man, or trust him again? Sure no. Just even so, or not much different from it, is the case of Dr S——k, who takes it for a maxim, that he who will not swear against the present persuasion of his conscience to keep his preferments, will not swear against his conscience to get them again: Now where the sense of this is no man can tell; for you must either have a pair of consciences, or else swear against the light of one single one. For first you would not take the oath because it was against your conscience; and then you would take it, because you were satisfied in your conscience that you might lawfully do it. What a strange conscience is here! Indeed, doctor, I think in my opinion that your conscience is stretched within this twelve month, or else you then seemed more nice than you need to have done.

Doct. 4. I do not know that I have given the world any just occasion to mark me out for a dishonest man or a fool; I may be mistaken, and so may any body else, though never so wise and honest; but this I am sure of, that I never acted with more sincerity in any affair of my whole life than I have done in this matter, from the beginning to the end; and whether I have reason for what I do, I refer to the trial of this discourse.

Paraph. I never before this gave the world any just occasion of scandal; I may be wilfully mistaken, and so may any body else, if self-interested; but this I am certain of, I never acted with more subtilty in any affair in my whole life, from the first hour of my birth to the date hereof, and whether I had reason for what I did let the self-interested judge.

Answ. Indeed, doctor, the world must own, that you never gave such a manifest proof of your weakness as now, and I am truly sorry for this; had you taken the oath at first without scruple of conscience as you did now, you had acted well and like a good subject; but how can their majesties confide in a man with a pair of consciences, one to take the oath, and the other to let it alone? Really, doctor, you was (as I may so say) very much overseen; will not the world say interest was the main ground of your taking the oath? By which you give matter for your enemies to triumph, your profession you lay open to reproach and scandal, and give a very bad example to all men.

Doct. 5. The truth is, though I refused to take the oaths, I never engaged in any faction against it: I never made it my business to dissuade men from it; when my opinion was asked, I declared my own thought, but I never sought out men to make proselytes.

Paraph. Though I declared, and every body knew, that I would not take the oaths, I never publickly preached against it, nor raised a tumult to hinder it, though my conscience was then too tender to take it; but I, when my sentiments were asked, would declare my thoughts, which were, that I could not in conscience, nor would take it.

Answ. Now, doctor, you say you never engaged in any faction against it, nor made it your business to dissuade men from it, yet gave your opinion, but sought not to make proselytes. If you gave your opinion, your opinion was then, that it could not with a safe conscience be taken; and if this was your opinion, as you cannot deny but it was, then men asked your opinion to no purpose, and did not regard what your opinion was, (which is altogether and really improbable) or else you must of necessity make proselytes, and bring men over to your opinion, which you here deny; for if you was unwilling to make proselytes, why did you declare your opinion affirmatively, and not dubiously, which you did not, I presume, being in your opinion positively right, though now it appears by your own words you were positively wrong. And certainly any man that was dubious, receiving your positive opinion, must of necessity be a proselyte, (contrary to your word,) for who would call in question what came from the mouth (and heart too) of Dr S——k?

Doct. 6. While I thought it an ill thing, I was secretly concerned that some of my intimate friends had taken the oaths.

Answ. This paragraph, doctor, begins with these words: Here you are concerned that they took the oaths, and then by and by you believe them to be honest men, and that they acted honestly too. This is a strange paradox, that Dr S——k should be concerned at men's actions, when at the same time he was satisfied they acted honestly; this looks not at all like a ministerial zeal, neither do I believe there is any man of your function but what will be apt to cast a smile when they read these words of yours, and construe them (in a sense contrary to what you would have the world believe.) Pray, doctor, do but see how your words agree; first concerned at your friends that had taken the oaths, though at the same time you thought they acted honestly and with a good conscience too; yet, though you were satisfied in this point, your conscience was so tender as not to permit you to do as they had done, though you thought they acted honestly. Then you tell us you complied with the government so far as you could with a good conscience: *O monstrum! Horrendum!*

Doct. 6. In the next place you tell us you lived peaceably, and prayed for their majesties, according to the apostles direction, who gave directions to pray for all in authority, which they visibly were.

Answ. As for your living peaceably, it was no more than what you ought to have done, neither durst you do otherwise. And if you thought it lawful to pray for their majesties King William and Queen Mary, why not as lawful to take the oaths at that time as now? May not people with reason guess that you looked (not to say that you hoped) for a catastrophe of affairs in England, and now you see no hopes of keeping your place unless you take the oaths, and Ireland being reduced to their majesties, and the late K. J. fled, you see no prospect of his returning; your conscience of a sudden alters the property, and you that could not before swear, can now do it with a safe conscience. Oh interest! interest! how many servants hast thou!

Doct. 8. I did not refuse the oaths out of any fondness to King James, his government, nor zeal for his return, which the present prospect of affairs gives no man who loves the church of England, and the liberty of his country, any reason to wish, nor yet out of any aversion to the government of King William and Queen Mary; but against my own inclinations and interest, out of pure principles of conscience, to comply with the obligations of my former oaths, and that duty which subjects owe to their prince, which I then apprehended irreconcileable with the new oath.

Paraphrased—I did not then swear because many of King J.'s friends had hopes of his return, and I was a little inclining that way too, and if he had come and I took the new oaths, where had I been then? But their majesties King William and Queen Mary being so merciful as not to have me suspended, till such time as I saw it improbable, or rather impossible, for my old master's return; though till that time I thought the old oaths and the new ones irreconcileable, yet now they agree very well, and I resolve *nemine contradicente* to take them, let the world censure as they please: honesty is not always the best policy, for sometimes policy is the best honesty.

Answ. Why all this stickling and scruple of conscience, doctor? Did so many learned, judicious, and unbiassed men take the oaths before you? and think you that they who understood what they did, and bore as good a conscience as you, would for interest sake act against their consciences? And if you was not satisfied in the legality of the oaths, they could have given you ample satisfaction in that point, who, I presume, did what they did, not without deliberation, and had as good reason for taking the oaths then as you had now.

Doct. 9. I find the general cry and expectation is, that I should give my reasons, though why I should be more obliged to give my reasons for swearing than I was for not swearing, I cannot tell.

Paraph. Some men have of late, and do still, impatiently expect to see my reasons for not taking the oaths made publick, though I can give no more reason for the taking of them now than for the refusing of them formerly; and why should I expose my failings to the censures of reasonable men, who I fear will detect me?

Answ. Now, doctor, the reason why you should give your reasons, more for your swearing than for your not swearing, is plain, (though indeed you ought for the sake of your reputation to have done both) for the world did suppose, and were partly satisfied, why you did not take the oaths; but after having so long stood proof against the reasons and persuasions of other men, and yet at last to take them, and give no reason for it, will give the world reason to judge partially of you; and therefore for the sake of your own reputation, and (which is another main point, and ought to be considered, if nothing else) others, who have not yet taken the oaths, seeing Dr S——k had found reasons for what he did, would by your example take the oaths likewise. If this is not reason enough let the world judge. Though a little farther you say, if reasons were never so plentiful with you, yet you could hardly think it worth your while to write a book to gratify a mere curiosity; but if my reasons to the contrary do not out-balance yours, let me know in print, for reason is, or at least ought to be, our north point by which we must steer our course; but I fear your reason was overswayed by an unreasonable w—fe.

Doct. 10. We live in an age of great prophaneness and infidelity, which is ready to take all occasions to reproach religion, and expose it as a cheat and imposture, and to neglect no opportunity to blacken the clergy, as men of no faith nor religion themselves, though they make a great noise about it to serve their own interest.

Answ. It may be, doctor, there may be some (as the world is never without them) who are men of such principles as you describe them to be; but, if there were none, such proceedings as these of yours are enough to create some: Though God forbid all should be condemned for one, for I am verily persuaded there are not more pious, sincere, religious, honest men upon the face of the earth than our clergy of England in general, (but here is matter enough for censure,) and as for particulars, let the world judge.

Doct. 11. It is time to give check to such unchristian censures, if we have any regard to our common Christianity: And since some little writers among them (who are too headstrong to be governed by wiser men) ingross the church and religion to themselves, and represent all who have taken the oaths, especially the clergy, as apostates, at least from the church of England, if not from the Christian faith.

Answ. This indeed is a business of dangerous consequence, and ought to be speedily remedied; but is it either better or worse than what you in effect formerly set forth in your grand and dearly beloved doctrine of non-resistance? First preach up non-resistance, then refuse the oaths when tendered to you, till after half a year's consideration, your w—fe's persuasion, and fear of being suspended, you take them, and then you give no good reason why you did not take them, nor why you did take them neither. Can you imagine that people's tongues will be silent at such irregular, unheard-of proceedings as these? Had you took them at first all had been well.

Doct. 12. It is necessary to convince all sober Christians, that men may swear allegiance to King William and Queen Mary without perjury, and without renouncing any principles of the church of England; nay, that the doctrine of the church of England requires us so to do: And I hope, if this appear, their zeal for the church of England, if no other consideration can prevail with them, will oblige them also to do it.

Answ. Ay, doctor, now you say something to the matter; this is positively true; and now you verify the proverb, "A man may live and learn," &c.; for you have extremely improved yourself within a few months, who then thought and declared the oaths illegal, and now declare it may be done without perjury, (which I own,) and farther, that the doctrine of the church of England commands us so to do, which I own likewise. But how comes this vast difference, doctor, in your judgment? Pray consider if here is not sufficient matter to set tongues and pens too on work. Who can be silent to see so reverend and learned a divine as Dr S——k so much overseen? But to proceed to your next paragraph.

Doct. 13. But it seems it will not serve my turn to offer such reasons as will justify my compliance now, unless I can give a good reason why I did not take the oaths before; that is, I must give such reasons as will equally prove, that no man ought to have taken the oaths before, and that they ought to take them now.

Paraph. The world would extort a sincere confession from me, how I expected a sudden change of the times, therefore delayed the time till I see my old M——r beaten; then how my w—fe persuaded me to recant; but let them judge as they please, I am resolved, if I can, to defend myself: For thus much I say, I had reason for not taking them then, and I had reason for taking them now: But what my other reasons were I will not divulge: This may very well be the construction of your words, no man of sense, I think, will deny.

Doct. 14. These are very hard task-masters, and no doubt have very kind designs in it.—What if I was not so well satisfied about this matter before as I am now, is any man forbidden to grow wiser? and, upon a thorough examination of things, to alter his mind when he sees good reason for it?

Paraph. What if I had not such a prospect of preferment before as I have now; is any man forbidden to wear a mitre? or, after having made a firm promise or vow, if he sees it will be for his interest, why should he not break it? Half a year's consideration, large promises, and a w—fe's persuasions, are strong inticements for a man to break his promise or oaths either.

Doct. 15. So that without producing the reasons of my dissatisfaction before, or being obliged to answer them, having never made them public, I think it very fair to give a satisfactory reason now for my taking of this oath, hoping that what hath satisfied me may have the same effect upon some others, that will have the patience impartially to consider it.

Answ. Now, doctor, you follow the example of holy writ, when you are converted, "Strengthen your brethren;" but it will be a very hard thing, and almost impossible, to persuade those men (whom you have formerly persuaded to the contrary) to be of your opinion; for a man that will say and unsay, who can believe? "Can the briar bring forth figs? or can honey come forth of a lion's jaws?" It is an undoubted maxim, he that is once false for his interest, will always be so if his interest requires it.

The next place, doctor, you acquaint the reader, that you had drawn up your thoughts long since, and shewed to some of your friends. If so, it had been a very discreet part in you, in my opinion, to have published them to satisfy the world; but you stuck; (or rather something stuck in your stomach,) and had stuck there till this day, had you not been relieved by Bishop Overal's convocation-book; (or a prospect of losing your place, if you do not swear, or getting a better if you did, together with the persuasions of your w—fe;) blessed book! to bring a man from darkness to the right way.

Doct. 16. Then you tell the reader you have made him your confessor.

Answ. I declare, I believe, if I was your confessor, and you to be turned out of your place if you did not confess your real cogitations to me, as to this matter, I should have another manner of confession from you. And, to close up all, you say you have renounced no principle excepting in the case of resistance, which you retract, and which is indeed the only material thing, next to the oaths, that the world lays to your charge. You say, that in a hereditary monarchy, where the right heir is living, usurped powers are not of God; proved by the example of Joash: And now you reject the doctrine, and own it a mistake. Whoever had told me, three years ago, that Dr S——k would have done as he hath done, I would not have credited his words; but there is no belief in man.

Thus I have done with the preface of your book; and leave the book itself to be answered by him that will take the pains, for, I assure you, I will not go about so tedious a work, though, I believe, somebody or other will. And what I have here wrote, I assure you, Dr S——k, I have not done out of any malice to your person, but to your proceedings; not for your taking the oaths, but for taking them no sooner: For I heartily wish all Englishmen (who ought to be) were really true and loyal subjects to their majesties, King William and Queen Mary, as I declare I myself am: And what I have wrote here is nothing but truth, as you are satisfied in your conscience it is; and if you have any thing to alledge to the contrary, let the world know it. Now, doctor, you may suppose I do not do this for lucre sake; I shall not have a hundred pounds for this paper, as you had for your late book; but meeting with a hawker who sold yours, I bought it, and could not be satisfied till I let you know how I approved of it, which I have done in as little paper as possible I could, and is the work of two or three vacant hours of a London apprentice.[1]

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[1] The conversion of Dr Sherlock excited the surprise and indignation as well of many of the whigs as of the non-jurors, whom he left. Dr Samuel Johnson (commonly called Julian Johnson) assigns the following reasons for his conduct:—

"The reason why the clergy were so zealous for tyranny was, because it was a tyranny on their side; their own interest and strength to crush all other protestants lay therein; and then, according to the Greek and Latin

The true Character of a Churchman, shewing the false Pretences to that Name.

The non-jurors and high-churchmen usurped to themselves exclusively the honourable title of Church of England-men. The author of the following Tract has put their title in the most favourable point of view.

It is commonly observed, and we have too often felt, what the power and mischief of party names is: were it no more, than that they serve to form and distinguish parties, that makes them as mischievous to government as divided parties. Nothing is so apt to deceive us into very false opinions of men, as when such names are either ignorantly or designedly applied to wrong persons; which not only disturbs human conversation, and many times deprives us of the most useful and desirable friendships, but imposes upon the government too in the advancement of unfit persons to the publick trusts, and excluding such as are best qualified to serve God, their king, and their country, both in church and state. This is visible in all publick elections: names give characters, and form a party; and choices are made according as names are given, at all adventures.

I shall not take notice now of such names as signify arbitrarily, and which the different parties give each other as terms of reproach; but there is one very good name, which is very much abused, and does the greater mischief, when misapplied, by being so very good: I mean the church-man, or church of England-man, which some appro-

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wish to enemies, invasion so applied was a good thing, and the worse the better. That made them so liberal of the English rights, and to sacrifice them all at once in a peace-offering to Moloch; and it was a true act of worship, for it signalized their loyalty. 'But when judgment began at the house of God,' as Dr Sherlock preached upon the bishops being sent to the Tower, then their note was quite altered; King James had forfeited, and ought to be deposed, with a great deal more to that purpose. This which I say should be deposed as well as King James, if need were. But afterwards, when they grew jealous of this revolution, and could not tell what to make of it, having missed two hits, both of having King James, and afterwards of having his intended deputy, the Prince of Orange, in their hands, and wanted a third hit, then the words were, 'Well, will not the convention send for the king back again? If they will not, we will have forty thousand men to fetch him back.' Dr Sherlock best knows where those forty thousand men are; but, I believe, King James would be very glad of half the number.'

"To proceed in my story: the very man that had asserted that King James had forfeited, and ought to be deposed long before he was, and even before the Prince of Orange was expected, began, with change of interest, to have change of thoughts; and then he could not allow King James to be lawfully set aside, nor would swear to the present government; and his forfeited place at the temple was supplied by I know who. At last, after he had stuck, as himself says, a great while, he was happily relieved by a lucky coincidence of Bishop Overall's canons, and the victory of the Boyne. And then he settled the government upon its own settlement, which we that pretend to dull reason do say is a circle, and proving a thing by itself. It is true, he called Providence in aid of this settlement; but they have talked of late as meanly of Providence as ever mankind did of the Swiss, who are of all sides, and in French and Dutch service both at once."—*Works of the Rev. S. Johnson, Lond,* 1710, fol. p. 307.

priate to themselves who have little right to it, and deny it those who best answer and most honour that name. And that the world may not be imposed on by such persons, I shall briefly represent the true character of a church-man, that we may the better judge to whom this name belongs, and who they are that unjustly usurp it.

I. Now, in the first place, I take it for granted, that a church-man ought to be a Christian; for it is the Christian church we speak of, and therefore such men we must believe in God, and in Jesus Christ. Atheists and infidels belong to no church, but the synagogue of Satan; and yet it is too evident, that many who would be thought great church of England-men are no great believers: men who are sufficiently known in their private conversation, and sometimes too publickly, to ridicule all religion and the holy Scriptures, and little less than blaspheme God and our Saviour Christ. God deliver us from such church-men, and the church from the scandal of such pretenders.

II. A church of England-man is one who lives in communion with the church of England; that is, who communicates in religious offices, in the prayers and sacraments of the church. Some think it title enough to the name of church-man, that they communicate with no dissenters; as if to dissent from all religion were the character of a church-man. Certainly a man of any religion is nearer the church of England than he that hath none; for they agree in worshipping God, though they differ in modes of worship. And there is too great a party of these church-men who seldom see the inside of a church, and as seldom show any signs of devotion when they are there. Their neighbours must know them; and I hope, for the honour of religion, will never call them church-men.

III. A church-man is one who has a right to church communion; who lives so regular a life that he is qualified to communicate in prayers and sacraments. This no notorious wicked livers are, whatever their profession be; such as common drunkards and swearers, adulterers, fornicators, &c., who, by the discipline of the primitive church, would not have been admitted so much as to the communion of prayers. Ecclesiastical authority indeed is under such restraints that church censures cannot be always duly executed; but though such men are not actually shut out of the church, they have hardly any good claim to it. And what kind of church-men are those who have so far unqualified themselves even to enter the church? and who would as much avoid the name as they do the place, and both for the same reason, viz. the relation they bear to God's religion, if they did not want a cloak for their impieties and immoralities, and hope that a pretended zeal for the church would atone for their real enmity to religion. But whatever protection or advantage the name of the church may, by the unwariness or design of others, gain these men, I am sure it receives nothing from them but scandal and reproach. Never let a sacred name be thus prostituted, to countenance wickedness, or to take off any part of the shame and infamy that belongs to it.

IV. A church of England-man is one who is true to the interest both of church and state, as by law established. I say, both church and state; for it has always been, and, I hope, always will be, the glory of the church of England, that all her true sons are very loyal subjects. This has been, and is at this day, made an accusation of the church of England, that this point of obedience and subjection has been pressed too far; even so far, if we believe some, as to set up arbitrary power, and the will of the prince, above law. But this is a misrepresentation of the true doctrine of obedience, taught in our church; which was opposed to faction and sedition, not to a legal government: For obedience is a duty owing to settled governments, administered by legal methods; though there may be, as in all governments in the imperfect state of this world there ever have and will be, several faults and miscarriages in the administration, but does not extend, nor was ever so intended, to the subversion of laws, and our civil and religious rights, at the will of the prince. But the church of England is a professed enemy to all the arts of sedition and faction and embroiling governments; and would not be a true Christian church if it were not; and therefore men must not pass for churchmen who are seditious and factious and uneasy to government, without regard to the person or authority of the prince, any longer than they are courted or bribed, and without allowing a common respect, either in their conversation or writings, to such of their spiritual fathers as happen not, upon all accounts, to fall in with their humour and fancy. The church of England teaches her sons, when they observe any defects in their governors, ecclesiastical or civil, to conceal, lament, and excuse them, and all out of a dutiful regard to the character they bear. But to expose failings where they are, or to make them where they are not, God be thanked, was never any part of the spirit of our church. It always instilled more loyal and religious lessons: But our superiors in church and state have the less reason to be surprised at this treatment; because a boundless liberty of railing, both in publick and private, against all who were not perfectly of their own mind, has been all along the great characteristic of that sort of churchmen, and, in many instances, all the title they could pretend to the name.

V. A church of England-man is one who takes the measures of his behaviour, as a son of the church, from the rule that our church herself has laid down for his direction in her liturgy and rubrick, her articles, homilies, and canons. This, as grounded in scripture, our great rule, is the path that our constitution has marked out; and as they who walk in it (that is, who worship God, and obey their superiors in such a manner as these prescribe) are truly church-men, so the rest who deviate from the rule on either side have no title to the name. They that will not come up to it, are dissenters on the one side; and if any go beyond it, they are dissenters on the other; *i. e.* both of them dissent and differ, in their principles and practices, from the established rules of the church. Of the latter sort are they who value themselves at this day upon the name of high church-men; and as for others, who keep strictly to the rules of church communion and worship, and think it a breach of that rule to go higher than the church itself has directed, all these they despise, as men of a lower church, who yet are really the true and only church-men; while the other exalted pretences are no less a deviation from the true church than superstition is from the true religion.

VI. A church-man is one who governs himself by principle, and not by the uncertain turns of humour or interest. He will not be zealous for monarchy and episcopacy at one time, and at another fall in with measures for diminishing the just prerogative, and depressing his ecclesiastical superiors. Nor will he turn advocate for the popular election of bishops, when he finds his aims not so likely to succeed at court.[1] A scheme that has been mentioned with approbation by a certain party in this reign, who, in another, would have called it a republican device to lessen the royal prerogative, and a fanatical contrivance to maintain perpetual factions and parties among the clergy of every diocese. In short, a church-man is uniform under all governments, and is not to be drawn by private animosities and resentments from pursuing methods that really are, and himself has all along declared to be, the supports of our constitution, and the foundations of peace and order in church and state.

But yet such men, who have neither the faith nor worship, nor morals, nor loyalty, nor steadiness which the church of England teaches her children, would be thought very good churchmen, because they profess a great zeal to preserve the present constitution of the church, as by law established: And I must own this a very good reason (especially could we have any security of them) to prefer them before the professed enemies of our constitution. For it is very happy (and we ought to thank God for it) when they do any thing this way; but not to own them church-men, for reasons I shall soon give. For, I beseech you, what security can we have of those men, who have no reverence for God nor for their prince? How should they have any value for the church, who have no value for religion? We ought to be thankful to God, when he so wisely orders things by his providence as to make it the interest of bad men to favour and protect his church; but we have no reason to depend upon men of no principles and no religion. While their interest and the church is on a side, we may expect them our friends; but interest will not lye. If the church and interest part, farewell the church.

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[1] Burnet, Tillotson, Sherlock, and others were accused of having, in former reigns, actively supported high-church doctrines, which, under William, they found it convenient to alter or modify.

But to pass over this. A church-man must signify one who is for preserving the essential constitution of the church. Now the constitution of the church of England is the same that has been the constitution of the catholick church, ever since the apostolick age, or as long as we have any authentick records of the church; that is, the government of the church is in bishops, with presbyters and deacons under them. Ours is a national church, and divided into two provinces; each province hath a metropolitan, with a superior jurisdiction over all the bishops and clergy of his province; which some think an apostolical, but, it is certain, is a very ancient constitution of the catholick church.

Now, whatever pretences may be made, I cannot think, nor call these church-men, who endeavour to overthrow this ancient constitution of the catholick church, to which the church of England is so exactly conformed, as we know has by some been lately attempted: For to deny the metropolitan any sort of authority of convening and presiding in synods, (which necessarily carries with it the authority of continuations or prorogations,) any otherwise than as the king's minister, (which is a civil, not an ecclesiastical and metropolitical authority,) and to make a synod of presbyters an independent house, and co-ordinate power with their bishops, when they themselves do, and must own, that there never was a distinct synod of presbyters, much less a co-ordinate house of mere presbyters in any other episcopal church in the world, and can never shew when the church of England broke off from the catholick church, and renounced the metropolitical and episcopal authority,—this is to oppose the essential constitution of an episcopal church, as the church of England is. While some, who call themselves great church-men, are declaiming against the usurpations of the civil power upon the church, they have taken great pains to expound the Act of Submission and the king's supremacy to such a sense as neither our princes nor lawyers ever thought on; to make all church authority a perfect creature of the state, that presbyters may challenge a co-ordinate power with their bishops.

But this is too long a dispute to enter upon at present, and may deserve a particular consideration; for it seems a mere jest for men to pretend a mighty zeal for the rights and liberties of the church, and upbraid their superiors with betraying the rights of the church, while they themselves are overthrowing the ancient constitution of the catholick church, and of the church of England with it: And how fit such men are to lead them, I hope all honest episcopal clergymen will consider.

And now, all I have to add is, a caution against being imposed on by the name church-man. If any have a mind, for other reasons, to chuse atheistical men or profligate sinners, and seditious, factious, violent spirits to represent them, let them not do it under the character of church-men: For this is a mighty scandal upon the church of England, to own those for church-men who are known to have no religion: This hath, and does to this day, give great scandal to dissenters, that many atheistical, lewd, profligate people, who manifestly have no religion, pretend to be of the church of England. This cannot be avoided indeed, unless the discipline of the church could be effectually revived: For men of no religion, if they must profess any, will pretend to the legally established church and religion; but if we cannot always fling them out of the church, yet, I think, we ought not to own them, for that would be to fix a very ill character upon our church and our religion ourselves.

And, besides this, had we to deal with any prince of less prudence, and temper, and insight into men than his present gracious majesty, whom God long preserve, what an opinion would this give him of the church of England, when he should find many (inconsiderately owned to be patrons of it) to have no religion, no morals, and to be troublesome and factious, and great disturbers of his government, and of all that he designs well for the publick good.

Some Observations upon the Keeping the Thirtieth of January and Twenty-ninth of May.

By J. G. G. 1694.

Gal. iv. 10, 11. "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain."

One of the most ardently contested points between dissenters and high-churchmen was the yearly humiliation for the martyrdom of King Charles. To the former there seemed something popish in the ordinance, besides that it revived in the recollection of the nation the divisions during the civil wars. But the cause of Charles I. was so intimately connected with the English hierarchy, and with the favourite doctrines of non-resistance and hereditary right, that the clergy would on no account consent to the modification or omission of the ritual for that day. After the Revolution, the Whigs began to speak more boldly upon the subject, and the following Tract contains the summary of their arguments.

Sir Richard Steele, however, whom no one can suspect of indisposition towards English freedom, holds a very different tone. "It would be an insensibility in an Englishman to entertain the town with any thing foreign to this subject on this day, which is the anniversary on which we ought for ever to lament with the deepest contrition the inhuman tragedy which was acted upon it.

"When we consider the cruel restraint which his murderers put upon him, and the little assistance which he could have from arguments of consolation given by others, we cannot enough admire that greatness of mind and heroick fortitude which the king asserted in defence of his own authority, and the rights and liberties of his subjects.

"As this paper is principally designed as an incentive to the love of our country, and a due zeal for the laws and liberties of it, there cannot be a greater example of that generous zeal than in the person of this great prince, who alone opposed with such undaunted magnanimity the destroyers of them, insisting upon the illegality of the proceedings of those rebels and betrayers, with no less a testimony than that of laying down his very life."—*The Englishman, Lond.* 1714, 8vo, p. 235.

Every thirtieth of January doth yearly renew my thoughts upon the occasion of the day; we say it hath been appointed to be kept to mourn and humble the nation for the death of King Charles I. The thing hath two several aspects, for either it looks upon the act of some men against the living, or upon what others have done and do for the dead, both which I take to be ill; the one, because it seems unlawful, the other, as contrary to true religion.

I agree the fact was an horrid murther, execrable, as black as words can make it; neither am ignorant how blood defiles the land; what a loud and crying sin is blood-guiltiness, according to other several strong expressions in holy scriptures; but when all is said, after justice hath been executed upon the guilty, after forty-five years there ought to be an end. It were better, more according to charity and christian prudence, to forget those things than to renew the memory of them, which continues divisions; for we know it is too usual on that day to hear from the pulpit about those who sold him, of others that brought him to the block, and of those who cut off his head, which doth not restore to life nor remedy that which is past, and only exasperates the spirits of men. This is too like the Italian custom, to keep and shew handkerchiefs dipped in the blood of those that were killed, or such like tokens, only to infuse a desire of vengeance, and to make irreconcileable enmities between families and parties: after acts of oblivion for such things are passed, the memory thereof ought to be forgotten.

Such things do and must admit of a prescription; neither can I find any sound reason why such a performance should be entailed upon us and our posterity; it is enough once for all, really and heartily to have done; after that it degenerates into formality and bigoticism (if I may so call it.) I know amongst us we have men zealous without knowledge, guided by ignorance, and as thorough-paced in their way as any papist is in his, who know not how to keep within bounds in many things they do. Every one knows the keeping of this day was enacted after a revolution, amidst heats and desires of revengefulness, in some who looked upon themselves as having been ill used by others.

The order for keeping that day was brought forth with some other things, which by and by I shall have occasion to mention; but because I do not intend to insist upon the civil, but the religious part of keeping that day, which is the principal thing of it; and as the taking away of his life was an ill thing, so by the grace of God I will shew, that every year keeping a day on that account is as bad, if not worse, inasmuch as the honour and worship of God are therein concerned.

What St Paul saith to the people of Athens in general, I may say to some amongst us in particular, in this thing, [1] "you are too superstitious;" for I am satisfied we cannot without superstition (whereof the very appearance ought to be avoided) keep an anniversary or a certain day every year upon any man's account, and on the same day go to church, the place appointed only for God's worship, there to hear a sermon preached on that subject, and to have a collect, epistle, and gospel, yea, such a part of gospel taken out of a parable wherein our blessed Saviour foretels his death, and this must be applied to a dead man. Nay, in that service we pray to God he will be pleased to give us the grace to follow that man's charity and patience, surely in this we are too superstitious; now time, place, and service being appointed, next thing for us to do will be to pray to him.

Heathens had their apotheosis, of men to make gods after their death; papists have their canonizations, or making of saints; but I think our church ought to be free from such errors and abuses, without calendars and legends; I am sure the best reformed churches beyond sea admit of no such things, let for brevity's sake the testimony of one serve for all. [2] "We approve not of days dedicated to saints." Would to God we had not so many of these relicks of popery amongst us, such as the Purification of the Virgin, a jewish ceremony, Annunciation, Conception, &c. All Saints, Michael, and All Angels, Innocents, &c. "which (as the already-quoted confession saith) [3] have many things absurd, superstitious, and not to be endured." It may be made a question, whether God will ever forgive it those who so stiffly retain such things, and oppose a thorough reformation, keeping the clogs of such superstitions and fopperies upon our holy religion, whereof the purity is thereby defiled: What St Paul saith to the Galatians, [4] "You observe days, &c. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain," may justly be applied to many amongst us. I know this enlargement will not be thought to deviate from our purpose.

But we are not satisfied of him to make a saint, but a martyr too, for that is now the name given him, the Martyr, by excellency: I confess here I am somewhat at a stand, to see such a name so much misapplied; but before I proceed, I declare I charitably believe God shewed him mercy, but withal it is not the manner, but the cause of death makes one a martyr. I know several kinds of persuasions have their witnesses and martyrs, but for us, the martyr who suffers for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, he is the true martyr, who loses his life for the sake of Christ, for his person, for his attributes, for his offices, for his faith; such an one was [1] St Stephen, such [2] St James, such [3] Antipas, whom the Lord called his faithful martyr, and many others after, for the same cause; and here, by the bye, I must take notice how the apostolical church appointed no day, nor rubrick, to remember or mourn for their death, not so much as for that of our Lord and Saviour, nor of his birth, only that of his resurrection the first day of the week, which St John calls the [4] Lord's Day.

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[1] Acts xvii. 22.

[2] *Festa autem hominibus, divis instituta non probamus.* Helvet. Confess. cap. 24. *de feriis.*

[3] *Ibidem habent absurda, inutilia minimeque toleranda.*

[4] Gal. iv. 10, 11.

But for Charles I. he must be a saint and a martyr of a new coining, but rather no martyr amongst true Christians, except it be made to appear that he suffered for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, though otherwise never so unjustly. Let those who took away his life be as wicked as can be imagined, yet they were not professed infidels; his being a Christian was not the cause or pretence of his being put to death; the pretence was, (how true or false I dive not into it) his following evil council, encroaching upon the liberties, carrying on designs for arbitrariness, casting into prison men for refusing to lend him money, raising money without parliament, as in case of ship-money, for designing to bring in popery and such other things, as the whole nation knows, which, the last excepted, were all of a worldly concernment, and no ways fit to qualify a martyr him who suffers for them. As to this last I must say, in his time (whether or not of his own contrivance I cannot tell) a design was carrying on to reconcile us to the church of Rome, whose interest here did much thrive through the queen's favour; the persecution of puritans, the prayer-book sent into Scotland, bringing in Arminianism, setting up crucifixes upon the communion-tables, by them called altars, as ministers were and are still by the name of priests, thus promiscuously bringing in names and things; those, and many more, were evidences of the project then in hand, which though it had been true, and carried on by the king, yet can never justify the putting him to death, no more than his being put to death can prove him a martyr. Suppose they were murtherers, must we be blasphemers? If they were villains, must we be idolators or superstitious? Is it a warrant for us to do evil because they did so? 'Tis very bad logick, for after this we must follow evil examples. After the light of the gospel hath, since the Reformation, so clearly shined amongst us, it is very strange that some who might know better have, as to the matter in hand, carried things so far on in the way of superstition.

A medal of Bishop Laud, a man so noted in his days, soon after King Charles's restoration, was coined in the Tower, and consequently by public authority, of which here are several and many beyond sea, with this inscription, *Sancti Caroli præcursor*, the fore-runner of St Charles. Here the business is not minced, we speak it out plainly; in England we have our St Charles as Italians have theirs, his name is entered into the list of saints, he hath his day, only we have not builded him a church, as is done for Charles Borromeo in Rome: But instead of that, he is owned as such in every church we have; let men honour his memory, but not to such a length as to run into superstition, if not worse, for there is no less than blasphemy in the case: in the medal Bishop Laud is compared to John the Baptist, and consequently King Charles is paralleled with Christ, for John Baptist, both in his birth and death, was fore runner of the Lord Jesus.

This comparison is come not only out of a stamp, but from pulpits too, a place very improper for such doctrines; some now alive have carried on the parallel much beyond bounds; others have been heard to preach, that the guilt of King Charles's blood lies upon the nation never to be washed off. What! upon children's children, and from generation to generation, to the world's end? yet God saith by two of his prophets, the proverb shall no more be used, [1] "The fathers have eaten a sour grape, and the children's teeth are set on edge." To see the blood of the Son of God lie as a curse upon the generality of the Jews is no wonder; they all cried, Crucify, Crucify; they all said, [2] "Let his blood be upon us and our children." I hope our thorough-paced papists in this point will not have the face to say, that the blood of Charles I., though never so innocent, can be compared with that of our Lord and Saviour, though, alas! about the time of that death some were possessed with such extravagant fits of superstition, as to dye handkerchiefs in the blood, to keep and use it to cure diseases, work miracles, and such other things as made an impression upon the spirits of credulous and ignorant people; which true Christians, who make profession of the purity of the gospel, ought to be ashamed of.

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[1] Acts xii. [2] Acts vii. [3] Rev. ii. 13. [4] Rev. i. 10.

Others upon the occasion of the day, and that lately, said, [3] "The evils and calamities which we have now more than forty years, in some degree or other, and sometimes very severely, suffered under, are the natural effects or just punishments of that sin which we this day lament." Herein is a great exaggeration; but as to cursing, swearing, perjury, covenant-breaking, injustice, shedding of innocent blood, as of late there was too much, drunkenness, uncleanness, these are but trifling sins, not worth God's taking notice of; let such preachers, as much as they please, exalt and commend their martyrs, for such virtues as are rarely found in mean persons, which, in my weak apprehension, is no great commendation; for a king to say he had those virtues that are rarely found in mean persons, as indeed it is rare for mean persons to be conspicuous in great virtues, to find such virtues we must go into an hermit's cell, we must needs be at a great loss not to have where to search for them, but those dark holes or places of darkness; this is to have a great opinion of hermit's lives, as well as of King Charles's great virtues; we must not be wanting also to attribute great merits to hermits in their cells: However, one could bear with such stuff, if the preaching of the gospel of peace was not turned into the sound of an alarm. What mean these expressions, "There is a spirit of zeal and faction, the principles of which, if not restrained, will ruin the best princes, and overturn the best governments." Again, "The horrid fact committed on this day hath poisoned the very springs of government, and so deeply tinctured the minds of men, that I pray God we may not still live to see and feel the miserable effects of it." These are doctrines of a new gospel, to work differences, and cause and keep up division. But to make ourselves the more acceptable, we must promise, that those who under the late reigns were for passive obedience, will be so under this.

Another in a late sermon of his doth screw up all his wits, and spend his whole strength, in making an unnecessary and improper panegyrick: I doubt very much whether upon our Saviour's passion-day be ever used expressions so pathetical, and delivered them with so much zeal as he did upon this last occasion. I confess, I never heard before, a prince, though never so good, being called a tyrant to be blasphemy; I thought to blaspheme was against God, and not against man. Then he proceeds to unhandsome and uncharitable reflections upon the dead as well as upon the living. But we must not wonder, that a man who, instead of a sermon (for though he uses some very few scripture phrases, yet, one excepted, doth quote no one place out of it but that of his text) maketh a declaration against indulgence and liberty of conscience: He, like another Saul, [4] "yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter;" and is sorry it is not now in his power to persecute; I say, it is no wonder if he doth so, seeing he maketh bold to say in some places, those things which may well be interpreted not only as reflections, but invectives against the present government. Thus some who go up into the pulpit are not satisfied with Paul, [1] to know and preach nothing save Jesus Christ, and him crucified; but do set up for statesmen and teachers of human wisdom; and upon occasion turn the preaching of the gospel of peace into blowing the trumpet of war. This, instead of repairing our breaches, is to make them wider; instead of composing our unhappy differences, is to increase them; instead of reconciling the spirits of men, is to exasperate them; 'tis to continue our divisions, to propagate hatred and animosities to posterity: These are the likely means to divide and subdivide us over and over again; for we shall never want some Boanerges, sons of thunder, to inflame our wounds, to put all in a confusion, and in a fair way to cut one another's throats.

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[1] Jer. xxxi. 29. Ezek. xviii. 2, 3.

[2] Matt. xxvii. 25.

[3] Dr Sherlock's Sermon.

[4] Acts ix. 1.

Here indeed the thing is so obvious, that I cannot avoid taking notice of how that tribe of Levi, as they call themselves, do for the most part (for some of them wish things were better) mind the interest of the world, not that of Christ: Instead of taking care of souls, which is their office, it is the least of their thoughts; they would be governing the state, and make an hierarchical monarchy, and it may be at last like the Roman clergy, if they could, turn monarchy into hierarchy, and instead of a pope have a patriarch; for that spirit since the Reformation run into the blood of several of them, who in some of the late reigns took upon themselves the administration of most important places in state; and in their convocations made such canons, as caused one of their good friends, the Lord Faulkland, in his speeches in parliament in 1641, highly to complain, that they had taken upon them to do such things as belonged to parliaments, as to appoint holy-days, to define what is treason, and in some kind to raise monies upon parishes, when they charged parishes to buy certain books for the use of the church: 'Tis sad that those attempts of theirs, and such ill consequences thereof, should so soon be forgotten. Do they take this to be a nation that can be content to be priest-ridden, that now again they begin in a solemn manner to decide about the constitution of the government, and make us a conquered nation, and as much as in them lies to lay the foundation of slavery for time to come? Cannot they be satisfied with the share they have in the legislative power, but must also some of them take upon themselves to alter the nature of the constitution of the government? It were more proper for them to betake themselves to their books, and to take care of the souls committed to their charge, and not to hazard overturning all, to bring again their Diana upon the stage,—the doctrine of passive obedience.

Seeing they have such a mind to be doing, there is an occasion offered for them so to be within their sphere, now when Socinianism is coming in apace. And why should not there be some course taken to find out means to prevent and stop it, such as may be a convocation? This is the proper remedy against heresies practised by the primitive church: Thus the first council of Nice assembled against Arius upon this same account. Are the orthodox doctrines about the holy Trinity, about the incarnation, person and offices of Christ, not worthy to be asserted? Wherein is the care of our church officers to keep out this damnable heresy? Are they pleased with it?—or will they make themselves accessory to the guilt of bringing of it in, through neglect or otherwise? We all, church and state, are alarmed when we hear of a foreign army at our doors; but neither mind that detestable soul-murthering heresy, which is gotten into some of our bowels, and is hastening into our very vitals. What's become of all our watchmen? Can no effectual course be taken to stop it? If formerly any one had spoken or written against church-government, or its dependencies, though one had quoted scripture never so much, all took fire; punished, persecuted, and stigmatized such a one: But now, though this abominable error doth come in with a bare face, none but one or two of our great churchmen doth bestir himself, but seem to be unconcerned. O ye, that, upon this occasion, are dumb dogs and idol-shepherds, what account of this can you give unto God?

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[1] 1 Cor. ii. 2.

What a pother do men keep about a book,[1] whether it be King Charles I. or Dr Gauden's, as if it was an article of their faith; if it was a book of holy scripture, and the question whether canonical or apocryphal, they could do no more. How hot is D. H. upon it, tooth and nail, as much as for a gospel truth; yet, from the beginning of the book's appearing in the world, it was made a question, whether or not that king was the author? Well, let us not believe what Milton saith about it; but Dr Walker hath said enough to satisfy any impartial and reasonable man. But suppose he was not, would it not better become D. H., as he is a minister of the gospel, to make use of his pen against Socinianism, and serve his Master, if he be Christ's servant, than vainly to spend his time and labour in a mere compliment to a dead man, who, whether the book be his or not, shall never be one jot the better or the worse for it? Thus, instead of *hoc agere*, to do his duty, is *aliud agere*, that which doth not belong to it. And thus, whilst the antichristian spirit of Socinianism doth rage abroad, and, if I may so say, the fundamentals of our religion lie at stake, whilst ravenous wolves are striving to get into the sheep-fold, that man trifleth away his time and pains with throwing flowers not upon the coffin, but rather the ashes of a carcass.

Here I solemnly declare, I have taken pen in hand not in the least to detract from King Charles's memory, whose name I am sorry to see made use of upon so unwarrantable an account, but to make known an abuse not only crept in, but strongly settled, which, I think, tends to the dishonour of God and disparagement of our holy religion, to make a mixture of a dead man's worship in the house of God; for, let men say what they will, the thing comes to that, though palliated under another notion, to pray to the dead for the dead, or in such occasion as this to mention the dead, is contrary to the word of God, which commands us "[2] to abstain from all appearance of evil." Wherefore let that thirtieth of January go out of doors, and if we keep a day, let it be to God, and not to man; let, upon occasion, days of humiliation be kept very often too, to mourn and be humbled, for personal, as for the great, many, and epidemical sins of the nation; whereof I named some before, and some are mentioned in Jeremiah;[3] but no constant set day for any man whatever, whether they be humiliation or thanksgiving days. The Gunpowder-Treason Day, we keep it only to God for such a deliverance; no mention of man in it: This did the church of the Jews, after their deliverance from the wicked designs of Haman, but not to the praise and honour of Esther or Mordecai, though they had been God's instruments to prevent it.

To return to King Charles's death; to mourn for it once had been enough: When Joseph's coat was brought to Jacob, he might unblameably have expressed, as he did, a great sorrow and grief thereupon, even to have kissed it, to lament the death of so dear a son; but if he had hanged it about his bed, or any where else in his chamber, there every evening and morning, or at every meal, given it such salutations, and done the like as at the first time, thereby he might have countenanced many branches of superstition; once, and no more, is discretion about those things whose continual use degenerates into abuse.

Now here we have been so unhappy as to take wrong measure, not only in keeping a day of humiliation, as I shewed already, but also a thanksgiving-day, such as that of the birth and restoration of King Charles II., the twenty-ninth of May, for the which we have also a set day once a year to hear a sermon preached, a collect, an epistle, and a gospel upon the occasion: "[4] O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you!" This clearly shews the humour of those times, when some people, almost distracted, kept no moderation, but went from one extreme into another. After his death, in King James's days, they thought fit to continue keeping the day, but to put a new face, and under another notion; but the thing was the same in substance: So the children of Israel kept a feast to the golden calf, which was proclaimed before, and the "[1]People sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play."

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[1] The Icon Basiliké.

[2] 1 Thess. iii. 22.

[3] Jer. vi. 2, 3, 10.

[4] Gal. iii. 1.

For such a restoration we must be very glad, and make God concerned in our joy: his house must be the place; hitherto 'tis well if we bring no idol into it; I mean nothing of man's merits, worth, and perfection, no inventions devised of our own heart, and things which God hath not commanded. We read how after the rebellion and death of Absalom, the "[2] Men of Judah sent unto David, Return thou and all thy servants." But though he was as good a king as any, I do not find there was any set day appointed yearly to be kept in any place of God's worship, by way of thanksgiving for his birth or restoration: our religion now is more courtly and flattering. I do not deny but that upon such an occasion a moderate joy may be expressed for a while; but to entail it upon posterity is such a piece of flattery, popery, and pageantry as cannot be warranted by any laws of God or reasonable Christians. [3]Dr Abbot saith, that offerings yearly made for the dead and for birth-days, were first brought in by the heretic Montanus, who thereby made gain of them. Now this reaches our case; for an anniversary, or every year keeping a set day for a dead man, is a kind of offering made for the dead; and keeping the twenty-ninth of May in the same manner, is keeping a birth-day as a restoration-day, for upon this day Charles II. was born.

Now let us see how great a cause we had to fall into so high and exceeding demonstration of joy: Let the event shew how great a blessing this restoration proved to the nation. We know sometimes "[4]God gives kings in his anger, and takes them away in his wrath." Plague, war, and fire came in with King Charles; but all little enough in comparison of that flood of vice and corruption in the way of prophaneness, impiety, debauchery, &c. which, being encouraged by example and impunity, followed him, and, like a mighty stream, have so overflowed the nation, that, in all likelihood, it will require more judgments, and many years to come, to purge the land of it; it is overspread almost from the child in the cradle to the old man going down to his grave. But I must break off, for it defiles my thoughts, my tongue, and my pen; therefore no wonder if this took away our hearts, for "[5]Whoredom and wine take away the heart," and our understanding too, which made us grow an effeminate nation, contemptible to our neighbours, and made us cast away the honour and interest of the country, and become tools of the ambition and greatness of those whose growing power we ought to have opposed, and which since made Europe groan and labour to be delivered from that bondage or danger we helped to bring it under. We slighted the suits and offers of many princes and states, and addresses of parliaments, who offered their lives and fortunes to stop the growing power of France, which had her emissaries of both sexes in our bosom: By whose councils parliaments were adjourned, prorogued, and dissolved; whilst, on the other side, in our most solemn assemblies, the fidelity of some was corrupted to betray their trust and country. In one we have seen a list of no less than two hundred and twelve pensioners, to find money to satisfy the unsatiable desires and idle expences of whores, pimps, bawds, and bastards; whilst, in less than two years time, above 100,000 souls, for religion sake, forsook the kingdom, to go into the plantations, Holland, and Germany.

These things, and many more which I omit, are known to the whole nation; only I must take notice how the design of ruining laws, liberty, and religion was driving on; and whilst popery enjoyed favour and advantages, it was treason to say the king was a papist, or popishly affected, though, during the whole course of his reign, he appeared, and there are grounds to believe he died such. All these things are so recent and late, that it were in vain to enlarge upon it; only I ask, whether one who set some of the worst of men upon the benches in Westminster, took away charters, caused innocent blood to be shed under pretence of justice, and had some men "[1] to frame mischief by a law," &c. was given in mercy or anger, I leave to every sober and impartial man to judge? And whether he was taken away in wrath, I am not so positive as to determine: Sure I am, after his death, things were furiously carried on, till they were overturned first, and then restored through God's mercy. The two brothers were papists, the one secretly, the other openly; yet both were prayed for as "defender of the faith," and as "our most religious kings," who had undertaken to destroy our religion, and openly lived in notorious sins: They who in the church pronounced such lies, have no cause to be satisfied with themselves for so doing. The consideration of this engages me to speak of something which is proper enough for my present purpose.

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[1] Exod. xxxii. 5, 6.
[2] 2 Sam. ix. 14.
[3] Defence of Perkins, p. 886.
[4] Hosea xiii. 11.
[5] Ib. iv. 11.

Almost in every age it hath been a trick of state for the civil power to strengthen their designs with putting on the cloak of religion; the generality of the people have a kind of veneration for those who have the managing of holy things: This Roman emperors knew very well, which made them add to their dignity the titles, not only of consuls and tribunes, but also of *pontifex maximus*, high priest, which popes constantly take with the addition of *optimus*, most good, one of his names of blasphemy.

Simeon and Levi are sometimes brethren in iniquity, "[2] Instruments of cruelty:" the spiritual and temporal swords, joined together, cut very deep: popes who pretend to both think themselves for it the more considerable, and thereby heretofore, especially before the Reformation, proved the more dangerous. At first they were not in the same, but in two different hands; for, not to speak of Constantine's donation, which now is out of doors, and was long ago known for a sham, it began in the days of Phocas and Bonifacius III. Phocas had made away his master, the Emperor Mauricius, whilst he laboured under a fit of the gout, and this to make himself emperor. The other was Bishop of Rome, earnestly desirous to be universal bishop, which his predecessor, Gregory the Great, had so much declaimed against. Phocas sent to him, "If you will but own me to be lawful emperor, I will make you to be owned universal bishop within the empire." Thus they agreed, to the prejudice of those on both sides concerned against them.

At first the people had right of choosing their ministers and church-officers, Acts vi. 2, 3, and the manner was, with "[3] Lifting up of their hands," as an approbation of him, or those that were named. Long time after, when hierarchy was formed, deans and chapters elected their bishops, as to this day it is continued amongst papists in most parts of Germany; but in France, after the Concordat, or agreement between Francis I. and Pope Leo X., they deprived of that right the clergy of that kingdom, the king taking upon him the nomination, and the pope reserving for himself the confirmation by his bulls: That here that was the manner, appears by the remaining shadows of it, called *Conge d'Elire*; for he must be elected who is named by the king. The same mockery (for it is no better, if true, as generally said) is used on the part of the elected bishop, who, being asked *Visne Episcopari*, though he hath been suing for it, and made what interest he could to get it, comes with a lie in his mouth, *Nolo*. Thus corruption being crept into the church, and amongst the officers thereof, we must not wonder to see so many ill effects and consequences of it: And I desire no exceptions be taken against what I am about to say, for no man more than I hath greater honour for true and worthy ministers of the sanctuary, though none more grieved than I am at the abuse therein committed; it is to my purpose, and I am going to make application of it.

Our late courts, in order to carry on these ends of enlarging the royal authority and prerogative, went about to get on their side as many, especially leading men, of the [4] clergy as they could; the most ambitious and greedy of preferment were the fittest for their purpose; preach (saith the court to them) monarchy to be *Jure Divino;* not the gospel, but the extent of royal prerogative: Preach non-resistance, passive obedience, the sinfulness of not obeying, or opposing, any thing commanded by supreme powers. These doctrines began to ring out of the pulpits, and obedience to man more than to God was pressed; a conformity to the canons of the church, more than to the word of God, because they had the stamp of royal authority. What doth the court do for this? One hath a good benefice, another a place in the university: One is made a prebend, archdeacon, dean, and bishop; they that were greedy of such places, seeing this to be the way to preferment, fell into the same road, and followed the steps of those that went before; so that for the generality to be for absolute monarchy, was, in a subject, a better qualification than learning, virtue, and piety. To such ministers as these, I say, in the words of the prophet Malachi, (*y*) "And now, O ye priests, this commandment is for you. If ye will not hear, and if ye will not lay it to heart, to give glory unto my name, saith the Lord of Hosts, I will even send a curse upon you, and I will curse your blessings: Yea, I have cursed them already, because ye do not lay it to heart." And so the prophet goes on till verse the ninth, which contains these words, "Therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as ye have not kept my ways, but have been partial in the law."

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[1] Psalm xciv. 20. [2] Gen. xlix. 5. [3] Acts xiv. 23. Χειροτονήσαντες.

[4] I call them so according to custom, for else it is an usurpation began amongst papists; for the word clergy, or heritage, belongs to all Gods people.—1 Pet. v. 3.

The court, never to want such men, went further: they would have episcopacy to be *Jure Divino;* though bishops be the king's creatures, they promised to maintain the church as by law established, with all annexes and dependences; ruin to all dissenters, (but papists,) which was pretty well put in execution: No moderation in the minds of some, no opening the mouth against ignorant and scandalous ministers; not an hair's breadth of any ceremony to be dispensed with, though to the overthrowing of all rules of Christian prudence and charity. Hence it is that some of corrupt principles and practices, were, in church, advanced to the highest preferments, because men-pleasers, though otherwise unworthy of it; and so they were ministers of the court more than of Christ; they were thought to be sufficiently qualified, if able but to promote that interest; and to be true sons of the church, though never so much sons of Belial, and prodigal sons. But in this, too much like papists, we are pleased with specious names more than with things; and are so doating upon accidents and formalities, that we neglect the substance, and often leave the body for the shadow; like those Jews who "trusted in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord! the temple of the Lord! the temple of the Lord!" (*z*)

One of the chief remote causes of this is the inconsiderateness of parents, which, except it be removed, we can in reason have no great hopes of mending. If they have one son, they sometimes intend him for a way which he is neither fit for nor inclined to: If they have many, then such an one must be a soldier, the other a lawyer, and the third a divine; when, it may be, he who is intended for the law is fittest for a soldier, and the soldier for divinity; when they ought to consult with the genius and capacity of all, and observe that which is more proper for every one. As for those who are appointed for the study of divinity, there must be a farther regard than merely to put them in a way of getting their livelihood, as if they were put to a trade. Such thoughts do often pass from parents into the minds of young men, who do not examine themselves whether or not they have an inward call, a disposition and inclination of soul to that high trust: Whether they can, in some degree, answer the duty of the place; take care of souls, which they are to give God an account of: (*a*) "Whose blood, if lost for want of warning, shall be required at their hands." (*b*) "They are stewards of the ministry of God, who ought to be found faithful;" they must prepare, sometime,

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(*y*) Mal. ii. 1, 2.
(*z*) Jer. vii. 4.
(*a*) Ezek. xxxiii. 6, 8.
(*b*) 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2.

(c) "To be made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men, and as it were appointed to death." They are (d) "God's ambassadors," and consequently ought to be true to his honour and interest, and punctually to follow their commission: And saith the same apostle, (e) "Who is sufficient for these things." Hence, for want of a due consideration, come our (f) "Idol shepherd," and (g) "dumb dogs," as the scripture calls them, "Yea, greedy dogs, which can never have enough."

Though to some this discourse may prove like a digression, yet it is not really so, but to the purpose, for it leads us to one of the springs whence does arise the disorders we speak against. If I allow a thing which it is my duty and in my power, in some degree, to oppose, I thereby become guilty of, and accessory to, the guilt that comes from it. Our great clergymen ought, at that time, humbly to have addressed against appointing days on such occasions, and not promoted it, and penned rubrics, as they did; they wanted zeal for the honour of God. When King Uzziah would have come and sacrificed, "the priests withstood him."(h) So Ambrosius, in Milan, did shut the church-doors upon Theodosius. I am very far from wishing to have such examples made precedents; yet, on such occasions, the least that could be expected from men of that character was to lie still, and not to act, if Erastianism and interest had not been their fundamental rule.

How ill soever it was, things were done; and it is not these words, "Our will and pleasure is," to have the rubric for the thirtieth of January and twenty-ninth of May used, &c. C. R. which alone may stamp an authority: as to the lawfulness of the same, in relation to civil things, I shall not take upon me to determine, though, I thank God, it is not here an usual style to say, "Such is our pleasure:" But it doth altogether lose its strength when it comes to the worship of God: And I say this for a rule, That if all the men in the world were all together, under what notion soever, neither their authority nor their wit would make that be good and lawful, which is bad and unlawful; though I know the difference how some things are such in their nature, and others so by accident.

However, that which was done, we cannot hinder from being done; there is no remedy for that which is past, only for the future let it be prevented: That which is due to God, must not be made over to the creature. I hope unbiassed men, out of what hath been said, will be convinced of the unreasonableness and unlawfulness of keeping such days in such a manner, and upon such an account. During the two last reigns both kings were concerned; so it was not to be expected they would have been induced to discontinue the observation thereof: But now they are gone, and it is to be wished they have not left behind them so much of that spirit that possessed them, as to make people obstinate in retaining that superstitious custom. The late happy revolution will, it is hoped, make, in time, a change in this, so as to have it laid aside, there being now no awe nor temptation to induce men to persist in it, but only ignorance, blindness, and superstition.

It cannot be found in the Old or New Testament, that ever any anniversary, holiday, fasting, or feasting, was instituted on the behalf of any man, dead or alive, though God made use of several to work great deliverances, or to suffer and be martyrs for his truth. No set days for Moses, Joshua, Sampson, though great deliverers; nor for the death of Isaiah, Zechariah, and so many other prophets and apostles put to death. Holidays belong to God alone, him alone they ought to regard, without any squint-eye towards the creature: the Lord is a jealous God, who will not have in his house, mixed with his worship, any thing that seems to look towards man; the practice of the contrary is a branch of heathenish and popish superstition, if not idolatry. Few words more I shall add to shew the sinfulness of this, and then proceed in general to lay open the unlawfulness of all such formalities, out of scripture, reason, and authority.

(c) 2 Cor. iv. 9.
(d) Eph. vi. 20.
(e) 2 Cor. ii. 16.
(f) Zech. xi. 17.
(g) Isaiah lvi. 10, 11.
(h) 2 Chron. xxvi. 18.

But before I proceed further, I must make a short stop to say something to vindicate what, in few lines before, I asserted, and in answer to something that is said to justify the practice of the thirtieth of January. I say nothing can be found in the word of God to ground this upon. First of all they must own, there is nothing to countenance it in the New Testament, (*i*) or else they would let us hear of it. As to the Old, they would endeavour to draw it out of three several cases; the first is, that of Saul, the second of Josiah, and the third of Gedaliah.

As to the first, it seems they lay a great stress upon it; for two of them,(*k*) and may be more, for what I know, on the last thirtieth of January, took their text out of it. The case is thus: In the battle of Mount Gilboa, between Israel and the Philistians, Saul and his three sons were killed; his sons by the Philistines, and he killed himself with his own sword. The news of this overthrow being brought to David by an Amalekite,(*l*) who thought to bring David acceptable news of the death of his mortal enemy, in hopes of a reward, told him a lie, how, at his desire, he had killed him: Whereupon David commanded him to be put to death, which was effected; and then made a lamentation, which was well and suitable with the present occasion,—the loss of a battle, whereof the king's death was one of the bad concomitants. If the young Amalekite had killed him, he had done that which Saul's armour-bearer would not, and therefore deserved to die for killing the king. The young man's act we condemn; but what is that to the purpose? We do commend the mourning upon the sad accident at that time; but was an anniversary appointed, entailed upon posterity, upon a set day every year to meet in the place of worship to mourn for it? No such thing. David made at that time a lamentation for the public loss, and for his own in particular; for it was not only over Saul, but also over Jonathan, his dear friend: "I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan,"(*m*) whom he tenderly loved.

But it is pulled over head and ears to say David appointed a lamentation, or a mournful ditty, as he calls it, to be sung by the children of Judah in succeeding ages. Indeed it is said, in the eighteenth verse of the same chapter, that he "bade them teach the children of Judah the use of the bow," and not to sing a lamentation. Herein lies a want of sincerity, and something of a design to impose upon hearers and readers. Now, I conceive, the parallel between Saul and Charles the First lies in being anointed, which, we know, was a ceremony used under the law, to have kings, prophets, and priests anointed, which all related to Jesus Christ, for those three offices he was to exercise; and that anointing signified the oil of gladness, wherewith he was to be anointed above all his fellows, meaning the graces of the spirit of God represented by the anointing. Though the name of anointed is given to those that were no kings, no priests, nor prophets, as afterwards explained, as Abraham, Isaac, Israel, and family; "Touch not mine anointed;"(*n*) for there the prophet speaks of them, not of kings.

And under the gospel the Holy Ghost is called the unction, the "Anointing which God's people have received," and "which abideth in us," and "teaches us all things."(*o*) In consequence of this the Lord Jesus, who, according to his promise, hath sent the (*p*) "Comforter," the "Spirit of truth," is said, under the name of the Lamb, to (*q*) "have made us unto our God, kings and priests." So then all that have the holy spirit of Christ are the anointed of the Lord: The God of truth hath said so, and men

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(*i*) Newman in his Sermon, p. 4, 5, 6.

(*k*) Dr Burch and Mr Newman.

(*l*) 1 Sam. xxxi. 2, 3, 4, and 2 Sam. i.

(*m*) 2 Sam. i. 17, 26.

(*n*) Psalm cv. 10.

(*o*) 1 John ii. 20, 27.

(*p*) John xvi. 7, 13.

(*q*) Rev. v. 10.

must not take upon themselves to teach him how to speak. Why do poor silly men go about, as much as in them lie, to deprive God's people of what he hath bestowed upon them? And if all true believers be made kings and priests, why should man restrain it to an order of man, and put asunder that which God hath joined together? Yet this I must say to those who so exceedingly are admirers of King Charles the First, that, by what they do, I have really a better opinion of him than they have themselves; for I hope he was a better man than Saul; therefore the comparison they make between them is not very judicious, nor favourable to their king; for the parallel must run upon the persons, as well as the office; they both were kings, and anointed; but Saul was not only chosen, but also "rejected of God from being king;"(r) who cared for honour from men, more than favour from God, when be said to Samuel, (s) "Honour me now, I pray thee, before the elders of my people, and before Israel." In a word, Saul is, in scripture, branded for a breaker of the covenant between Joshua and the Gibeonites,(t) and he cruelly slew some of them, for which God sent a famine three years together; and being enquired, said, It was "for Saul and his bloody house."(u) He was a wicked man, guilty, as Samuel upbraids him, of disobedience, rebellion, witchcraft, stubbornness, iniquity, and idolatry, (x) a self-murderer, and who "died for his trangression;" one whom God would not have (y) Samuel to mourn for when alive, and when, as much as men knew, there might be hopes of God's mercy and pardon to him. How likely is it then that God would have approved, after his death, that David had appointed a lamentation to be sung by the children of Judah in succeeding ages? Hence it appears how sometimes comparisons and parallels do not answer the end for which they be made use of; but, on the contrary, like one who, blowing his nose, presses it so much as to squeeze blood out of it: Such comparisons ought discreetly and warily to be used, or else they will confute that which thereby was intended to be proved: Thus the candle being turned upside down, that which made it burn will put it out.

The second precedent is that of Josiah,(z) after whose death all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for him; Jeremiah lamented for him; all the singing men and singing-women speak of Josiah in their lamentations to this day. All this very true and well, but not to their purpose, except they can make it out that there was a certain set day every year, upon which, on the occasion of this death, people went into the temple to renew the memory of, and mourn for it, had a service appointed for the same end; which I think none will say or affirm. This comparison is much better between Charles and Josiah than between him and Saul, and would be more to the purpose if it might well be fastened. When we consider what manner of man Josiah was,(a) what a reformer, what an enemy to idolatry and superstition, who put away all the abominations that were spied in the land of Judah, purged the worship of God of all abuses; of whom the Spirit of God bears this witness, "And like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to the law of Moses: Neither after him arose any like him."(b) A prince whose birth, by his name, God by a prophet (c) foretold so many years before it happened; the death of such a prince as this could never enough be lamented, yet without superstition: This was in man's eye an irreparable loss, and I dare say this nation hath some cause, upon occasion, to remember the death of the young prince, our reformer, Edward the Sixth, with grief and sorrow, (though Heylin was of another mind); the death of so pious a prince, not without suspicion of poison, was a great

(r) 1 Sam. xv. 22, 23. 26.

(s) Verse 30.

(t) Josh. ix. 15. 16.

(u) 2 Sam xxi. 1.

(x) 1 Chron. x. 4, 13.

(y) 1 Sam. xvi. 1.

(z) 2 Chron. xxxv. 24, 25.

(a) 2 Kings xxiii. to ver. 25.

(b) 2 Kings xxiii. 25.

(c) 1 Kings xiii. 2.

loss to religion and the nation; but yet such set days as the thirtieth of January, and circumstances, must be avoided; such a memory may to this day be well continued by lawful means, at his very funeral sermons, epitaphs, and such things remaining as were published in or about that time; as Jeremiah's lamentation upon that subject might be read and sung in after-ages. The memory of good princes, and other pious men, ought to be precious and dear to posterity; but we must not bestow any thing of religious relation upon them, but strictly avoid every appearance of it. Saul's death was a judgment upon him, but Josiah's death was a mercy to him. "Because thine heart was tender, I will gather thee to thy fathers, and to thy grave in peace; neither shall thine eyes see all the evil that I will bring upon this place, and upon the inhabitants of the same." (*d*) Now things and persons being compared in the reigns of Josiah and Charles, to say no more, we shall find a vast difference.

The third case is that of Gedaliah, (*e*) whom, after the taking of Jerusalem, the king of Babylon made a governor of the cities of Judah, which was treacherously killed by Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah. This indeed was a sad blow to the people that was left in the land; but in the two quoted places in the notes, nor in the book of Chronicles, nothing is said of any public mourning of the people for it; yet some would, if possible, upon the opinion of the most judicious interpreters, as he calls them, screw something out of Zach. vii. 5, as if their mourning there was an ordinance, for that lasted till the time of their return from their captivity. But it is easy to find the true cause of it, namely, a positive order from God. (*f*) "On the tenth day of this seventh month, there shall be a day of atonement, it shall be an holy convocation unto you, and ye shall afflict your souls," &c. "And whatsoever soul it be that shall not be afflicted in that same day, he shall be cut off from amongst his people." This is the true cause of the mourning in the seventh month, and it were in vain to fancy any other.

A very good use may, by present and future ages, be made of such sad effects of God's providence, as to warn us of our mortality, of the uncertainty of life, of the vanity of honours, and to prepare us for death; to shew how our life is in the hand of God, which he disposeth of how and when he pleases. It is good always to be thankful to God for mercies, always to be humbled, and to mourn for sins; for as we do constantly sin, so we must constantly repent: what doth befall others, as well as what happeneth to us, ought to work upon us: And so we have cause enough to keep days of humiliation both in public and private; and this is to make a right use of such occasions, and not to flatter, and chuse God's house to make panegyrics of dead men, over and over every year, in such a strain as papists do for their pretended saints and dead men. After this way Mr Newman, in his Sermon, pag. 17. 18. 19, &c. maketh King Charles a great poet, nay a laureat one, a great orator: He saith, he was master of a sublime grandeur of language; and in points of controversy, and in cases of conscience, so great a divine, as he might have challenged the theological chair upon the account of mere worth. If he had but attributed some miracles, then we might have said, as Jesuits used to speak of their Ignatius, Franciscans of their Francis, and Dominicans of their Dominic, upon their days. And all this he affirms upon hearsay, and by relation. If this be not flattery, it is too much like it. This is a studied discourse; to make a shew of his parts; to flatter the dead, deceive the living, but edify none.

To say the setting apart such days is not intended as if thereby they were made holier than others, but only to appoint them to an holier use, is not enough to excuse the thing; we all know it is not in the power of man, in that kind, to make one day better than another, that is the work of God alone, and of all the days in the week, the seventh, his Sabbath-day, (*g*) "he sanctified it, blessed and hallowed it." Nay, the other

(*d*) 2 Chron. xxxiv. 27, 28.
(*e*) 2 Kings xxv. 25. and Jer. xli. 2.
(*f*) Levit. xxiii. 27, 29.
(*g*) Gen. ii. 3. and Exod. xx. 11.

feasts, which were but typical, and for a time, which we read of in the book of Leviticus,(*h*) were of God's own special appointment: So that to institute such days is an act of religion; and though we agree that the church may make rules for order-sake, as to circumstances, yet under the gospel no man may, upon human account, institute days wherein is a cessation of work, God having commanded "six days to labour and do our work." Thus there would be no end; one day this year, another, or more, the next, as we see it in the church of Rome, where every new saint hath a day allowed him every year. By the same reason it is done for one, it may be done for an hundred.

All orthodox divines do agree, That in the first and second commandment, not only idolatry, but also superstition, are forbidden; whereby the fixedness of the minds of men, which ought to be upon God, is tossed and distracted, here and there, upon different objects: Prayers of mourning, repentance or thanksgiving, must be directed to God; for they are part of his worship, without any collateral regard to the merits or sufferings of any man dead or alive. And here, by the bye, I must take notice of a clause, which some of our ministers use in their prayers, "to thank God for his servants deceased;" which, in my opinion, is very improper for those who own we ought not to pray to or for the dead, the gospel and God's other mercies is what we ought to thank God for: And though a minister may make mention of those faithful servants of his remembered in his word, and exhort us to follow their example, and divine rules they were acted by, the faith of Abraham, the patience of Job, the repentance of Peter; yet the case is different when he is in prayer, for then he is the mouth of the people to God: In that condition of supplicants, no human rule or example is to be mentioned to God, especially now when so gross an abuse about it is committed by papists, whereof we ought to avoid the very appearance.

The dangers of bringing such things into the church is very great, though at first not perceptible; sometimes great evils had but small beginnings; the devil is so subtle and cunning, that he engages men but by degrees; and naturally there is in men a propensity to idolatry and superstition, which he improves too much to our ruin; wherefore it concerns us the more to stand upon our guards; for if a thing be good in its nature, he can turn it to evil; as in the case of the brazen serpent, which by God's command was erected (*i*) in the wilderness, and attended with miraculous effects on those who looked upon it: Yet the devil turned the hearts of the people to commit idolatry about it; (*k*) much more will he turn to evil that which is indifferent, and sometimes evil, by reason of some circumstances, which is the least that must be granted in the case of the thirtieth of January. To keep a set day once every year in remembrance of the acting or sufferings of a dead man, is a custom derived from heathens, followed by papists, for whom we must not do as Peter did for the Jews, when with his compliance and dissimulation he confirmed them in that error and obstinacy; and for this reason chiefly St Paul (*l*) "withstood him to the face." Now the keeping of such a day cannot be denied to be an honour to the man in whose remembrance it is kept; and this honour being rendered in the church, with reading a service on the occasion, makes it a kind of religious worship, which is to be rendered to God alone, and to no creature whatsoever. What we say against popish feasts may in part be said against this; we condemn them because they are upon set and certain times always the same, which is only to be upon extraordinary causes and occasions. Sure I am omitting such keeping of days can do no harm; but, through some accident or circumstance, the observing the same may happen to do hurt. Now is it not best to take the surest? And it is Christian prudence to avoid all unnecessary dangers: And I think this is to speak of the thing as favourably as may be.

(*h*) Exod. xxiii.

(*i*) Numb. xxi. 9.

(*k*) 2 Kings xviii. 4.

(*l*) Gal. ii. 11.

Under the law, one who had touched a dead body was unclean;(*m*) and, before he had been purified, might not come to the tabernacle of the Lord, for thus he would have defiled it; and that soul that did so "was to be cut off." God thereby signifying, how holiness and purity required in those that come into his house doth partly consist in being free from the stains and corruption of our dead and stinking nature: God is the living God, the God of the living; the quick, and not the dead, he will have to come near him; quickness he loves, but deadness he abhorreth: He hath forbidden to bring him the lame and the blind, much more the dead: Nay, he will not endure a mixture in things of a much less concernment than is his service. Thus he saith, (*n*) "Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind: Thou shalt not sow thy field with a mingled seed: Neither shall a garment mingled of linen and woollen come upon thee." Much more is the Lord against mingling and trimming dead with quick in his worship: When Christians come to church, they must not touch, meddle, or defile themselves, their thoughts or hearts, with any dead corpse, for God doth abhor it:(*o*) This with Nadab and Abihu, is to bring in a strange fire; and as their sin is well known, so is their punishment: "The tabernacle was without the camp, afar off from the camp"(*p*) So when we go to the house of God, we must leave the world behind us, let the dead bury their dead, wean our thoughts from the creature, and disengage our souls from thinking upon it; we go to serve God alone, and him alone we ought to look upon, mention, and remember.

It is ill done to bring such things into the church to mix them with God's worship, and so make them part of it: It is ill done to alter the nature of things indifferent, to press them as necessary, and to deprive believers of their Christian liberty: No other worship is lawful, but that whereof God is the author. "In all things I have said unto you, be circumspect;(*q*) see thou make every thing," said God to Moses, (*r*) "according to the pattern shewed thee on the Mount;" (*s*) which was effected, no addition, no diminution, no alteration, under any pretence whatever, not so much as a pin, or the least thing in the tabernacle, but what was of God's special appointment; for none but God himself, except it be revealed in his word, knows what is acceptable to him; None but God can give the worship, the virtue, whereby it becomes effectual and profitable to us. We do not read that God ever gave any one power, wholly, or in part, to institute a worship according to his mind and fancy; on the contrary, he doth fulminate against will-worship; under the gospel it is allowed less than ever, for the gospel is not a ceremonial law: Some, to excuse their additions, use an idle distinction of corrupting and preserving the last, say they, is not forbidden, only the first: But every addition, as well as detraction, is expressly opposed to the observation of God's precepts, as a corruption of them. Of the like nature is that evasion of theirs, when they say, an addition of essentials, but not of accidentals, is forbidden. But though there be some accidents and circumstances belonging to the worship, as times, places, persons, yet no worship may be called accidental, because it hath in itself the very essence of worship. Then as the least commandments of God are religiously to be observed, "to a very jot or tittle,"(*t*) so by the same reason the least additions ought to be rejected. Furthermore, Moses (*u*) with the same caution of not adding to or taking from, sealed those laws relating to the place and manner of worship, of abstaining from blood and the like, which belonged to the accidental service (if we may so call it), which was to last but for a time: And the observation of this is, for a special reason, called obedience; because we do thereby that which seems right in God's sight,

(*m*) Numb. xix. 11, 12, 13, &c.

(*n*) Lev. xix. 19.

(*o*) Levit. x. 1, 2, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 32.

(*p*) Exod. xxxiii. 7.

(*q*) Exod. xxiii. 13.

(*r*) Heb. viii. 5.

(*s*) Exod. xxxix. 43. and chap. xl. 16.

(*t*) Mat. v. 18, 19.

(*u*) Deut. xii. 25, 28.

though some other things may seem to be more right in our eyes: (x) To this lawful worship is opposed the unlawful and voluntary one, otherwise called "will-worship," which is of a man's invention or tradition. The sin committed in this will-worship is commonly called superstition, when we render God an unlawful service; for in case of superstition God is always the object, but the worship is unlawful. Thus superstition is an excess in religion; not in order to the formal virtue of religion; for thus no man can be too religious, but in order to the outward acts and means of religion. Thus in relation to the worship of God we ought not to mind human traditions, but only the word of God, wherein the Lord hath prescribed us rules to know and worship him.

What we said before about the tabernacle, may now be observed concerning the altar; God takes care to declare how he would have it to be; either "of earth, or of stone, but not out of hewn stone;" (y) the reason is given, "for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hath polluted it." Man's wits and inventions do defile the worship of God, he will admit of no such things as human workmanship; wherefore he forbids it a second time, when he saith, "thou shalt build unto the Lord thy God an altar of stones, of whole stones," (z) as it is expressed in the next verse, "Thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them." Indeed we must take notice of the extraordinary care God had to regulate even to the least ceremonies, that in the acts of religion nothing might be left undetermined, and nothing wanting to take away all pretences of men for meddling in it. As to the worship of God, men sin in the object and manner of it: The first commandment is the rule for the one, and the second for the other: (a) Ahab sinned against the first, he worshipped false gods: Jeroboam worshipped the true God, but in a false manner; for which both their names became abominable: Evil kings that came after them, were branded for walking after the sins of Ahab, or after the sins of Jeroboam; (b) as odious for worshipping in a false way, as Ahab for serving false gods: Hear what scripture saith of him, for altering the circumstances of place and time, Bethel and Dan, he remembered still the deliverance out of Egypt, "Behold thy God that brought thee out of the land of Egypt:" But he changed the time, "the first day of the eighth month, even in the month which he had devised of his own heart." Mark how heinously God takes that change; surely this should be awakening to all that bring into the worship "the devices of their own heart."

Ecclesiastical laws and ordinances ought to aim at edification, and to a profitable declaration and use of the main revealed in scripture; the yoke and burden of too numerous constitutions must be avoided in the church, likewise the tyranny in strictly pressing the observation thereof as things necessary, and the obstinate continuation of those injunctions, which time and experience made appear unprofitable or hurtful; it is unjust for such ceremonies to make Christian liberty to suffer any prejudice, though they had been instituted upon good grounds, and have been of good use; yet having by papists been abused to superstition, they ought to be abolished. This is the sense of true Christians, who are acted by a spirit of meekness and charity; but unhappily, some men are so fond of preserving their legislative authority, that they would prefer the loss of one hundred thousand souls to the abrogation of an old superstition. This is properly the spirit whereby the church of Rome is acted; and it is to be wished there was not so much of it amongst us. Indeed, the will of God ought to be the rule of every man's will, for it is the ground and spring of all reason and justice. But it is very unreasonable for any man or men, especially in things relating to conscience, to lay down his own, or their own will, which is so fallible, to be a rule for the will of other men, and, as it were, to force it upon others; because a man differs from me, I must make him say as I say, and do as I do, or else cut his throat; as well as if I should fall out with one because his shape, stature, and features are not altogether like mine. We know in the primitive church they sometimes had different rites and ceremonies, for which no violence or compulsion was offered by one to another; the church must not force or impose a necessity; the officers of it in indifferent things have no such right, but to guide and direct "not by constraint, but willingly," (c) saith Peter in another sense.

(x) Mat. xv. 9. and Col. ii. 23.

(y) Exod. xx. 24, 25.

(z) Deut. xxvii. 5, 6.

(a) 1 Kings xvi. 32. 1 Kings xii. 28, 29.

(b) 1 Kings xii. 32, 33.

As about indifferent things there is danger of superstition, so a liberty to do, or not to do, ought to be allowed; or else that liberty is taken away when the observation is imposed by any human power: This obliges the body, and the body goes not alone; so the mind not being content with what the body goes about, conscience is not at rest. Hence arise scruples, which become endless; such are "eating some kind of meats, keeping of an holiday;"(d) which is our first question, "using in the church some sorts of habit:"(e) He that regards a day, doth, or ought to keep it to the Lord. Yet in things indifferent, we must have "regard to our brethren;"(f) and have a care "that no man put a stumbling block, or occasion to fall in his brother's way:"(g) If this had been well thought upon, so many stumbling blocks and snares in indifferent things had not been laid in the way of others, the more because the apostle saith in the same chapter, and last verse, "whatsoever is not of faith is sin;" if any one doth such things, and is not fully persuaded, then he doubts, "so he is damned." These very things are of a greater consequence than some imagine; for when once the conscience is fallen into the snare, she enters into a labyrinth, whence the coming out is very difficult, as I could instance in some things; new doubts, scruples, and difficulties at the heels one of another: Upon trifles sometimes great debates arise, whether or not God will have us to use this or that? The conscience becomes uneasy under the yoke, and, growing restless, it runs sometimes into confusion or despair; so that, in few words, this is without necessity, and out of wilfulness and uncharitableness, to lay the stumbling block before weak and tender consciences; God sometimes suffering the devil with his suggestions to step in, and their natural corruptions to work, our Saviour pronounceth a "woe" to those who do so.(h) This may be said of ceremonies in general; for if St Peter calls those which had been instituted by God's own command and appointment "a yoke which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear; (i) and that imposing it upon the neck of the disciples was tempting of God," in a time when the Christian church was but newly born; and that the Jews thereto used were to be converted: It seems it had raised difficulties to their conversion, and not been proper to change all at once, but by degrees, what shall we say now who live so long after under the gospel, a covenant of liberty, after the light of it hath so clearly shined, and we have declared against, and left off several of them, to see any ceremonies imposed upon us, though never so few, for that is imposed which is enjoined by civil or ecclesiastical laws, under penalties; which yet we all agree do not *per se*, and in their nature, bind conscience: Hereby many pious and learned men are kept out, and the church deprived of their labours, the hearts and prayers of God's people divided, and in the bottom upon no other ground than *sic volo, sic jubeo*, such is our pleasure. At first God winked at such things, but now those old things are, or ought "to be done away."(k)

Amongst the reasons we have in print before the Common prayer Book about ceremonies, why some are abolished, and others not? this is given for one, "the gospel of Christ is not a ceremonial law." What is said there of many, we here say of any; so that as it is confessed there ought not to be many, we say there ought not to be any; we know some of our first reformers were against them; and if those that were for them had known the ill consequences of imposing those ceremonies, they had not wanted charity or moderation, as too many have of late; the dispute is not about the number, but about the nature of them, even as we see in our civil government. Is it not true, that one who would go about to raise a penny without act of parliament is as much a breaker of the law as if he went about to raise a pound? So is he guilty of encroaching upon Christian liberty, who imposes one ceremony, as if he imposed an hundred; for as he may not impose many, so he may not impose any: And suppose the things imposed were lawful, (which is not granted) yet every Christian must have respect, whether the things he useth or doth be profitable, and will do him good, as well as to that, whether or not it be lawful? Though Paul had circumcised Timothy, yet seeing an abuse crept in, he would not circumcise Titus, and giveth a good reason for it; "Because of false brethren unawares brought in to espy out our liberty, which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage."(*l*) So that this very ceremony and sacrament of the law circumcision he looked upon as a bondage.

(c) 1 Pet. v. 2.
(d) Colos. ii. 16.
(e) Rom. xiv. 6.
(f) 1 Cor. x. 24.
(g) Rom. xiv. 13, 23.
(h) Luke xvii. 1.
(i) Acts xv. 10.
(k) 2 Cor. v. 7.

"Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free(*m*), and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." This by way of consequence he infers out of what he said in the foregoing chapter, which is expressed by the word therefore; this he strengthens with a reason in the 13th verse, "for, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty, only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh;" for a cloak to licentiousness. Our Christian liberty we are to defend against those who lay snares for it; so we must not part with it, especially when doing it confirms people in their superstition and error: Men in authority may not command but what is good, nor forbid but that which is evil; and what is indifferent may not absolutely and for ever be commanded or forbidden, only as much it draws towards good or evil.

Among the several places of scripture wherein St Paul gives a caution about our Christian liberty, not to be imposed upon by others, none is more conspicuous than the epistle to the Colossians; he warneth us to take heed lest any man (*n*) "spoil us through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." What these vain deceits, traditions of men, rudiments of the world are, he saith, verse 16, "Meat or drink, respect of an holiday, or of the new moon in a voluntary humility, worshipping of angels;" &c. Wherefore, "if ye be dead with Christ (as we are) from the rudiments of the world, why, though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, touch not, handle not, taste not? which are all to perish with the using, after the doctrines of men," &c. After this clear truth, it is to be admired how the following expressions can drop from any man's pen. (*o*) "No ceremony, no religion." It must be a mere shadow of religion whereof ceremonies are soul and life, and the quintessence of it. This is an accident, not a substance; a name, not a power of religion. Would to God there were so many amongst us of that religion, who ought to know better; then we could hope things would go better than they do.

Was there not superstition from the beginning of Christian religion? Would not some have had the ceremonies of Moses's law, concerning meats, keeping of days, &c. even of circumcision, to be continued, as appeareth, Acts xv. St Paul was taken up about rectifying those abuses, as we see in his epistles to the Galatians, Colossians, and elsewhere. Those that are for our ceremonies, do, or must own, how they who were for keeping up the popish ceremonies, remaining among us, were in the wrong: To say, because ceremonies are settled by law, they may not be removed or altered, is to afford papists an argument to hinder a reformation amongst them; and, by the same reason, they might have stopped the work of reformation when it began. The authority God

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(*l*) Gal. ii. 4.

(*m*) Ib. v. 1, 13.

(*n*) Colos. ii. 8, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23.

(*o*) *Sine Ceremonii, actum est de Religione.*

hath given the church is not for destruction, but for edification; it is abused when otherwise. St Paul had as much authority as our ecclesiastical law-givers; he saith, (*p*) " For though I should boast somewhat more of our authority, which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for our destruction, I should not be ashamed." And he plainly declareth, " Nor for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy." Now to go about to force people under penalties to say as they say, to do as they do, and to believe as they believe, that the ceremonies are good, which we look upon to be unlawful, is not this to pretend to have dominion over our faith? The same apostle saith, to give offences, and lay a stumbling-block before them that are weak, (such let them account us to be,) is to sin against the brethren: But, saith he, (*q*) " When ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their conscience, ye sin against Christ." And suppose such things as are imposed were lawful, " yet all things that are so are not expedient:" he looks to the edifying; (*r*) he will not use things lawful to him, because they edify not: And in the use of such things, he will have men not to do any thing to offend, yet to follow the dictates of one's conscience: " Conscience, I say not their own but of the others; for why is any liberty judged by another's conscience?" Men must not presume to destroy Christian liberty; (*s*) " and where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." As St Paul would not make use of authority, so neither would St Peter; Christ had certainly given him authority too; but he doth not impose any thing upon, or command others, but only exhorteth: (*t*) " The elders which are amongst you I exhort, who am also an elder," to pronounce anathema and curses upon those who will not believe and do so; and so is a character of Antichrist, which ought not to be imitated: Though heretofore poor dissenters were not cursed, but with several penalties plagued. Indeed ministers, being deprived of the exercise of their pastoral office, and the people of the fruit and benefit of their labours, instead of keeping up authority, or stretching it as they do, and stand too much upon it, with Paul they should be chiefly for edifying, which he so much presseth in Rom. xiv. 19, and 1 Cor. xiv. 12.'

Though they should not strike at religion, or take away Christian liberty, yet, at last, it might prove a snare (which St Paul avoids to cast upon the Corinthians) to the weak and ignorant, who form such notions in their heads as may happen to degenerate into idolatry and superstition. Wherefore let us cast off these dregs of popery, these relicks of superstition, and tend to a perfection; study after soundness and purity in doctrine, simplicity in worship, and holiness of life and conversation, of which last we have excellent rules, 2 Cor. vii. 1, Ephes. v. 3, 4, 5, Coloss. iii. 8, 9, and chap. iv. 6; take the pains to read the words, and you will find most of the epidemical sins of the times. And though there be a great difference of what now wants reformation to what it was when we reformed from popery, it will be found there is still great need of it. At that time the great mountains of errors in doctrine were thrown down: let us now level the hills that remained in worship, or are grown again, or come in since in doctrine.

No man is to be blamed to desire to see a warrant in the word for whatsoever he doth as a worship of God, or for being afraid to do that which he can see no warrant for in the word of God; in nothing are we so precisely tied to the direction of God's word, as in the matter of his worship: The charge that is given us, (*u*) " What things soever I command you, observe to do it; thou shalt not add thereunto, nor diminish from it." That is, neither more nor less, than I commanded you. That charge, I say, concerneth chiefly the matters of God's worship; and how highly this pleaseth God, when we do nothing to worship him by but that only he hath given us directions for in his word,

(*p*) 2 Cor. viii. 10. c. i. 24. c. xiii. 10.
(*q*) 1 Ib. viii. 12.
(*r*) 1 Ib. x. 23, 29.
(*s*) 2 Cor. iii. 17.
(*t*) 1 Pet. v. 1.
(*u*) Deut. xii. 32.

is evident by reason of the second commandment, where the Lord calls them that will observe that commandment, and worship him only according to his own directions, and not after the will and inventions of men, which is indeed the whole required in that precept, he calls "them that love him," and promiseth "to shew mercy unto them,"(*x*) even unto the "thousand generation." And, on the other side, he calls the transgressors of that commandment, such as doat on will-worship, and on that service done unto him according to the inventions of men, he calls them "such as hate him," and threatens to visit that sin of the father upon the children to the third and fourth generations.

I know it is usual with some to traduce and asperse those, who, upon this account, make conscience of their ways. On this manner, it is true, say they, every man makes conscience of the thing he thinks to be amiss: But this is their hypocrisy, that they make more sins than God hath made; they must be so precise and scrupulous in things indifferent and lawful, in such things as godlier and wiser men than they make no scruple at all. This judging and condemning by their example, the practice of other men, is the thing that proves them to be hypocrites, and makes them odious to all men.

To this I have these things to answer: First, the things they are scrupulous in, and which they dare not do, may, in their nature, not be indifferent, but sinful, and well known unto them to be so; though both thyself and others, no whit inferior to them, but far beyond them in knowledge and grace, do think otherwise of them. There may be difference in judgment, even between godly and good men; and one may see that to be a sin which another, as good as he, cannot be persuaded to be so. St Paul, and those that joined with him, (*y*) knew it was an unlawful and sinful thing to withdraw and separate themselves from eating and conversing with the believing Gentiles, in the presence of the Jews, for fear of offending them; though neither Peter nor Barnabas (men no whit inferior to them in grace and knowledge) could discern it to be so. Christians must not judge nor condemn one another to be hypocrites for their difference in judgment in those smaller matters: "Who art thou,"(*z*) saith the apostle, "that judgeth another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth." Secondly, it may well be that some, even good men, are (through want of knowledge and weakness of judgment) righteous over much, and make scruple of those things which no law of God bindeth them to make scruple of; else Solomon would never have said, "be not righteous over-much, neither make thyself over-wise."(*a*) Such an one was he of whom the apostle spoke, "another that is weak eats herbs."(*b*) As if he should say, it was his ignorance and weakness of judgment that made him so scrupulous and fearful to eat any thing, which, by the ceremonial law, (now abrogated,) had been forbidden. But no man must be despised or judged to be an hypocrite because of this, for that's directly against the apostle's rule, "Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not."(*c*) Thirdly, there is no just cause why we should judge or think the worse one of another, either for using or not using our liberty in this case; because the thing that is in its own nature lawful, and also lawfully used by one man, it may be, in another man, a damnable sin to do it; and that upon these two grounds: First, because one is persuaded of the lawfulness of it, which the other is not, but doubteth it to be a sin:—"I know and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus," saith St Paul, "that there is nothing unclean of itself; but to him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean."(*d*) What, will you say, can the opinion of one man make any thing clean or unclean, lawful or unlawful? No, not in its own nature, but to himself it may; for a man to do a thing that he doubts to be unlawful, is a damnable thing: "He that

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(*x*) Exod. xx. 5, 6.

(*y*) Gal. ii. 12, 13.

(*z*) Rom. xiv. 4.

(*a*) Eccles. vii. 1.

(*b*) Rom. xiv. 2

(*c*) Ib. xiv. 3.

(*d*) Ib. xiv. 14.

doubteth,"(*e*) saith the apostle, "is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith: For whatsoever is not of faith is sin." The conscience of man, though it be deceived and erroneous, yet hath a binding power; and it is a matter of great danger for any one to go against it; all men must seek to inform their consciences aright by the word of God, which is the only true rule to guide our conscience by: "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind"(*f*) But though it be a sin for a man not to seek to have his conscience rightly informed by the word of God, yet in him it is a double sin to do any thing against his conscience. If, therefore, thou seest a man who is otherwise conscionable in all his ways, fearful to do that which thou knowest, and artfully persuaded he may lawfully and ought to do, pity him, inform him, instruct him, and with arguments, and in a meek way, labour to bring him out of his errors; but scorn, hurt, and condemn him not. The second ground is, the one is able to use and do lawfully the thing he knows to be lawful, and take no hurt by it; the other, though he knows the thing to be lawful, through his weakness, findeth he is not able to use it, but shall receive hurt by it: "All things,"(*g*) saith St Paul, "are lawful for me; but I will not be brought under the power of any." And certainly this is the thing that restraineth many a good man from the use of several recreations, which he doth not doubt to be lawful in themselves, because he finds his own weakness to be such as he cannot use them without receiving much hurt thereby; and this should restrain many more from them if they had care of their own souls as they ought to have.

This tenderness of conscience, which some sort of people want, they condemn it in those who have it, and call it trifles, peevishness, and niceties; but if they be grounded in the word, they are truths of God, though some truths be comparatively greater than others, as our Saviour saith; yet is not any truth of God to be accounted small, of little or no moment, even of those points of the law which he calls but gnats in comparison of others.(*h*) Our Saviour saith, (*i*) "these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone:" They are all great things that God hath written and revealed in his holy word; all the truths uttered by the apostles on the day of Pentecost are called the great things, or the "wonderful works of God;"(*k*) yea, the least truth of God that he hath revealed in his holy word is to be esteemed of greater moment than heaven and earth: "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than that one tittle of the law should fail."(*l*) It is every one's duty to seek after the truth, and to stick to, and not depart from it when it is found: He who, like "David,(*m*) doth not hate every false way," every error in matters of religion, errors about the smallest as well as the greatest thing, and doth not value that which God hath taught in his word, he hath not that esteem of God's word as he ought to have.

As a man can make himself abominable to God with the least sin, such as eating the least forbidden thing, as "a creeping thing,"(*n*) as it was under the law, so a man doth by willingly receiving the least error, or willingly forsaking the least known truth. See how earnest the apostle is in dissuading from receiving an error, which of all errors they should receive seemed the least dangerous, as about the "day of Christ's being at hand."(*o*) To receive any thing as divine truth which God hath not taught us, though it carries never so good a shew of piety and devotion, is certainly a very dangerous thing, else the apostle would not have been in this case so earnest as he is, in that instanced already out of the second of Galatians, about eating and drinking with Gentiles, we see how steady is St Paul, that "he would give no place by subjection, no not for an hour," ver. 5. If some politicians had then been to confer with

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(*e*) Rom. xiv. 23.
(*f*) Rom. xiv. 5.
(*g*) 1 Cor. vi. 12.
(*h*) Mat. xxiii. 24.
(*i*) Mat. xxiii. 23.
(*k*) Acts ii. 11.
(*l*) Luke xvi. 17.
(*m*) Psalm cxix. 128.
(*n*) Levit. xi. 43.
(*o*) 2 Thess. ii. 1, 2, 3.

him, they would have said, Alas! Paul, why art thou so obstinate and peevish in such a trifle! "circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, as thou hath taught."(*p*) But he gives this reason why he was so resolute in opposing an error of that nature, "That the truth of the gospel might continue with you."

These things being thus made out, is it not a sad thing, that we have amongst us men that were, and now, if they could, would as much as ever, be pressing for the execution of those laws, whereby they may trouble any of their brethren: And as David saith, (*q*) "They devise deceitful matters against them that are quiet in the land:" They are glad when they have the least colour of law to justify any of their unwarrantable practices against those who dissent from them; but they do not regard good laws for the glory of God, as those we have for the due observation of the sabbath, and against swearing, drunkenness, and uncleanness, &c.; these they look upon as not worth being taken notice of by them. That sort of men, far from advising and promoting a necessary reformation of abuses in religion, according to the word of God (the only rule for such things) though it was their duty, they hindered and opposed it, and persecuted them that were for it, slandering them with the names of fanatics, schismatics, obstinate, factious. And not satisfied with this merely for non-conformity, which is properly upon the account of conscience and religion, they deprived ministers not only of the public exercise of their office, but also of doing it in private, as in the capacity of chaplains, schoolmasters, tutors; and when they met in private to serve God, though they prayed for the government, they were fined, turned into prison, where some died; and many more things of that nature were acted, whilst papists, our common enemies, who by these means were since in a fair way to have ruined us all, enjoyed peace, and might hear mass without disturbance, except sometimes for a shew.

I am not so much out of charity with all those who had an hand in the persecution at that time carried on, as to believe, but that some were not so acted by an inconsiderate zeal, but that they knew better than they seemed to do; it did not consist with the lights they had to approve of every thing they did or saw done; the former principles of some of them were too much contrary to their then present practices, but that sometimes they must needs have had checks of conscience: And now there are some alive who once were against offering violence about matters of ceremonies, who, if God had not by an act of indulgence and liberty provided against it, now they are upon the stage of another side, would be as forward as most to renew and prosecute former courses. So far doth interest sway with some men, when over-ruled by it, they know better what they do or would do. What else is this than, to speak in St Paul's words, "To hold the truth of God in unrighteousness?"(*r*)

All such persecuting men I may compare to some, who, being upon a journey, instead of mending and going on their way, fall out with, beat, and abuse their fellow-travellers in words and deeds; and though I love not to renew the memory of these sad divisions and miscarriages, yet they cannot so soon be out of mind. We meet from brethren with the like usage as the children of Israel did from Pharaoh, "Ye are idle, ye are idle, therefore ye say let us go and do sacrifice to the Lord:"(*s*) Ye talk of reformation, go and conform, not to the gospel, but to the canon and ceremonies of the church, as by law established: How have they who spoke for it been traduced as innovators, disturbers of, and enemies to church and state. Such was the lot of the first reformers from popery; there hath been, and there still are those who hate the very name of reformation; it hath commonly been the custom of the enemies of God's people, to pick out a ground of quarrel, and to engage the superior powers against them;

(*p*) 1 Cor. vii. 19.
(*q*) Psalm xxxv. 20.
(*r*) Rom. i. 18.
(*s*) Exod. v. 17.

the occasion is, either religion, or state, or both. The prophet Elijah (*t*) is by Ahab called "he that troubleth Israel," and his enemy; "Hath thou found me, O mine enemy,"(*u*) that is, to kings: In the case of Daniel, (*x*) "We shall find no occasion against this Daniel, except we find it against him concerning the law of his God," said the princes of Media; and then caused the king to make this decree mentioned in the place. (*y*) Thus sometimes "mischief is framed by a law:" Wicked men and persecutors do prosecute their designs under notions different from the truth: Thus the Jews not only called our blessed Saviour a "friend to sinners, a Samaritan who had a devil," but also accused him before Pilate, (*z*) of "having by them been found a fellow perverting the nation, forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, and calling himself a king." And he was crucified not as the son of God, but as an enemy to Cæsar, and "as a malefactor;"(*a*) St Paul was prosecuted not as a man who had "lived (*b*) in all good conscience before God until the day he was brought before the council;"(*c*) and not "as touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless,"(*d*) but as one who "taught all men every where against the people, against the law," and the temple; and as a "pestilent fellow, a mover of sedition amongst all the Jews throughout the world;" (*e*) one who had "prophaned the temple:" An odious charge indeed, but false as that of heresy, which he clears himself from.

Such false aspersions and evil practices should be left for the father of lies, the slanderer, and for his children; but let those who profess themselves Christians study to be such indeed, and put on bowels of charity, laying aside all malice, anger, divisions, which so much discredit our holy religion, and give our adversaries very great advantage. In God's name, and for the sake of the Lord Jesus, let all former animosities and miscarriages be forgotten and forgiven, and let men put to themselves this question, "What fruit had ye then in those things, whereof ye are now, or ought to be, ashamed?"(*f*) and let all and every one in their station join hearts and hands to carry on a thorough reformation where it is wanting; and therein let the word of God be our rule, "nothing of human invention, wilfulness, passion," prejudice or self-ends, in the carrying it on.

To lay such a stress upon their "as by law established," is no great commendation for a church and the religion it doth profess; it is not good to stand too much upon it; the stamp of any human laws makes it never the better. Christian religion was not a jot the worse for not being by law established in the apostles' time, nor afterwards in the time of persecution under the Roman emperors; neither was the heathenish religion, or rather idolatry, the better, for being then by law established: Neither is the protestant religion the worse in those popish countries where it is not settled by law; nor the popish the better for being so settled. This argument used here against dissenters is the same as was by papists at the beginning of reformation, and by Jews against primitive Christians. It is not any human authority that can make any religion either better or worse; and dissenters may not be called upstarts or innovators, for from the very beginning of reformation we found those who wished for a thorough reformation in worship, as well as doctrine, according to the purity of the gospel, whence they were called puritans, and declared against retaining any of those ceremonies, which ever since were the occasion of dispute and division. I hope here we do not set up for a catholic infallible church, and that the words "church as by law established," are not an equivalent to it; such a doctrine is proper for a church of Rome,

(*t*) 1 Kings xviii. 17.
(*u*) Chap. xxi. 20.
(*x*) Dan. vi. 5. 7.
(*y*) Psalm xciv. 20.
(*z*) Luke xxiii. 2.
(*a*) John xvii. 20.
(*b*) Acts xxiii. 1.
(*c*) Phil. iii. 6.
(*d*) Acts xxi. 28.
(*e*) Acts xxiv. 5, 6, 14.
(*f*) Rom. vi. 21.

but not any reformed church. We know this was the exception against St Paul, "This fellow persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law :" (*g*) Yet the apostle was in the right, and they in the wrong, as well as those others who called him and Silas disturbers of the public peace ; "Those who have turned the world upside down come hither also."(*h*)

Our reformation at first was good ; but in this world nothing so good but it may admit of some additional degree of goodness and perfection ; commonly the best things do not come all at once, but by degrees. As to our reformation, we may say as Jehoshaphat, "He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord : (*i*) Howbeit the high places were not taken away, for the people had not yet prepared their hearts unto the god of their fathers." Still something was wanting, which was supplied by Hezekiah, for then the "high places were thrown down."(*k*) The like brand was by the spirit of God put upon Jehoshaphat's fathers reign, king Asa, who did many good things ; and "his heart was perfect all his days, but the high places were not taken away :"(*l*) We ought at last to throw them down, we are *seriously* and earnestly exhorted to remove that idol of jealousy set up in the house of God, I mean particularly bringing a dead man into the church upon the thirtieth of January. We know "Michael the archangel contended with the devil about the body of Moses,"(*m*) which we would have set up to be worshipped, to have been an occasion of idolatry before the people, which men, especially the ignorant, are naturally inclined to. We must spiritualize things of religion and of worship ; let that saying of St Paul be seriously considered and thought upon, "Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh ; (*n*) yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more ;" that he is in that manner after the flesh.

Many of the ceremonies imposed upon the Jews, were, as we may say, a punishment inflicted upon them, for it was only after the commission of the sin of the golden calf, that God laid upon them that heavy and troublesome yoke. To employ all their time thus, it seemeth not to have been at first God's intention, to lay upon them such a number of ceremonies ; and the disputes that in the apostles time did arise about them, were all about Jewish ceremonies, which had been of divine institution ; but those we contend against, have no such thing to plead for, they are all human inventions, abominably abused by papists, and some heathenish customs we still retain amongst us, which were better left off than continued : As for us in general, we ought to purge that old leven of unnecessary ceremonies, a relic of popery, which some of our ancient reformers wished had been laid aside, as appears by letters to Bullinger, still to be seen at Zurick, from Bishop Jewell, and others. But the queen was, upon suggestion, so bent upon retaining some, to draw papists to our churches, that it could not be effected ; so that it was but a mixed reformation, part evangelical in doctrine, and in part politic in worship and discipline. And that same policy which was intended to bring papists to us, hath been very near drawing us back to popery. So little pleased is God, that in matters of religion, and of his service, we should bring rules and measures of our human wisdom, or rather foolishness : Yet several amongst us, the more the pity, are gone back so far towards popery, that they hate not only the thing, but the very name of reformation, as I said before ; and no thorough-paced papist can speak worse of Luther, Zwinglius, Calvin, Martyr, Bucer, Beza, and others, than they do ; though they were eminent instruments in the hands of God, whose labours he blessed, to bring us out of the ignorance, error, darkness, idolatry and superstition of Rome. Nay, we shall have those protestants, or so called, and not few, who openly

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(*g*) Acts xviii. 13.

(*h*) Acts xvii. 6.

(*i*) 2 Chron. xx. 32, 33.

(*k*) 2 Chron. xxxi. 1.

(*l*) 2 Chron. xv. 16, 17.

(*m*) Jude 9.

(*n*) 2 Cor. v. 16.

declare, they had rather join with popery, than with any other reformed church, besides ours, as by law established. But certainly they who talk on at that rate, do not know what popery is, and what other reformed churches are, or else all religions are indifferent to them. Some of our clergy have been heard to express themselves to be of that mind; but it is no wonder, they are so well inclined towards Rome, for being acted by an ambitious and domineering spirit, that religion suits better with it, it tying people to an implicit faith, and blind obedience, gives them a full and absolute power over the souls and consciences of men. But let them not be mistaken, who not being content with a ministerial are aspiring to a magisterial power; God made the whole man, and the whole man he will have: have a care not to usurp upon God's right: and to apply this to the subject in hand, as there is a two-fold worship of God, so there is a double idolatry and superstition committed against it, the one inward, when we forge in our heads strange and corrupt notions of God, such as we would have him to be: The outward is, not only when we transfer the outward worship upon the creature, but also when we defile it with our lies and inventions; both are evil, both are to be avoided and extirpated out of any place they are crept into: God complains, "Their fear towards me is taught by the precepts of men. (*o*) And in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men." (*p*)

We say, we have given the church of Rome a bill of divorce, and have broken all communication with her, since our laws make it treason to be reconciled to her: We ought then to leave off any thing that can lead us back that way; we know idolatry and superstition we charge them with, and this they are guilty of in their exorbitant honours they give to creatures, especially dead men, who are their saints and martyrs, at least they make them so, and we with making saints and martyrs, and appointing them days and service to be read, do not we go to them, at least just upon their borders? Let us not deceive ourselves; it is not enough to cut off the blossoms, fruits, and boughs, unless we also cut off the roots, for they will bud and grow again, and the sooner done the better. If our reformation had been altogether according to the rules of the gospel, and nothing of human policy mixed with it, it had gone farther and lasted longer; we would not have seen new imposthumes of the old stock breaking out; no dignity or brightness of any creature ought upon such an occasion to dazzle our eyes: Herein no kings, no fathers, no councils, no bishops must have the pre-eminence, that is, the prerogative of holy scriptures: The word of God is the infallible rule to go by, and good kings, as Asa, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, raised of God to reform, ever began their reigns with reformation of abuses in religion. This was to answer the end wherefore God had set them upon the throne; and it is to be hoped their present majesties will remember, in due time, by a reformation, to promote the honour and service of the great God, by whom kings reign, "who pulleth down one and setteth up another. (*q*) Many a good soul hath for these several years been wishing for it, for the glory of God, the good of his church, happiness of the nation; and only according to the rule of his holy word. Now to effect it, all that man can say is in vain, except God be pleased to influence upon the minds and hearts of men in power to do it. Now, as he did upon the good kings but newly mentioned, we hope our new worthy prelates will lay it to heart, and in their station promote it.

Let this longed-for reformation be about doctrine, where it needs in worship and practice; let it begin at the house of God; let us have good examples out of it; "Let his priests be clothed with righteousness;" (*r*) let the governors and all the people follow and reform in life and conversation; and "Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." (*s*) After this there will be good ground to hope for a

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(*o*) Isa. xxix. 13.

(*p*) Mat. xv. 9.

(*q*) Psalm lxxv. 7.

(*r*) Psalm cxxxii. 9.

(*s*) 2 Tim. ii. 19.

good success in war; and we shall be a nation in whom God will delight, when we are purged of our dross; then there will be peace and plenty within, honour and safety round about, and God will humble our enemies abroad.

To bring this good work to an happy end, prejudices about controverted matters must be laid aside, stumbling-blocks removed, the veil rent, the partition wall pulled down, that we may go altogether into the house of God, join in his worship, and make but one sheep-fold. And let this be taken notice of; that amongst the dissenters from the church, who own and have a ministry by way of office, who administer both sacraments, and are for order and government in the church, there is nothing whereby those who are called church-men may justly be offended: But in the church by law established, there are several things which dissenters think they have cause to except against. So that the ground of church-men disliking non-conformity is negative, that is, they have not and do not act that which they would have them to do and have: But the ground of dissenters not liking church-men's practice is positive, that is, they do and have things which they think they ought not to do nor to have. *And this is* the state of the question between protestants and papists, for these do believe all we do believe, but we do not believe all what they believe.

I shall not say much about the matters in dispute, so many things having already been said and written about it; only shall in few words modestly lay down some reasonable grounds of an agreement and union. First, As to the common-prayer book under two notions: First, As to the matter of it: Secondly, As to the manner of using it. As to the matter, out of it a good liturgy could be made, taking away many superfluous repetitions, and altering several expressions, dubious, dangerous, or otherwise liable to just exceptions: There is some gold, I mean good things, but they must own there is also dross, which ought to be purged. What these things are hath been said and named at many several times, though we have some amongst us, who, out of ignorance and obstinacy, take the Prayer-book to be of an equal authority with the Holy Bible; and that to read and hear it read at the appointed times, is sufficient performance of Christian duty. Nay, (*t*) one of some note hath written, that all the wit of angels and men can find no fault with it; a bold assertion, too positive for any human book. Several other things in that kind, which I omit, have been said by others, not willing to press too far upon the subject; and I think there is enough said by the bye upon the matter of the Common-prayer Book, only I add, that the preference therein given to the Apocrypha, before some places of the canonical to be read when the others are to be left out, is not at all to be approved: Several exceptions are taken against the order and distribution of several parts of the book, out of several lame and maimed parcels of scriptures, as three or four verses of one chapter, as many of another; especially in most places the leaving out that excellent and comfortable clause of the Lord's Prayer, "For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory," which in us raises hopes and confidence of being heard, and that God will give us what we ask him in the six petitions: First, because he is our king: Now a king grants the just petitions of his subjects: Secondly, because he is able to give us what we ask, according to Christ's direction: And, thirdly, because what we ask is for his glory. Then dividing the matter of the Prayer-book into gospels, epistles, collects, or prayers, is after the pattern of popish missals and rituals, and clear out of the way of liturgies of all reformed churches. Secondly, several things are said against the manner of using it, as in a certain tone or singing-way (which is the popish) of the very prayers in cathedrals. Then as to the place, some at the middle of the church, others by the altar; as if there was in the church one place holier than the other, or that God will hear us there better than here. Then as to the posture, sometimes sitting, then standing, as

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(*t*) Abbot against Church-forsakers.

if the epistle was not the word of God, as much to be heard with a reverence (if standing be a more reverend posture than sitting) as the gospel, being both the word of God: Nay, gospel is made different from gospel; for in the first lesson, a whole chapter being read, people sit, but at the second lesson, when few verses of a chapter of the gospel are read, then every one stands up: Herein is too much of formality, and I could almost say, too mimical for Christian reformed churches. Thus the liturgy ought to be mended, so to be imposed, as not to exclude extemporary prayers of ministers.

As to the formal ties, called church ceremonies, they ought wholly to be abolished, as introducing superstition under the name of decency, and being contrary to Christian liberty. Such is the use of surplice, so abominably abused in the church of Rome, where it is thought necessary, when they perform their idolatrous worship of the mass, at the very act of idolatry; and some amongst us have been so superstitiously inclined, as to say angels have appeared in it: But let them look how they can prove out of scripture, that the (*u*) "angels raiment as white as snow; (*x*) that the long white garment;"(*y*) and "the shining garments of the two men," were a surplice. And to say as some do, that that colour is a sign of purity and candour, which is of it to make a sacrament. I would have those who are so much for the surplice, to remember, how fine linen, as well as purple and scarlet, is reckoned among the merchandise of Babylon. (*z*)As to the "sign of the cross in baptism," it is an addition to the sacrament. None but he who hath right to institute sacraments may make any addition, diminution, or alteration thereunto, without impiety, or committing sacrilege: And it were to have a mean opinion of the Lord Jesus's divine wisdom, to think he left with his church an imperfect ordinance in the institution; and none may institute sacraments but he that can bestow the graces thereby signified.

Bowing towards the Altar,] for so some call improperly the communion-table, as the minister (a priest) is very unfit for protestants and reformed Christians, when papists, from whom it is derived, do it: It is according to their principle, they believe tansubstantiation to be made upon such places, and therefore they give them such signs of religious worship: But it is very odd for us so to do, who do not believe one place in the church to be holier than the other: And what need in cathedrals, and some chapels, of candlesticks and unlighted candles upon the altars in the day-time. As for "bowing at the name of Jesus," it is of the same stamp: Sometimes God may happen to say to those who are so fond of those will-worship ceremonies, "who hath required this at your hands?"(*a*) And to uphold this practice, they must pull it over head and shoulders out of the text of the epistle to the Philippians. (*b*) I do not so much wonder that papists, who seldom make use of scriptures but to wrest them, would make use of the place; but for protestants, who pretend and ought to know better, I admire they would make use of it: It is plain the text is not literally to be understood, or else men should bow at the name of Jesus son of Nun, or of the son of Sirach, or of Jesus called Justus; then it is said the knee not the head: Then there is no knees in heaven, nor none that can bow under the earth: It is there spoken of an honour due to the divinity, person, attributes and works, especially as he is our Redeemer and Saviour, which is signified by the name of Jesus; and if we must kneel or bow when we hear that name, the like must be done when we see it written. The apostle doth not mean the letters of the name, but a most humble submission and obedience, with a giving praise and glory to the person and commands of the Lord Jesus.

As to kneeling at the sacrament: I know there must be a posture, that of the time

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(*u*) Mat. xxviii. 3.
(*x*) Mark xvi. 5.
(*y*) Luke xxiv. 4.
(*z*) Rev. xviii. 12.
(*a*) Isaiah i. 12.
(*b*) vi. 2. 10.

of the institution, or as near it as may be, must be used; several protestant churches have different postures when they receive it; and a care ought to be had of avoiding superstition, and keeping as far as we can from appearances of idolatry. I confess, I would not for all the world, if ever beyond seas, where papists are in a full liberty, and where protestants receive it not on their knees; I say I would not, because my conscience would not give me leave, receive it kneeling, which is a posture of adoration, for fear it were thought I partake of their idolatry in worshipping a piece of bread for the true natural body, now sitting at the right hand of the Father, which thing I abhor more than death itself. But here, though with a safe and even conscience I could receive it kneeling, yet may be another could not; must my will and practice be the rule of another man's will and practice? Every one is bound to seek for the best information he can have; but when all is done, every one's conscience must be the judge of what he doth in indifferent things, that is, which are neither commanded nor forbidden in the word of God. And the true Christian prudence is to leave such things at liberty, and administer it to those sitting or standing, who make scruple to receive it kneeling; for it is no rule of charity or Christianity, for the sake of uniformity, to break unity and the bond of peace: And ministers ought to have a great care not to become instruments of damnation to any; for they who receive kneeling, and doubting, as St Paul saith, (*c*) "are damned." Such practices must be left for the wicked communion of Rome, which with fears, threatenings, sword, fire, and every violent way, forces people to do things contrary to their conscience, as of late in an high degree it was practised in a neighbouring nation; and for what they did they gave this reason, we know they must be damned, and as good as they should be so within our church as out of it: Let them come in and believe what they please.

Indeed a great evil there is amongst us, that the posture of receiving the holy sacrament, an ordinance of God to seal the pardon of our sins, and strengthen our faith, is made use of for a trial of those who are qualified for worldly employments; to turn it to temporal ends, is an unaccountable profaneness of that holy institution: And though without such a bye-consideration I could receive it kneeling, I declare if I should receive it in that manner, upon the account of such a trial, I could not avoid believing I had eaten and drank my damnation.

All foresaid lets and hindrances being laid aside, and a blessed reformation of all abuses set a-foot, and by every one in their several stations carried on, then, upon good grounds, we might hope for peace grounded upon truth, and for an happy success; especially if in our different capacities we would propose to ourselves the glory of God, the salvation of souls, and the good and advantage of church and country. The good laws we have to encourage piety and virtue, and to discountenance and punish ungodliness, vice, and every unjust and sinful practice, being renewed, put in execution, and if any thing therein wanting, supplied with new ones, good instructions, good examples, good rules in families, and care taken by parents and masters to see them well observed; this would take away evil and cursed things from amongst us. The prudence of officers in church and state should remedy old inconveniences, and as much as it is possible endeavour to prevent new ones. Amongst the old ones I shall name a very palpable one, which concerns both church and state, and hath been and is every day cause of grievance and great inconveniences, and as much as any destructive of common society; it is clandestine marriages, stealing and trepanning young people into marriages without advice or consent of friends, which as yet the wisdom of our lawgivers hath found no effectual course to prevent, though daily complaints have at several times put them upon consulting about it. He who steals my goods shall be hanged, and he who steals my child shall go free: And if once they be married ac-

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(c) Rom. xiv. 23.

cording to the practice of the church, though by reason of young age and other considerations unable to bind themselves with such a tie. What is in part or chiefly the cause of this, is the abuse of selling bonds of matrimony, the dishonesty and covetousness of a minister to get some few guineas: And privileged places, by law or custom, whereof there are too many in and about the city; there people are married in secret, let the disparity, inconveniency, tricks and cheats be never so great, so visible, or so many; which to prevent it, requires the prudence, study, and authority of both civil and ecclesiastical powers.

Querela Temporum: or, the Danger of the Church of England. In a Letter from the Dean of —— to ——, Prebend of ——.

The present author, like many Tories of the period, seems to be of opinion that the apprehensions of popery, which had induced them to forward the Revolution, had hurried them greatly too far, and were likely in their consequences to endanger the church of England. This *Querela Temporum* was very general among the high-churchmen of the period, who, when their immediate quarrel with James was ended, began to long for a second restoration of the Stuart family.

Dear Sir,

Let me employ some few moments in venting my thoughts to you at a distance, upon that subject which has taken up so many of our hours while we were together. The impression grows stronger upon me now that I am alone, and left to the mercy of tormenting reflections. The ruin, which you and I have often bemoaned, visibly threatening our church, is exceedingly magnified and embittered to me, and must be to us all, when we sadly consider how we have been led on in our simplicity, like the men that followed Absalom, to be the instruments of our own destruction; and have been engaged so far in it before we were aware, that we are now afraid to look back, though we are astonished to think what the end of all may be.

I am sufficiently assured, that much the greater part of the clergy have come in to the government, as you and I have done, out of a prospect to preserve the church; for if all had stuck out, we did dreadfully apprehend that the presbyterians, considering our king's education and biass that way, and their great merit in the Revolution; (for we were but drawn in, and that late, by a seeming necessity, and unwillingly.) Our reluctance, which we could not conceal, (and at first many of us did not desire to conceal it) was the public discourse of the nation; and so much taken notice of, that the act imposing the oaths did not suppose that all the clergy would take them, and therefore left a provision for a certain number of such of them as should refuse the oaths (which I am heartily sorry has not been applied;) and those of us who took the oaths, did it with such distinctions, and declarations, and salvos, as made it plain to all the world that we were not hearty in it, but had a doubting, which is a resisting conscience. Whereas the presbyterians and commonwealth-men, (with some atheists and latitudinarians, who called themselves of our church, though no otherwise than because it was established by law) were at the bottom of the whole contrivance of the Revolution, and derided us to see into what a noose they had brought us, that we knew not what to resolve upon: Whether to venture the reproach of the nation by a change of principles (at least as it would be thought) and to go into the government, or to leave King William wholly in their hands who brought him in, and to run the hazard of all the consequences would follow from his looking upon the church of England as his enemies, and the presbyterians as the only church which would stick by him. I say, these considerations, joined with his own inclination, and the little zeal of the generality of the laity for any church or religion, farther than suited with their interests, made us to apprehend, that if we had not taken the oaths, the whole church might have been overturned all at once; and presbytery, or something like it, set up in its place, as has been done in Scotland.

When these considerations had determined us in this matter, we were not yet without great fears what might be the consequence, on the other hand, that King William could not possibly but see that our conversion was forced and counterfeit, and would (as such conversions always do) make us greater enemies to him than we were before; and that therefore, having served his ends by us, he would watch his time to destroy us. That he might compass it more easily, though may be not so speedily by our compliance, having by that made us cheap, and broken our authority with the people. And (O my friend) how has he succeeded in that, if that was his design! I believe no age can produce so sudden and great a change, as 'twixt the affections of the people to us at this time, and what they were while King James was here. I am sure it is a changed world with us, whatever it may be to others! We were then Hosanna'd, and now it is next door to crucify, while they cannot refrain shewing a concern and reverence for our deprived brethren. So that it is plain, the cause of our contempt is our compliance with those who do now reproach us; and it is needless to argue, that they are in the same fault, and were first in the fault, and drew or forced us in. They say we were their guides, and ought to have led them, and not to have been led by them. They think it no great matter for them to be in a fault; they think they have a privilege to be less strict than the clergy; and to be severe upon our miscarriages, seems, in some sort, a vindication, at least an alleviation, of their own; which, though a very bad argument, yet we suffer under it.

And it terrifies me to consider how much we may yet suffer by it, when I reflect that the inclination of the people was made a sufficient pretence to root out episcopacy in Scotland, notwithstanding that the Prince of Orange's declaration to that kingdom from the Hague, before he came over, bound him to preserve their church, as then established by law, as well as ours.

If you think that the inclination of the people can never be made a pretence against episcopacy in England, you will alter your opinion when you see how little reason there was for that pretence in Scotland; as it is made fully appear in the defences and apologies of the episcopal church of Scotland, which have been printed here since this Revolution: Which also gives an account by what means and methods a convention was obtained there, which should vote against episcopacy.

As to the first, the inclinations of the people; take the account given in one of their apologies, which was digested into ten questions, and printed here *anno* 1690, which informs us,

"That the nobility of the kingdom (a very few, not above a dozen excepted) had all sworn the oath commonly called the Test, wherein all fanatical principles and covenant obligations were renounced and abjured: That not one of forty of the gentry but had sworn it also; and that not fifty (gentlemen) in all Scotland (out of the west) did, upon the indulgence granted by King James, *anno* 1687, forsake their parish churches to frequent meeting-houses.

"That the generality of the commons live in cities and market towns; that all who could be of the common-council in such corporations, or were able to follow any ingenious trade, were obliged to take the test, and had generally done it: That the clergy stood all for episcopacy, there being, of about a thousand, scarcely twenty trimmers betwixt the bishop and the presbyterian moderator: Which twenty, together with all the presbyterian preachers, could not make up the fifth part of such a number as the other side amounted to: That in all the universities there were not four masters, heads, or fellows inclined to presbytery: That the colleges of Justice and Physic at Edinburgh were so averse from it, that the generality of them were ready last summer (viz. 1689) to take arms in defence of their episcopal ministers."

Thus that author: And, which is yet a far greater confirmation of all this to us, his spiteful presbyterian adversary, G. K., in his first vindication of the (presbyterian) church of Scotland, which was writ in answer to these ten queries, and printed here in London, 1690, and reprinted at Edinburgh, 1691, gives such an answer to this as is a plain confession of it. He yields plainly all the gang of the clergy, (as he calls them,) except a few; the universities and college of justice, at least, as lately stated, and the generality of the burgesses.

But then he endeavours to make some amusements as to the so universal defection (in his sense) of the nobility and gentry, not only in taking the anti-presbyterian tests in the reign of King Charles II., (as fear, interest, and such sordid excuses,) but in adhering still to the episcopal communion after King James's free indulgence, 1687, for which no reason can be given but their own inclinations, the favour from court lying then rather on the other side.

In another of these Scots tracts, called, An Account of the present Persecution of the Church of Scotland, published 1690, there in the third letter we read,

"That in the years 1687 and 1688, when the schism was in its elevation, there were but some three or four presbyterian meeting-houses erected on the north side of Tay, *i. e.* in the greater half of the kingdom, and these too very little frequented or encouraged: And that on the south side of that river, (except in the five associated shires in the west) the third man was never engaged in the schism."

In short, we are assured, as well by these authorities in print, as by gentlemen of sense and reputation out of that country, that not a fifth or sixth part of the people of Scotland did join, at that time, with the presbyterians.

And that was the time to shew their inclinations, when they might not only do it without fear or hazard, but with all the prospects of advantage and preferment.

How much more constant and firm were they to the church in that kingdom than in this! We did not bear the temptation with so little loss as they.

Every toleration and indulgence which has been granted in England, has made much more havock, and brought more ruin to the church, than we find this (the most dangerous one) has done in Scotland. We have not yet recovered from the mischief of that in 1672: Before which our church seemed to have taken some root, and the dissenters were wearing much out of fashion; many of the chief of whom, seeing a fair likelihood of the perpetuity of the church, were content to suffer their children to be educated in our communion, though themselves were ashamed to comply, after the long oppositions they had made; which shewed they were convinced both of the lawfulness and expediency of conformity.

But fire amidst gunpowder does not work its destructive effect more suddenly than that toleration shook and rent, and almost overturned our church. The very next Sunday after it was known, the churches in many places were almost quite deserted; and the meeting-houses, which before were neglected, and resorted to by but a few, and those little regarded, were like trenches, when the sea has broke the dykes, swoln and overflowed in a moment.

And toleration upon toleration has brought ruin upon ruin since, that we are now loose at the very roots, and at the mercy of every wind and wave.

And by the accounts we have given us of Scotland, they are both more universally and more zealously episcopal (especially if you consider the gentry and nobility) than the people even in England.

Of which there is another very great instance, since the Scots treatises above quoted were wrote; and that is, that, notwithstanding the several acts of parliament there for abolishing episcopacy, and settling the presbyterian government, and all the fiery zeal of the covenanters now in possession, yet, through most parts of the north, and many other parts of Scotland, they, to this day, refuse to admit the presbyterian ministers who were sent to them, or to part with their old episcopal clergy, though they neither swear nor pray according to the acts, but keep them still in possession of their churches, and renounce the authority of the General Assembly, as not being lawfully constituted without bishops: And have lately published a paper in the name of the whole ministers north of Tay; and twelve ministers at Aberdeen gave it, in their own names, and the names of all the rest, to the commissioners of the General Assembly, wherein they stand still by their deprived bishops: And as the representation of the (said) committee of the assembly for the north of Scotland, to the privy-council of that kingdom, printed now by authority in London this October, 1694, does express it, They not only plainly question their authority, (*viz.* of the General Assembly,) but the authority of the law whereby the government of this church is settled. Nay, more, the deprived bishops there do not only continue to confer holy orders, but to fill the churches with those so ordained, and the people keep them in. As it is complained of in the said representation, which has been dispersed by the presbyterian faction through the coffee-houses in London, as an aggravation of the obstinacy of the Scots episcopalians against the government, as they would have it understood; with some queries added, to disengage us who have complied with this government from any concern for the Scots episcopalians.

But if the presbyterian interest is so low in Scotland, how came they of late years to make so great a noise here? Were they not the people who formed the rebellions of Pentland Hills and Bothwell Bridge?

Yes: And were so easily quelled, as shewed the party to have neither interest, nor conduct, nor any other qualification to render them considerable, besides that of a mad zeal; like our fifth monarchy-men, which, grafted on *præfervidum Scotorum Ingenium, et ad audendum aptum,* produced horrid assassinations and desperate rebellions, without any apprehension of danger or impossibilities: For *quicquid Scoti agunt, valde agunt:* The Scots do every thing to the utmost.

But how came that party to gain such a convention there, as to vote episcopacy a grievance, and contrary to the inclinations of the people, as it is expressed in their claim of right? This looks like management, or else was very good luck.

There was both in it, as the Scots episcopal apologists do explain it to us; and shew the arts of the ministers of state who were employed in that affair. That poor rabble of covenanters in Scotland were but the tools who followed the cue given them; they had other help than their own.

But there were some concurrents in that juncture, which contributed more than all the politics.

The nation was in a violent ferment; and every one almost, except those of the cabal, were unwilling to dip themselves in the first act of a new constitution, not knowing where it might end. Besides, the episcopalians were, and are still, generally affected towards King James; and took as much pains to keep themselves out of that convention, as the presbyterians did to come into it. All which did not, it could not, prevent many more of the episcopalians to be returned than of the presbyterians, the episcopalians being so very much the major number, especially among the better sort. But many of the episcopalians would not sit; and many who sat once, quitted the house, and would appear no more, thinking it culpable to be there; and others were forced away to save their lives from the fury of the fanatical rabble, who were armed, and made the guard of the convention, as that extraordinary man, Sir George MacKenzie, and others. Sir George Lockhart, a most eminent lawyer, and who violently opposed the vacancy of the throne, was assassinated in the streets of Edinburgh: some say it was only through a private pique, but that did not appear to all.[1] The Archbishop of Glasgow, and others of the clergy, were openly insulted in the streets, and no remedy. And before the convention was turned into a parliament, the bishops were, by particular instruments sent to Duke Hamilton, then commissioner, excluded from their right of sitting in parliament.

Yet, notwithstanding of all this purging, they could not get that parliament so modelled, that, if but half of them had sat, they would ever have abolished episcopacy, or set up presbytery: And the Scots episcopal party do vouch, That there were not one third part of the members present when presbytery was there established.

I am not now meddling with their reasons, why they would not venture to sit and vote at all hazards. This is only to shew, that no parliament can be had in Scotland, which, if freely sitting, would abolish episcopacy: And that the inclinations of the people cannot be justly collected from what was done by that. Less than a third part of a parliament, and that gathered together by strange artifices, as the Scotch accounts do inform us, as plain as they dare speak, in the management of their election, and of the Prince of Orange's circular letter, by which that convention was called, being sent where preparations were made for its reception, by some places later, and to some not at all, who yet had right of electing members for parliament.

Yet all this could produce no such appearance in the convention as would answer their designs, but they were forced to take into that convention men outlawed for treason, and under other legal incapacities to sit in parliament, by the laws and tests then in force; as my Lord Argyle himself, who, before his attainder, was taken off by the parliament, sat in that convention, and was sent up hither with the tender of the crown of Scotland.

And when they had done all, tried all their ways and means, legal and illegal, what a contemptible appearance was it which they were able to procure at the first opening of the convention, or meeting of the estates, (as they styled it,) which was the 14th of March, 1688.

Of this we have a certain record, which is, The Acts and Orders of the Meeting of the Estates of the Kingdom of Scotland, extracted out of their register, and printed by authority in Edinburgh, 1690.

There, in the act declaring the meeting of the estates to be a free and lawful meeting, the 16th of March, 1688, all there present do subscribe the said act, and all their names are printed in the said act: And there were but fifty burgesses in that convention.

Neither must we reckon upon all that small number itself, as appears by their fourth act, which is entitled, An Act for putting the Kingdom in a Posture of Defence, the 19th of March, 1688, wherein we are told that several of the members who had subscribed the former act, had (in that three days time) deserted the meeting of the estates, and presumed openly to correspond with the Duke of Gordon, since the proclamation of intercommuning against him, and to retire from this place (Edinburgh) in form of weir; and therefore commands all from sixteen to sixty to arm, &c.

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[1] He was shot by Chiesley of Dalry, in the close, or entry, to his own house in the Lawn Market of Edinburgh, still called the President's Close. The assassin was instigated only by motives of private revenge, the president having, as he conceived, decided a cause against him unjustly. He made no attempt to escape, but was executed, glorying in the fact he had committed.

The matter was, many of those few who came to the convention did not know the designs of the managers, which, as soon as they perceived, and that there was a formed party to carry it on, they immediately quit the convention, in form of war, (as that act says,) and openly declared for King James. Among these was my Lord Dundee, who sat the first day of the convention; and his name is among those who subscribed the first act above mentioned.

There were likewise seven bishops, whose names are printed the first of the subscribers.

But their archbishop, (of St Andrew's,) as ours, would not come into the convention at all; and it seems all the rest, but the abovesaid seven, were of his mind: And that even these seven were of those who (as Lord Dundee, &c.) immediately quitted the convention. I say immediately, for they subscribed on the 16th of March, and the hue and cry after them was in the abovesaid act of the 19th of the same month.

So that if we are to make any computation of the inclinations *of the people* from this convention, it will operate rather against the present establishment there, from the small appearance of the burgesses, and their great and sudden desertion.

But if the inclinations of the people are best known by the sense of parliaments, then it must follow, that all along since the reformation the inclinations of the people of Scotland have been for episcopacy, which has been ratified and confirmed by twenty-seven parliaments in that kingdom, (as they are reckoned up in these Scots episcopal papers,) and where no such objections, as in the present case, can be alledged. Add to this, what I think a plain confession, that the presbyterians dare not trust a free parliament in Scotland; and that is, that notwithstanding the great objection of a convention (not called together in the legal form) becoming a parliament by a vote of their own, who were not a parliament before that vote, or any otherwise than by that vote, by virtue only of the words themselves pronounced, when they said, *Hoc est Parliamentum;* (which some have compared to transubstantiation:) I say, notwithstanding that the convention parliament in England found it necessary, for this reason, to have the convention parliament dissolved, and a new parliament chosen by the king's writ, in the usual form, because, as was truly alledged, the convention was but in the nature of a volunteer, no man being obliged to obey the circular letters of a foreign prince before he was declared our king; nor did his circular letters import any other than a voluntary compliance which he expected should be paid to them; and therefore the subjects would not think their liberties preserved, unless they had the antient freedom of election reserved to them, to chuse members to serve in parliament, knowing beforehand that it was to be a parliament; for a convention was new, both name and thing, and few understood either the nature of it, or the ends and purposes for which it was summoned; and to metamorphose that into a parliament, and then to continue it as such, would be understood as a plain cheat to trick the people out of their votes. Yet all these obvious reasons, and the example of England notwithstanding, the presbyterian managers in Scotland dare not summon a new parliament, but keep on still the old convention, with the new name of a parliament: And though they know that many of the episcopal persuasion there are so zealous upon the point of the government, that they would not come in, though there were a new parliament, yet the presbyterians dare not trust those that might come in against all their own strength, and all the trimmers they could bribe or frighten to their side: For they could never, by their arts, compass such a parliament as would not spue out presbytery, as a "yoke which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear." They know it to be utterly impossible for them ever again to get such a company of conventioners, as by their secret intelligence laid (without opposition or suspicion of the episcopal party) leaped together, and chose one another, upon the Prince of Orange's circular letters, which were left wholly to their management.

If all this be causelessly alledged, let them convince us with the free and impartial election of another parliament.

Or give any other reason why they will not, than that they dare not trust the inclinations of the people, which they know to be the most averse to them, and most deservedly.

There is another thing which extremely shews the weakness of the presbyterian interest there: And that is, that they would never have been able to have planted presbyterian ministers there if the right of patronages had continued; for there were but very few gentlemen in that kingdom, to whom advowsons did belong, who would ever have presented any clerk that was presbyterianly inclined. Therefore all patronages were taken away by act of this parliament.

After which one would have expected that the free election of the people should have been set up in its full extent and prerogative; because this was it for which the presbyterians chiefly contended: they made it to be *Jure Divino*, and called it Christ's legacy to the people, and said it was indefeasible and unalienable from them.

But yet they were forced to dispense with it at the first, and put the calling of ministers into the hands of the presbytery; for they found the inclinations of the people run against them, at least of much the major number, as well as of the nobility and gentry; and therefore this method was necessary (though Antichristian, by their own principles) for the first planting of the gospel (as they stile the preaching of the covenant) in that prelatical country.

Neither durst they, for the time to come, trust the people with their divine right of electing their ministers, without clogging this legacy of Christ, as they called it, with such limitations as they could not pretend are to be found in scripture: That none should vote in the election of ministers till they first swore the oath of allegiance to King William and Queen Mary, and sign the assurance, for which an act of parliament is passed accordingly.

Yet, with all these bars and defences, they found very great difficulties in planting those churches, which they have planted with presbyterian ministers.

Who were so few in that country, that they were forced to ordain young lads from shops, or the plough, as they could get them gifted, without any university learning: For these springs, as themselves confess, were all corrupted; that is, in their sense, were wholly episcopal.

And in the north of Scotland, as confessed in the presbyterian representation above told, they have got little or no footing to this day. In which parts they are so strongly episcopal, that, as I read in a very accurate and ingenious account of the proceedings there about the convention time, "It were no hard task," says he, "to give a just account how it only happened that there was so much as one northern member, who was not such by birth, of the presbyterian persuasion in the meeting of the estates."

But there can be no such demonstration as their preserving their episcopal clergy, and keeping out the presbyterian, against repeated acts of parliament; and that the privy-council, which has there almost the power of a parliament, in the intervals of parliament have interposed their authority to ratify the decrees of the presbytery.

Nay, even in their own dear west country, the presbyterians found so much difficulty, in some places, particularly near Edinburgh, to perfect their reformation, that they were forced to fill a church there with soldiers, to fright the people from singing the doxology, from which they could not otherwise be reduced. Was not this something like dragooning? But I go on.

It may be thought strange, things being as here told, what ground or pretence could be found for representing episcopacy to be contrary to the inclinations of these people.

And herein appears a subtle, but a very wicked politic of the managers then at helm.

They first had arms put into the hands of the mad Cameronian true presbyterian rabble of the west, and then set them on to mob the episcopal clergy in those fanatical shires which they executed in a most savage manner; and from thence they represented the inclinations of the people to be irreconcileable to episcopacy; but, upon enquiry, I cannot find that there is any now who insist longer upon that common-place of the inclinations of the people of Scotland: It, like some other stories, has served its turn, except one sycophant, who had presbyterian education, and from his infancy was taught to hate and despise episcopacy; who has deserted his church in East Lothian, and was expelled neither by force, nor by the rabble, nor any sentence of any presbyterian judicature, but fearing that the gentry of his parish, to whom he was always most disagreeable, would lay hold of the present opportunity to turn him out, when their inclinations was made the standard, he thought it convenient to leave the place with less disgrace.

And he is now encouraged by a certain minister of state, to propagate that notion here in England, that the temper of the people in Scotland is against episcopacy, and most inclined to presbytery: And the rabbling of the episcopal clergy in some parts of the west is all the argument.

This is all, and every bit of the ground the convention, he or any other had, to represent the inclinations of the people as averse to prelacy.

Nor had they had this pretence itself if all the people, even in these same fanatical shires, had been left to their own inclinations: For when the College of Justice in Edinburgh, and others (in whom remained what was left of any right to govern, after King James quitted England, and before any other establishment was framed) took arms against this murdering rabble, in the defence of the episcopal clergy and themselves, (for such an inundation threatened all,) a proclamation came out from the Prince of Orange, commanding all to lay down their arms. This was obeyed by the College of Justice, and the rest of the episcopal party, (as thinking it tending towards peace and settlement,) but not at all by the others, saying, they knew it was not intended against them, and accordingly made use of it, their enemies being thus disarmed, to commit more insolent barbarities against the clergy than before.

And, in reward for their zeal, were not only continued in arms, but made the guard of the convention, which soon after met under their gracious protection, and acted by their influence.—Theirs! who thought it merit, and the cause of God, to assassinate the Archbishop of St Andrews on the highway; and declared it their principle to murther, by whatever means, every bishop, and every king and man who took their part. Theirs! who for declaring and acting pursuant to such diabolical principles, (though all the genuine effects of their common mother the covenant,) were, out of mere shame, disowned by other their Pharisee brethren of the presbyterians for throwing off the sheep's cloathing, and acting the wolf so plainly and above board; for abdicating not only the simplicity of the dove, but the prudence of the serpent, of whom they retained nothing but the sting. And who could have any other thought than that episcopacy was reserved only for execution, when it was placed under such Cameronian guards?

And when the most violent and bigotted fanaticks were made the principal ministers of state?

But who was it chose those ministers? That must be the king's inclination. He chose them according to his own inclinations; and then took their word for the inclinations of the people.

And can we think his inclinations are different in England, otherwise than as reason of state moves him?

The experiment must begin in Scotland; and according to the success there the measures are to be taken here.

And do we not see the same measures taken here, though perhaps in somewhat a slower match?

Has not a certain great man, of an interest very contrary to that of the church, one whose treachery towards it has made him an irreconcileable and inveterate enemy to it, been brought from behind the curtain, where he acted so much mischief unseen, and now in a manner publickly set upon the stage? Has he not acted indeed as one desperate, and that knows himself unsafe under any thing but a fanatick party, established in both kingdoms?—as one that can hope for no forgiveness from another interest which he has so perfidiously treated, and where all those that are leading and respected men know him so well, have felt him, and are sure neither to be imposed upon by him more, nor ever to forget what he has done to the church, and against them as the patrons of it? Have we not seen how things have turned since this? Was not the whole ministry changed to bring in that gang? How had such a fellow as Jack Trenchard, or Somers, been hoisted, upon a sudden, where they now are, but merely on this account, that they only were thought deep enough in a fanatick interest to carry on this design, and to support this new foundation of some great man, who must make good what they are engaged in, and secure themselves by thorough work, or soon fall, and come to that end which they deserve?

My Lord Nottingham, a man whom they offer to reproach with nothing but his fidelity to our church, and his constant care of its interest; one of such allowed capacity, vigilancy, and indefatigable diligence in his office, and of such known fidelity to the crown and this government; such a man as this we see of a sudden removed, and, without any reason given, (but what is thus plainly left for any one to infer,) thrust out of his employment, disgraced, and driven at as one ready to be impeached; which design it was no great wonder to see carried on under such as could not prevent their being themselves impeached, were the government as it ought to be, or the church restored to that place which it ought to have, and which one may very justly say it must have, unless monarchy be designed for ruin.

The justification which the parliament last year gave to the admirals, after the most malicious and false aspersions imaginable, did not hinder their being thrown out with all the disgrace that could be put upon them. At least those two that were the chief, and chiefly noted for their firmness to the church, were so served. What are the rest of the changes in the admiralty, and every where else? What are the Russels and the Whartons, that are now in such credit, and have their friends every where advanced? Who knows not the cabal at court, and that Lord Sh——, who first went out of court upon this bottom, and is now returned again upon the same, is of this confederacy, and both too early and too deeply engaged with this party to be a head, or a leading man, any where else?

Our friends are shifted out apace; and now openly, and above board, there have been new regulations of all the commissions of the peace and militia through England, of the lieutenancy of London, the customs, &c. on purpose to fill all with the fanatical and whiggish tribe, who have out-grown us, and are too many for us, in all places of trust and profit.[1]

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[1] Either professed and open dissenters, or the more dangerous church fanaticks, who keep in our communion no otherwise than as spies; who ridicule us, and do us all the ill offices that are in their power; and but watch an opportunity to destroy us and our constitution. Of such principles (most iniquitous to the church) are the present attorney and solicitor general, and almost all the king's council, as Wi. Williams, Serjeant Tompson, Mr Hawles, &c. Baron Letchmore, Baron Turton, that little Baron Tell-clock, Mr Bradbury, and others upon the bench. And with Russel are joined in the commission of the Admiralty that virulent whig Col. Austen, and Rich, and Houblon, two rigid fanatics. Such are Montague and Smith, two of the lords commissioners of the Treasury, indefatigable sticklers for the whig party; Papillion and Mayne, in the Victualling-Office, and Hill of the Navy-Office; Sir J. Foach, Sir Steph. Evans, Ed. Clark, Tho. Hall, J. Danvers, (the only son of a regicide,) and Foot Onslow, in the Excise; Parkhurst, Murray, Vernon, and Paschal, in the Prize-Office; Col. Kirby, Shepherd, and Welwood, in that for the Sick and Wounded; Ashurst, in that of the Hackney Coaches; and Franklin in the Post-Office: And in the Custom-house, Sir Walter Young, Mr Chedwick, Sir Patience Ward, Sir Robert Clayton; and a long *et cætera* in other offices and places of trust through the kingdom, too long to be here inserted. The whig, and (I know not which to say) natural or unnatural libertine, the Lord Sidney, now Earl of Rumney, is made Master of the Ordnance, and Governor of the Cinque Ports and Dover Castle, &c.; and whig Sir Thomas Littleton is under him in the Ordnance. Lord Cutts, an atheistical whig, is made Governor of the Isle of Wight. These, and many more, are the men now employed.
Orig. Note.

Little needy fellows are put into employments of greatest honour and import, so they be but fanatic enough.

As Johnston, secretary for Scotland, who, the other day, merely for bread, travelled with Sir Robert Barnard, his condition being then very necessitous, though he is now one of the chief managers in both kingdoms. His only merit is the new-fashioned theism, grafted upon rigid fanaticism; the last of which he derived from his father, that arch-rebel Wariston, who was clerk in ordinary to the presbyterian general-assembly in his time, and as furious against the mitre as the crown.

Such another is that infamous James Stuart, an inveterate rebel, and pardoned by King James, now knighted, forsooth! and fills the place of lord-advocate, which answers to that of attorney-general here, but of greater honour and interest in the state.

Carstairs, a super-presbyterian, that is, a Cameronian preacher, attends King William's person, both at home and abroad, like a jewel in his ear: We make a show in the chapel, but he exercises the office of confessor in the closet.

His advice is taken in all the spiritual promotions of our church; and we feel the effects of it very sensibly.

We see among the new-made bishops those who were formerly fanatical preachers; and those who, of all our number, are least zealous for the church, and most latitudinarian, for a comprehension of dissenters, and a dispensation with our liturgy and discipline. The archbishop himself has put on a strange moderation that way.

The tide runs strong, both in church and state, towards a fanatical level: And the pattern of the Scottish reformation stares us in the face more glaringly than in 1642.

And let us remember, that the covenant (now rampant in Scotland) obliges them to carry on the work of that reformation in England as well as in Scotland, as they did before: And they have the impudence to pray publickly for it now in their churches, for our conversion (as they call it) from prelacy, which they call popery; and idolatry, that is, our liturgy.

And yet their agents there would make us believe, that they intend no alteration of our constitution in England.

But are we to be so deceived now? Have we never been deceived by them, in the same manner, before? How often did they protest to Marquis Hamilton, commissioner for King Charles the First, that they did not intend to abolish episcopacy? [Large Declaration, 114, 115, 69, and 173.]

And they used to persuade the scrupulous, that they might take the covenant without prejudice to episcopacy.

In their answer to the Fourth Reply of the Doctors of Aberdeen, they say, "You will have all the covenanters against their intention, and whether they will or not, to disallow and condemn the articles of Perth and episcopal government."—But it is known to many hundreds, that the words were purposely conceived for satisfaction of such as were of your judgment, that we might all join in one heart and covenant.

They had lower and higher senses of this oath: Any thing to get you once within their circle; and though they press the obligation of it upon all alike, like the artifice of some of the Romish emissaries, who, to a person tenacious of the reformed doctrines, represent the church of Rome as little or nothing differing from us in fundamentals, as they call them, and will let him keep all the opinions they can't persuade him from, only to be reconciled to the church, to avoid schism; but when he is once in, then there is no stop, they can drive him to the utmost. They bring in many hundreds of their private doctors for the lower sense of their general councils; as their spawn of the covenant do leave their many hundreds of private persons, who they at first pretended knew their minds in wording of the covenant, to be much lower than the letter of the oath seemed to import.

But yet they would never afterwards allow any such private interpretations, as the true and natural sense of the oath; but boldly charged them of perjury who in the least tittle departed from them.

And how many oaths and protestations had we from our English parliament in 1642, that they never intended the abolition either of episcopacy or the liturgy? But, on the contrary, they expressed a great zeal for both, till they had got a set of fanatical ministers in the state, and they then soon introduced ministers of the same kidney in the church.

And did not they then set up the inclinations of the people on their side? And did not they carry it?

And yet they had not half the pretence as now; for, before that rebellion, England had been long in the quiet possession of episcopacy, without almost any grumbling against it; and that but of so small and inconsiderable a party as did not seem worth notice. These monsters were bred, and grew up, in the storm: But since the overflowing of that schismatical rebellion, our land has been fertile of as many heterogeneous productions as the mud of Nilus leaves upon Egypt. There are almost as many various sects and armies of dissenters now as there were single mutineers at that time.

And oh! the difference! England had a king then who was bred from his childhood in the episcopal communion, and zealous for it, even to martyrdom.

But the present king had the misfortune (to himself and to us) to be educated under the Geneva model, made Erastian in Holland: And it cannot be imagined, that the alteration of his present circumstances have wrought as great a change in his principles: That would be, if not a miracle, to suppose him to be wholly latitudinarian, and indifferent to all religions, at least as to church government, which is the point we are concerned for.

But, alas! the measures he has taken in Scotland, and here too, (as fast as they can go,) have sadly undeceived us, and given demonstration, that he is as zealous for his religion as any other king at least.

In short, it is evident, that King James never took more pains to place such ministers in the state and bishops in the church, as were, if not popishly affected, yet least inclined against it, than King William has done, by the same method, in favour of presbytery.

And there is yet a farther reason for him to put himself entirely into their hands as soon as he possibly can; and that is, that he can never trust to us. He sees (we cannot keep it concealed) that much the major number of the swearing clergy in England, and those who are upon the foundations of the universities, are Jacobites in their hearts; and many of them have not the continence to keep it to themselves, but blab it wherever they go: Insomuch that the nation has it by the end that we are all Jacobites; at least, we are all, except a very few, suspected, and that is equal to guilty, in the argument I am now upon.

Well, but whatever are the king's inclinations or designs as to the church, we trust to the inclinations of the people, that they are all for us; and that therefore his interest will persuade him to comply with them.

First, We have many and abundant instances, since the beginning of this revolution, how far he can prevail with the people, at least with their representatives in the House of Commons, to comply with his interest or inclinations.

Secondly, We have found the inclinations of the people turn against us, in the late rebellion against King Charles I., when they were much more unitedly for us than they are at present.

Thirdly, The inclinations of the people may be pretended, when it is not true, as we have seen in Scotland: And a set of fanatical ministers of state may set up such a pretence when they please. Pretences are the easiest found things in the world; as we say, "It is no hard matter to find a stick to beat a dog."

But towards making the most true and impartial computation that can be, as to the inclinations of the people in England at this day, in reference to episcopacy and the present established church, let us first take a view of the nation in the general, and particularly of London, (and that not only as to the differences betwixt us and the dissenters, but with regard likewise to their inclinations as divided betwixt us and our deprived fathers and brethren,) then of the two houses of Lords and Commons; and these are the surest steps I know whereby to compute the inclinations of the people of England.

Now, to take a general view of England, we sadly find that the reverence to religion, in the general, is mightily abated, and, amongst very many, quite lost; and therefore a dispute only about church government will be thought of very little consequence with these.

There is a spirit of atheism gone out into this land, especially among the gentry of the first magnitude; and books are daily published, and greedily bought up, to render what they call priestcraft the object of all people's hate and contempt.

And will those who have no regard for religion have any reverence for churchmen? —Those who think them and their profession useless, and a cheat, and, consequently, an unnecessary burden and charge to the people, and therefore necessary to be removed? That they are kept up only by the folly and superstition of a few bigots, who dare not think out of the road of their forefathers, whom these virtuosoes have taken all imaginable pains to undeceive, and convert them to the generous latitude and largeness of thought, as they call it. That if they cannot get rid of all religions, to be indifferent towards all, and to look no farther than the legal establishment; or to consider of religion no otherwise than as it is part of our property, made so by the laws, and which therefore may be altered by the laws, at least, as to church-government.

And how can we deny this, who have allowed of lay-deprivations?

Nay, brother, I must tell you, that this latitudinarian principle has strangely prevailed even among our clergy, chiefly of the first form, in whose hands all our concernments lie, and the public affairs of the church.

And now as to the third estate of men in the kingdom, the commonalty; what can we expect from them, but to be led by their clergy, their nobility and gentry? And do we not find it so? Some think our party great from the appearance in our churches here in London. But the churches in London will not hold the tenth part of the people in London; and therefore a small proportion of the people will make a great shew in our churches. Besides, the generality of the people do give themselves a latitude to go to church or meetings indifferently; and since both are now equally tolerated by the law, they do not think it a fault, at least they cannot be censured, nor, they think, so much as justly blamed for it. I know several, even of the first rank of the gentry, who not only go to hear sermons, but receive the communion, both at church and at the meetings. This is a strange prostitution of our discipline! But we must not now pretend to power, if we can live we must let live. Those days of the authority of the church are over: We now seem to be in the height of the Laodicean state.

Again. Many of the commonwealth party (who cannot love our constitution) come to church, some to preserve their places, and in reverence to the sacramental test; others, for mere fashion-sake; and not a few on purpose to watch, and report, and find objections, or to make them.

By these means our churches are filled. But when we have subtracted all, but who came hither out of a pure principle of religion; and again, when we have subdivided from these, those who think not that religion consists in episcopacy, or any form of church government, but look only to the devotional part, which they may think might be preserved under any other form of government in the church, as well as that of episcopacy; though they may (perchance) like that best, as being most used to it. All who were strictly principled in the divine right of episcopacy, and consequently its independence upon the state, are gone from us into the separate communion of the deprived bishops; and many, though they keep in our communion, are with them in their hearts.

I say, when we have subtracted from those who make their appearance at our churches upon solemn occasions, all, except those who would be content to struggle for episcopacy, and for us now in possession, in opposition to the deprived bishops, to struggle for us, as the episcopal laity have done in Scotland against the laws in being, and the reigning ministers, to the hazard of their persons and estates; when all but such as these are subtracted from our congregations, I am afraid we shall have but little reason to boast of our numbers.

And though men's coming to church is no sure sign of their being true church-men, yet their forsaking, or neglecting the church, is a certain demonstration that they are otherwise.

Add to this, a very fatal dilemma in which the dissenters have caught us, and have improved it amongst the people, to our no small prejudice; for if we stick to passive obedience in the high sense, as it is contained in the homily against rebellion, we must condemn what we have done, and what we still continue to do. But if we call that an error, then we own that our church has been all along, before this revolution, a false guide, and that the dissenters have taught the truth in this point of doctrine; and then the people themselves make the application, that it is safer trusting to them than to us in other doctrines. For, say they, the dissenters never went over to you in any of their doctrines, but you have gone over to them in this, which you formerly pressed as positively and zealously as any other doctrine of the gospel; nay, more than most others, and as indispensably necessary to salvation.

And will a people thus prejudiced against us be zealous for us? Zealous against the dissenters to whom we have at last submitted, in our so long boasted characteristical discrimination of passive obedience? How shall we retract all the hard words we have given them for opposing that doctrine which we now profess? For using those same distinctions which we now set up? And what argument can we find to persuade the people that we may not deceive them in other doctrines as well as in this? Why they should adhere to us against the dissenters who have kept their ground, and not contradicted their own doctrines?

Indeed our case here is very difficult. It is needless now to blame the preaching of passive obedience so high in the former reigns: The fault is committed, we cannot deny it; and we must suffer under the shame of it. And we have lost exceedingly in the hearts and inclinations of the people now towards us upon that account. They look upon us inconstant and time-serving. And that character to a clergyman must forfeit all men's value and esteem for him; and consequently for all that clergy, or church, of whom they have conceived such an opinion.

And though you and I can vindicate ourselves as to the preaching of passive obedience in former times, what is this to all that generality of the clergy who were never weary, nor would give over upon that subject? Who found it in every text they could meet with, and pressed it oftener, and more pathetically, than any article of the creed?

And though we did not preach for it, yet we did not preach against it. We let it go, which the people think we should not have done if we thought it to be an error; and so fatal a one as it must be if it can be an error. They call this time-serving in us then, as much as in the others now: And then our subscriptions to the homilies, and reading the declaration of its not being lawful, upon any pretence, to take arms, &c. are thrown in our dish.

And it is needless here to insist upon our defences, for the enquiry we are now making is not the truth or untruth of the case, but only as to the inclinations of the people; that is, how they take it, not how it is in itself.

Thus far we have observed concerning the people in general, and in London: But let us now come nearer, and observe their countenance in the great representative of the people, the parliament.

And here, like drawing near to an ill-daubed landscape, the strokes appear more gross and disproportioned.

What a contemptible figure do our bishops now make in the House of Lords! It was never so known before. No, never! They are obliged either to quit their seats in that house, or to bear the raillery of the lay-lords every day, who think them a dead weight amongst the peers; of whom the greatest part would be glad to be rid of them, not only out of their house, but out of the nation.

And it may here be noted, that episcopacy was in greater perfection and more primitive independency in Scotland than with us here in England; and likewise as much fortified by the civil law, and set higher in the state, than (since the Reformation) in England.

The clergy there are a distinct estate by themselves, and preferred, in all things, to the temporal nobility: For not only the two archbishops, (as in England,) but every one of the bishops, do sign before all the whole temporal lords, as may be seen in the act above-mentioned, 16th of March, 1688, where all the convention subscribed their names; and the seven bishops who were there did subscribe before Duke Hamilton (though then president of the convention) and all the lay-lords. And their subscriptions are thus indorsed in the said act: *The clergy and nobility subscribed thus.* When the rolls in parliament are called over, the bishops are all first called.

The bishops chuse lords of the articles out of the temporal estate of the lay-lords.

In all things the bishops there are distinguished more plainly as a separate estate, and the first of the three estates, than with us.

But they have a yet much greater advantage above our bishops in the ecclesiastical authority.

They have no prohibitions from the secular courts to hang up their excommunications, or intermeddle in their spiritual censures.

The bishops there are absolute judges of the fitness of clerks presented to them for livings, nor give any account hereof to the secular courts.

Nay more; they can transplant any priest in their diocese from one parish to another, as they shall judge their labour to be more profitable in one place than another, and there lies no remedy for the priest so transplanted from the secular courts, of which I have been told instances.

The civil law has made no such inroads upon the episcopal authority in Scotland as in England; and therefore our bishops can plead no exemption (more than they) from being cast out of the church, whenever a House of Commons shall please to have it so.

There is, as St Cyprian says, but one episcopate in the whole world, of which every bishop partakes severally, yet in common. *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis, in solidum, pars tenetur.—Cyp. de unit. Eccles.*

Therefore the case of Scotland, at present, is not only *proximus ucalegon* to us, but 'tis our own very case, upon the common bottom of Christianity.

For if we give up the *jus divinum* of episcopacy in Scotland, we must yield it also as to England. And then we are wholly precarious.

And if in the church, much less let us think that bishops are so essential to parliaments, but that (as in England in 1642, and now in Scotland) they may be dispensed with.

And the House of Commons, as well as of the Lords, have, upon several occasions, minded them of their frailty; and that what has been done, may be done as well in this as in other things. But more than all this, both Houses of Commons and Lords have shewn their love to us, and high regard of our constitution, in that they have divested us of all our authority over the people, by their unlimited act of indulgence to all sorts and sizes of dissenters, and commanding that the ecclesiastical courts shall have no power to proceed against any of them; and also in giving power to the justices of peace, at their sessions, to licence teachers and preachers, as it is in the act of toleration, 24th May, 1689, *prim. Guliel. et Mar.* This has rendered our church a perfect cypher; and if any, or all, of our flocks should desert us to-morrow, and go over openly to the dissenters, we have no power left us, by this act, to restrain any of them by ecclesiastical censures or any other way; and the whole nation have liberty to believe any of their communions to be as safe a way to heaven as our own. And they have made full use of that liberty; for how many do we meet with who do not believe it, and think it a thing indifferent which of our churches they go to, as they term the dissenters and ours? They think them all to be churches; and the law giving equal liberty to all, who dare quarrel with any for taking that liberty to go to any or all of these churches?

Who can say the parliament has done ill? For if episcopacy be not *jure divino*, why are they bound to set it up more than presbytery, independency, quakerism, or any other sort? Why have we made such contests about it these ages past?

But if it be *jure divino*, then it is out of the parliament's power to abolish it, or even to dispense with, or tolerate, any other form of government in the church.

So that we must either condemn what they have done in Scotland, and in England too, by this toleration, or otherwise we must give up our *jure divino* right, which we have endeavoured to hold out so long against the dissenters; and profess to hold hereafter by no other tenure than that of an act of parliament, which now grants equal liberty to the dissenters as to ourselves.

But this law does not only proclaim liberty and indemnity, but proposes rewards and advantages to all who shall leave us. Any, of any sort, in orders or out of orders, who please to set up for teachers, are, by this act, exempted from serving upon juries, or from being church-wardens, overseers of the poor, or any other parochial or ward office or other office in any hundred of any shire, city, town, parish, division, or wapentake. And these being offices of charge and trouble, we shall be in a little time left to serve them ourselves, or the whole burthen must lie upon those few, whom their neighbours will call fools for not easing themselves of it as they have done. The effect of this may not appear considerably at first; but when the taxes have reduced more to poverty, their envy and spite to see their richer neighbours excused may operate more than we are yet well aware. If you think that no such inconsiderable people will be allowed of for preachers, the act excepts none, and the allowance is granted to the justices of peace, and there is no stint of number. I can tell you an instance came in my way at the Easter sessions 1692, in St Albans: There came three poor fellows for licences to be preachers, two of them set their marks instead of their names, for they could neither read nor write, and they had their licences: And one of them being after returned upon a jury, pleaded his privilege as a preacher by the act, and had it allowed him. Nor indeed can the justices refuse either to give them licences, or allow them the privileges granted by the act. One of these preacher's names, I remember, was one Bocket; he lives in St Stephen's parish near St Alban's, and is a ditcher and day-labourer.

There are many such examples through the kingdom.

We may now see where our authority is going, not to mention Christianity, at this rate. That Bocket is now as legal a teacher as the Archbishop of Canterbury. This, brother, is a fair indication of the inclinations of the parliament towards us, of their zeal to support the authority and the reputation of our church.

Well: But they have left us in possession of the rents and revenues of the church.

That is indeed all that we have left! And how long shall we keep that, when the only ground and foundation of it is gone, that is, the authority and discipline of the church, and the supposed necessity there is of our church? This is all the ground and reason there is for supporting and maintaining our church more than any other church; or for having any church more than no church. If none of them be necessary, or ours no more than another, why should we expect to enjoy such great riches more than others? The nation is not, or soon may come not to be, in a condition to allow such great pensions, when they are merely honorary, and of no necessity to the nation.

The bishops' lands (as now in Scotland), may be sold, either for the carrying on the war, or to reward many of those necessitous and sacrament-taking fanaticks for places of advantage. There is no other visible fund for them; and they expect it, and refrain not sometimes to express it. Our tities being *Jure Divino* will not do: The impropriations have spoiled that. The church, though over-run with errors, was in far greater authority and reverence than now, when Henry the Eighth seized her revenue, and had more and greater friends to stand by her: The pope, and all the then Christian princes, did detest his act as sacrilegious, and were highly concerned to have it rectified: And it was thought abominable by all England, except those amongst whom he divided the spoil. But is there one man in the world would be concerned for us, or pity us, if we lost all? Yet the inclinations of the people is all we pretend to trust to. How have I heard some repeat with pleasure that prophecy, which they ascribe to old Merlin:

Henry the Eighth pull'd down abbeys and cells;
But Henry the Ninth will pull down churches and bells.

By churches and bells they understand the episcopal church and ceremonies; and there has been enough done in Scotland to fulfil the prophecy, but that it was spoke of England: And they think that Henry the Ninth and the time is now come. I lay not stress upon these sort of prophecies, but they shew the inclinations of the people, when they are pleased, and nobody is displeased with trumping up such stuff upon us.

Add to this whatever stress you will lay upon the confident boasting of those dissenters who are most in King William's interest and councils; that all will be their own they make no doubt of it, only they would manage, as they think, wisely, and worm us out by degrees. They told us, from the beginning of this revolution, that King William would take his time to bring them into the chief places and offices of trust; which we thought, in our honey month, to be nothing but the vain humour of that party, and to create jealousies betwixt the king and us, when we were endeavouring to exceed one another in our caresses, which, if they were meant no more sincerely on his side than they were by some of us, it was a force on both sides, and not like longer to last than the first opportunity either could get to put themselves into hands they could better trust.

They told us too, that he would begin with Scotland, and, according to the success he had there, would take his measures as to England.

There is not a step has been made, which they have not faithfully and truly foretold. It is easy for managers to be prophets of what is designed.

I wish what is to come of their prediction may not prove as true as what is past;

that is, that, having divided the church of England among themselves, they would, through fears or hopes, gain the major number to come over to their doctrine of resistance; whereby, having proclaimed themselves to have been false teachers heretofore, they would easily prevail with the people not to trust them for the time to come: And so, by consequence, gain the city on their side, and have their turn in setting up upon the inclinations of the people, and overturn episcopacy here as they have done in Scotland.

Indifferency in lovers is a certain forerunner of a breach: And the people of England, who were so excessively enamoured of us, when the bishops were in the Tower, that they hardly forebore to worship us, are now, I wish I could say but cool, and very indifferent towards us.

What the end of all these things will be is what, dear brother, has tortured my thoughts, and makes me vent them so freely to you, who, I know, partake, in a great measure, in them with myself.

But, O good God! if we have not been sincere with him, he knows our hearts! If temporal advantages have been any byass to us! Or if, as Uzziah, we have put forth our hand beyond our own rank and order, going but in the least out of the plain road of our duty, though, as we thought, to save the ark from falling, oh! what will our judgment be! If those methods we have taken to preserve the church prove, as it sadly now threatens, to her and our own utter destruction! We see the enemy already roar in the midst of our congregations, and they have set up their banners for a token: We seem now to hold our post but at their discretion, till they are ready to give the word, as in Scotland, No more episcopacy!—no more church of England! But we shall not fall like them: They fell altogether, every bishop in the kingdom, and almost the whole number of the inferior clergy. They may rise again, and will rise glorious, asserting still the same principles as we did before in the Restoration, 1660. But as for us now, whither shall we cause our shame to go? Will not the Scots upbraid us? Where was our zeal for episcopacy, or foresight of our own danger, when we stood silent by, and saw their fall, without putting in one address, or shewing the least concern for our brethren? They will mind us (for we have not thought of it) of the zeal which the English bishops shewed in the case of the Archbishop of Glasgow, unjustly deprived by lay authority, in the reign of Charles the Second, though there was an act of parliament then to countenance it; they espoused it as their own cause, (for so indeed it was,) till they prevailed with the king to have him restored. But now we could see not only all the bishops in that kingdom, but our renowned metropolitan, and near half the then bishops of our own kingdom, deprived by mere lay authority, (not to mention the dispute of the validity of that lay authority, and the cause, which none of us did think sufficient for a deprivation,) without interposing one word on their behalf; or so much as for having that allowance made good for them by the act of parliament, either by King William, to whom the act entrusted the disposing of it; or if not from his justice, yet at least from the generosity of those who came, unwilling and sorrowful, as they pretended, into their places. Nor did our convocation once complain of the absence of their archbishop, and so many of their other bishops, or make any address on their behalf, or desire any conference with them, to know their reasons, and endeavour any accommodation. No, we did none of these things; We were seized with I know not what panick consternation. Though all were well inclined, and every one would gladly have been a second, yet none durst begin. We were passive here to a superlative degree; Our courage and our souls have left us. We lie under the load, though we see ourselves sinking with it. What is this but infatuation! and the end must be destruction. But now, at last, if we have any spirits left, though we have not made any address, or shewn ourselves concerned for the case of our brethren in Scotland, or for our deprived bishops and clergy here, yet let us not sit still, and, by a supine negligence, be so wanting to ourselves, as at least not to petition, to represent our fears and our danger to the king and government, to desire some redress to our just grievances; that there may be an alteration of the persons employed in public offices, and such only set at the head of affairs as are sincerely for the church of England; and let us make our exceptions against those whom we know to be of a quite different interest. We ventured upon all this, and more, to King James, and had good success in it. Who knows but upon our appearing zealous and active for the safety of the church, others of our flocks may join with us? At least, they will approve and justify us in asserting ours, and their true interest. But who will stir for us, or stand by us, if we dare not so much as open our mouths in our own behalf? It is our office to lead and instruct them; they will love us the better for it: And we may, by this, recover many whom we have lost; but we shall lose all if we render ourselves wholly insignificant and insensible of the incroachments which are daily made upon us: And our posterities may curse us, in whose power it was to have stemmed this tide, if we had taken it in time. The people will never believe that we can be hearty to them, and stand in the gap for preservation of their rights and privileges, (as we have heretofore done, and were honoured for it,) while they see us so very dispirited and negligent in our own.

At least this we shall gain by it, that if a deaf ear be given to all our applications, we may then rest assured of what is determined against us.

17th July, 1694.

Postscript.

Since my writing of this, to add to our misfortunes and dangers, already so many, we have received a fresh blow, by that irreparable loss of our most incomparable queen, who was our patroness, from a zeal she had for our religion, our true and orthodox church; in whose doctrines her judgment was entirely satisfied, and under whose strictest discipline she had had her education, and whose truest and most genuine sons were always most in her favour, and had most interest and influence with her. By her death we also lost all pretence to a share in King William, and that because we have no pretence left of serving the present government upon our own principles: For though all the world should agree that King James really abdicated his throne, and that the Prince of Wales was supposititious, yet King William's title being now become by her death merely elective, and all matrimonial right ceasing with her, we that are of the church of England, and have ever declared our constitution to be hereditary monarchy, can no longer have those salvoes for our compliance which heretofore gave some ease to our consciences. King William can't but know this too; and therefore, whatever disguises he may think necessary to put on, he must be laying his foundation upon, and giving secret assurances to, those of the whiggish party. Nor are we the more secure upon the account of the Princess of Denmark: No! there is our greatest and most bewitching snare. We cannot say she is not of our church in her own mind; but what security can we have of what her actings will be, since we know how entirely she is in the hands and under the tuition of the Earl of Marlb——, who, knowing his interest to stand so diametrically opposite to that of her own relations, (and by consequence to that of the church which supports them, and which would gladly hope that she might one day return to be under their influence and councils,) who knowing this, I say, is so fastly bound to the opposite interest, and is so deeply engaged with Sund——, and so inward with the whole gang, who are so obstinately and implacably set against the interest of our church. Nay, I am not without my fears, that when the Princess of Denmark has suffered our church to be sacrificed, and made her own interest precarious, King William may marry, or may be wrought upon so to wound our monarchy in its fundamentals, as in effect will prove to be the establishing (after his own time) of that form of government, the very name of which all true sons of the church have in the utmost detestation. He may, when by Marlb——'s artifices the Princess of Denmark has lost herself and us, obtain an act of parliament to give the crown to whatsoever foreigner he thinks fit, or to bequeath us the hated legacy I just now hinted at. The king's present fit of devotion is yet a less security to us; for if it is put on to serve a turn, then it is we churchmen and tories that are to be deceived; and nothing so effectually deludes as dissembling a good life and a strict conscience. Men can scarce keep themselves upon their guard against such as betake themselves to that sort of disguise. But suppose the king is grown really religious, which way but to the synod of Dort, and the institutions of Calvin, and the principles of his education, should this new-raised devotion turn him? Has he unlearned his old doctrines, as well as turned over a new leaf? The more religious King William is, the more zealous he will be to establish presbytery amongst us; and that by such steps and such degrees as the heads of that party judge proper to do their work.

A Letter out of Suffolk to a Friend in London, giving some Account of the last Sickness and Death of Dr William Sancroft, late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. By the Rev. Thomas Wagstaff, M. A. 1694.

Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, was, in principles and practice, a high-churchman. He even harboured notions favourable to the celibacy of the clergy, and other ascetic doctrines of the church of Rome. Burnet says, " that he was a man of solemn deportment, sullen gravity, and some learning. He made profession of the old cavalier faith and principles of loyalty, which rendered him acceptable to the court, and the high-church party in general, although his temper was austere and reserved, and his manners dry and distant. " Yet the archbishop, though so harshly described by his brother of Sarum, displayed, on one urgent occasion, a becoming readiness to assert the doctrines of the church of England against those of Rome; and on another the steadiness of his own political principles, although his adherence, in both instances, exposed him to persecution from those in power. While the head of the high-church party, the primate was the first to encourage the bishops and clergy to a refusal to read the king's declaration of indulgence; he concerted also, and signed the memorable petition for which, with six other prelates, he suffered imprisonment and trial by one of the most imprudent exertions of power which an infatuated monarch ever attempted. On the 16th of July, 1688, this primate recommended a set of articles to the bishops within his metropolitan jurisdiction, inculcating residence and attention to parochial duties; but especially that the clergy should take heed of Romish emissaries, who, like the old serpent, *insidiantur calcanes,* and besiege the beds of dying persons to unsettle their faith. He also recommended a tender regard to their " brethren the protestant dissenters," and an union with them against the church of Rome. At the Revolution the archbishop was one of those privy-counsellors who invited the Prince of Orange to take charge of the government; but, as his principles did not permit him to accede to any step for removing King James from the throne, he declined sitting in the convention of the estates. In conformity to the same principles, he refused to take the oaths of allegiance to the revolution government, and was in consequence first suspended and finally deprived of his dignity, in which he was succeeded by the famous Tillotson. He was regarded by the high-church party as a confessor, if not a martyr for the doctrine of passive obedience. Sancroft died in 1693.

SIR,

WHEN you was pleased to desire of me a particular account of the last and fatal sickness of our late metropolitan, and of his grace's pious behaviour under it, I could not but congratulate with myself the happy employment you had put me to, and do hereby return you my most hearty thanks for the fresh opportunity you have been instrumental in giving me of revolving in my thoughts those admirable and Christian virtues so eminent and conspicuous in the whole course and tenure of his life, and yet more illustrious at the time of his death: The memory of him indeed will be always precious in the eyes of good men; and, I am persuaded, his name will never be forgotten in these and the neighbouring kingdoms, nor ever remembered or mentioned but with marks of honour, esteem, and veneration. But such memorials are general and languid, and will but coldly affect our hearts, or dispose us to imitation, except his particular graces be ruminated on, and riveted within us by devout and serious meditation. This will raise in us (as was in him) a spirit of meekness, mortification, fortitude, and constancy: And his death will improve the world, (as his life always did,) by recommending a most generous and sincere piety, and encouraging us in the most difficult duties of religion. And I must confess to you, that it is owing to your commands that I have had a greater occasion, on this great subject, of glorifying God, (who hath given such graces to men,) of supporting myself, and encouraging my brethren in a state of affliction and trouble, by the power and prevalency of so renowned an example. I conceive, therefore, your request to me in this particular was not so much to satisfy your curiosity as to affect your conscience, to provoke you to, and preserve in you, such a steady and unshaken fidelity to truth as is not to be undermined or wrought upon by any specious temptations from the world. Our holy faith is not founded on the examples of men, but the practice of it is mightily encouraged and assisted by them. And here you have before you a glorious confessor; here you have your holy archbishop, making a safe passage through storms and tempests, and carrying his integrity and conscience undefiled to the grave. And doth not this bright example mightily enspirit and inflame your zeal? Doth it not make your afflictions easy, and your virtue strong? Would you now receive the wages of unrighteousness, how much soever you may want them? Or would you change your desolate and narrow circumstances for those more plentiful, at the expence of your conscience, for all the world? These are the fruits of this great prelate's virtues, and this is the use we are to make of them; to animate us in the same course, to aspire to the same degrees of uprightness, to despise the world, and to take up the cross, not as a blemish, but an honour to us: Otherwise, however we may praise and admire him, 'tis but flattery and hypocrisy; we celebrate his memory deceitfully, both to his injury and our own. For if his great virtues deserve to be commended, they deserve to be imitated too: The praise of the tongue is but breath and air, and the character goes no deeper than our lips: But if we live like him, and pursue the same virtues, with the same faithfulness and constancy, our love and admiration is seated in our hearts and consciences, and we evidence the honour we had for him by the noblest principles of human nature. If therefore we shall make him our pattern, and follow his example, we shall do more right to his memory than by all the panegyricks in the world.

I could heartily wish that I were able to set this great example in a true light, that I could draw his grace's picture at full length, and give you a complete account of the whole series of his life from the beginning to the end; and this (if it was faithfully done) perhaps would be as bright a pattern of virtue as has for many ages been communicated to the world, and would emulate the piety of the first and purest times, and the faithfulness of the primitive Christian bishops: But this is a task too difficult for me upon many accounts, and, I hope, will be undertaken by some abler hand, and indeed is more than you require of me: However, as introductory to what follows, I shall lay before you these two general observations:

I. That that high and important station which he held in the church of England was never better filled, nor managed with better conduct: His great abilities of learning, wisdom, courage, and sincerity abundantly qualified him to guide the church, and steer the helm of it in the most dangerous and surprising junctures. There never was a time since the beginning of Christianity when all these qualifications were not necessary in a Christian bishop, and which he had not always more or less occasion to exercise; but it must be confessed, that in his days the church was beset with extraordinary difficulties, and required an extraordinary measure of prudence and resolution, of faithfulness and zeal, to manage that great trust committed to his charge, to the honour of God, the interest of religion, and the good and benefit of the church.

There are two famous instances which give testimony to this, and abundantly evidence the greatness of his mind, the wisdom of his conduct, and the zeal and care he had for the preservation of religion and the safety of the church. The first was when he was to struggle with the commands of a lawful sovereign, which seemed to interfere with the interest of the established religion, and the known laws of the land; but of this he made no difficulty, and soon resolved rather humbly to decline the commands of his rightful prince, than to obey him to the prejudice of the true religion and the established laws. But the manner of doing this was as exemplary as his courage; when his king laid uneasy commands, and which he could not comply with, he did not presently fly in his face, and load him with invectives and aspersions, much less did he undermine his throne, invite the invader of it, or by ungodly or revengeful arts endeavour to defeat him of his just and hereditary rights; but, like a true Christian bishop, he committed his cause to God, and possessed his soul in patience. He could not do an unlawful thing; but he knew well that reason extended to all lawful things, and that he could no more violate the rules of religion and the laws of the land, in resisting his lawful prince, or injuring him in his undoubted rights, than he could violate them in obedience to him. Sincere virtue is always uniform, and all of a piece; and he knew that the same religion and laws which enjoyned him not to obey, obliged him likewise not to resist and rebel; they were of equal obligation in both cases, and their authority as sacred, and could not be broken with a safe conscience in one instance no more than in the other. He stood indeed in the gap, with all the degrees of fortitude and resolution that the greatness of the occasion required; but these were Christian and episcopal virtues, and joined with the same degrees of meekness and humility, by humble petition, by all modest and just ways he declined compliance, but without the least insolence of behaviour or disrespect to the person of his prince, much less to shake off his authority and government, whom he knew to be the rightful king of these kingdoms, and established in the throne by the laws of God and the land.

It is true, in this action (though it is to be feared of some not with the same intention) he did not stand alone, but several of his brethren, my lords the bishops, and most of the inferior clergy, bore their parts, and joined with their metropolitan; but as his post and station, his wisdom and conduct, his great part in that whole affair deservedly challenges the first place, so the ascribing to him what is really his due, does by no means detract from the merits of the rest: All those who acted in conjunction with him, and upon the same foundation and principles, their credit and virtue remain entire to them, and they will never lose the reputation of their constancy and faithfulness; but those who acted out of sinister and corrupt ends, and have since forsaken their principles, and woefully prevaricated, they have blasted their own reputation, and have little consulted the honour of that excellent church of which they were members. However, I must tell you a plain truth, that some of them who then thought themselves, and still would fain be accounted, main pillars of the protestant cause, were in this affair very fleeting and unsettled, and for finding out salvoes and distinctions; and their subsequent practice was in a great measure derived from his wisdom, authority, and influence.

I shall not need to mention to you his conduct in the ordinary branches of his metropolitical and episcopal office; how he took care to discharge those with great faithfulness, to preserve the church of England in its rights and establishments, and to secure the purity of her doctrine, worship, and discipline, so far as his power and authority extended: These are notorious to all the kingdom; and it will be sufficient here to observe, that while he sat in the chair, there was no underhand trucking with the Socinians or others, out of her communion. He was a very wise, but withal a very plain and sincere bishop; he was above little tricks and politick arts, and knew not how to preach against people, and then to stroke and fawn, and curry favour with them when he had done: He was never at the bottom of any project *to give up the liturgy*, the rights and ceremonies of the church: For, alas! (quite contrary to *modern policy*,) he thought that the best way to preserve a society had been in keeping *steadfastly to the terms of it*. He had as great a tenderness and compassion for the seduced and *misled* as any man, and used all just and moderate ways for their instruction and information; but; in good truth, he had not that latitude of principle to sacrifice the church out of secular intrigues and politicks, and to deliver up the mounds and fences of it to a party which had been endeavouring the destruction of it for a hundred years and more, and who once had effectually ruined her. When he had favour at court, and was able to recommend a person to the highest offices in the church, it was never his custom to lay aside, or postpone the most worthy and able men, and firm to the constitution of the church, and to make use of his interest to advance a sort of men who are equally principled for Geneva as for England, or for any constitution besides; who were never true nor honest to the church in their inferior charges, and who are far better qualified to betray than to support her. In fine, when he was possessed of the revenues belonging to the church, he never made it his business to destroy and plunder it, by *cutting down the timber* upon little *pretences*, and then putting the money into his *pocket*. Upon the whole he was a true father; the interests of the church were his own, and he spent himself in preserving her honour, rites, and revenues: Whereas it hath been long ago observed, that an intruder is always a step-father, who spins out the bowels of the church, and fattens himself with her blood; who, having no legal right and foundation, is for compounding with religion, and bartering the securities of the church to support himself, and uphold the injustice of his own tenure. And this observation is so true, that it hath never yet failed in any one instance. He that came into the church a thief and a robber hath always continued so; and from the beginning of the church to this very day, there hath not been one ecclesiastical usurper but who, in one or more instances, has pawned *something* of religion to gain an accession to his party, and to secure and strengthen his unrighteous possession.

Another famous instance demonstrating this great prelate's virtue and piety, and his admirable fitness for that *high* office he sustained in the church, was this, that he chose rather actually to suffer an expulsion from all his honours and ecclesiastical revenues, than to violate his conscience, or stain the purity of those *principles* he had always maintained and adhered to. This is a proof next to martyrdom, and there cannot be given a greater testimony to a man's sincerity, except it had been the laying down his life; and no doubt that he would also have as chearfully done, had the Divine Providence thought fit to have called him to that trial. God knows the heart, but men cannot know one another, nor yet themselves, but by trials and temptations. Disguised virtue will deceive the world, and perhaps ourselves too, and when we meet with no interruption in our affairs, a general care of inoffensiveness may pass for great unrightness, both in the eyes of men and in our own: But when the business comes to experiment, when we must either part with the world, or with our consciences and principles, this is a touchstone of our sincerity, and the distinction is soon made. And here we have a most reverend archbishop thrust from his high station, and divested of all his spiritual promotions and preferments, merely upon the account of his conscience, and which he might easily have kept if he could have but tampered with his principles, and bribed his judgment to submission, by carnal inducements and fallacious arguments. But as he was too wise and judicious to be imposed upon, so he was too honest to act upon hypocritical pretensions and sophistical evasions; for (as he often said) he had rather suffer under his lawful prince, than flourish under an usurper. Alas! sir, he never was able to know which way the people (collectively or representatively) became sovereign of this kingdom, and could give away the government to whom they pleased; he never had philosophy enough to know that the streams rose higher than the fountain; that the receiver of a gift for that very reason had a better title to it than those that gave it; how those who gave away that which was none of their own could derive a better right to the taker than they had themselves. He had no skill to dive into the mystery of a people being conquered by themselves, and thereby deriving a title of conquest to a third person; he could not expound the riddle of conquering by vote, or that giving and taking were discriminating marks of a conquest; nor could he submit his conscience to the maddest hypothesis that ever was broached by men. He had not the nice subtilty to distinguish between allegiance *de facto*, and allegiance *de jure*; for, as he knew that all duties whatsoever were founded in right, and flowed from it, and there is no such thing in the world as a duty to wrong, so he knew likewise, that neither our own laws, nor any in the whole world, had been so contradictious and inconsistent, as to provide for a double allegiance in opposition to one another. These were fig-leaves, which some had sewed together to cover their nakedness; but the covering was so very thin and slight, that a far less discerning judgment than his would easily look through them; it needed no skill nor art, but plain honesty was sufficient to uncloath them, and to perceive that they served only to blind or shuffle with the conscience, by no means to direct or satisfy it. He knew an oath was too sacred and serious to be taken upon phantoms and shadows; upon such wild and ridiculous suggestions as have not the least being in nature, reason, religion, or the law. And he knew withal, that to take two contradictory oaths must necessarily involve a man in the guilt of perjury: In such a case, there is no medium betwixt swearing and forswearing. Upon this basis he stood, and he stood like a rock, firm and unshaken, and all the billows that beat upon him could not make the least impression. His high post and great revenues were mighty temptations, but when they came to be put into the balance with his conscience, he soon determined his choice, and gave a convincing demonstration that his virtue was superior to the world, and independent of it; that truth is better and far more eligible than riches and honour, when, for the sake of one poor persecuted truth, a man can, without the least hesitation, forsake all that is great and honourable in the world. It is true, on this great occasion, he had many partners; seven of my lords the bishops, and a considerable number of the inferior clergy, besides many of the nobility, gentry, and commonalty, preserved themselves from contagion, and gave the same great proof of their invincible fidelity and constancy, whereby they have not only secured the uprightness of their own consciences, but have withal maintained and upheld the honour and reputation of the church of England, which hath so terribly been impaired by the scandalous apostacy of so many others. And this is of such mighty consequence, that it must be confessed that posterity hath nothing left to vindicate the church and her avowed principles, but their heroick and memorable examples; and when after-ages shall come to dispute the principles of our church, they will have the piety and practices of these excellent men to counterbalance the general defection which hath overspread this unhappy nation.

II. Another general observation which I have to remark to you is, that these immortal virtues which have embalmed his name to all posterity, were not newly acquired, or even exercised; but his younger years gave an early testimony of the greatness of his mind, and the steadiness of his principles. There was a time when a wicked covenant and engagement were to be taken; the one oath was designed to propagate rebellion and to destroy the church, and the other to support a cruel usurpation; and these (in their respective seasons) blocked up all preferments, and a man could neither keep what he had, nor be admitted to any other, but he must first make his way by swallowing the deadly and accursed thing. In those days he was in the prime and flower of his age, when gaudy seducements are generally the most prevailing, when the passions and propensities to the world are most strong, and the judgment less mature and solid to correct them; but even in his greener years his virtue was ripe; he then became an actual sufferer for the very same principles, and chose to relinquish his interest in his native country, and to submit to a voluntary exile, rather than advance himself by the rewards of ungodliness, and own the authority of an unjust, though prevailing usurpation. This therefore is not the first time that he gave the world proof of his admirable constancy; he was a confessor near fifty years before, upon the very same account; and the very same reasons and arguments (that in those days were urged for rebellion and usurpation) which could not work upon him then, much less could they do it now, (though they had new names put to them) when his judgment and virtue were improved, and the truth of those principles confirmed by his most mature thoughts, and by long experience. He had seen and sifted all these matters long before; and it was not likely, that to a wise and good man, the copy and transcript should prevail more upon his riper years, than the original itself did upon his youth. Doleman's rebellious arguments had no better effect when transplanted into Dr St——'s Unreasonableness of a New Separation, than they had in the vile book of Parsons the jesuit itself; and the very same numerical reasons could satisfy as little, when baited with modern names, than they did heretofore when they came immediately from the pens and persons of the first authors themselves; from regicide Cook and Milton, from John Goodwin, and Hugh Peters. In short, he was always just to his conscience, and true to his principles; and the repeated instances he hath given of an untainted fidelity, will exceedingly add to his great character, that in all the various concussions of state, the turns and changes of the world, he was always the same; and the last great actions of his life will suffer no diminution or reproach from any temporizing levity or unworthiness of his former proceedings. I do not deny but a man may once trip and miscarry, and afterwards relent and recover himself, and become very great and useful; and there is no repugnancy in the reason and nature of things for a man erring through weakness of judgment, inconsiderateness, or violence of temptations, to raise himself up again, and to stand firm ever after. But, if we shall consult fact, we shall find this theory not always, perhaps not very often, confirmed by experience. Those who have once played fast and loose with their principles, are generally prepared to travel the compass; and we have, in our own memories, some who passed from the Covenant to the Engagement, from thence to the Cromwell's, thence to the Restoration, and from thence to the Revolution: And, no doubt, if there was occasion, from the same unchangeableness of principle, could travel the same way back again. Now, sir, if this be no blemish to a man's integrity; if, when he can receive new principles with every tide, and turn himself and his conscience to every turn of affairs; if he can dispute the same things *pro* and *con*, and resolve a case of conscience backwards and forwards, and rise and fall his doctrines in proportion to his interests; if, notwithstanding, he shall sustain the character of steadiness and fidelity, then, by my consent, Ecebolius and the Vicar of-Bray shall henceforward be reckoned among the confessors, a versatile and winding craft shall pass for the mark of a plain and fair-dealing man, and the wind and the moon be hereafter the fittest emblems of constancy. But, if mankind have always taken other estimates of things; if the truth and goodness of a man's virtue hath always been measured by its strength, that it is able to abide the trial, to weather all storms and mutable accidents, and remain the same under all difficulties and discouragements; if the difference between counterfeit and standard virtue consists in permanency and perseverance, not subject to the changes and chances of this lower world; if, finally, these are in themselves, and were always accounted great and glorious things, then the several stages of our venerable father's life will afford us so many external monuments of his piety. And he hath left behind him very few, who, in this degenerate age, are likely to equal his virtues, or to come near them by many degrees, and none less than him, who sits in his chair, and some others, who fill the sees of our deprived bishops.

But, sir, will you give me leave more fully to excite your piety and imitation, and to improve to your use and my own this great example to the best advantage? It may be necessary to go a little deeper, and to uncover the root from whence so many excellent and praise-worthy actions did spring; for it will be impossible to copy out one of his great virtues, without acquiring a just proportion of all the rest. To aim at his constancy without his humility, is to plant without a soil; and to aspire at his inflexible faithfulness without an equal measure of his mortification, is to make a superstructure without a foundation. And therefore it may be fit to observe, that that wonderful staidness and evenness of his conduct, those high and eminent virtues which rendered him so conspicuous, were built on a foundation abundantly sufficient to support the weight of them: His humility and denial of the world were as bright as any of his virtues, and bore up this mighty fabrick: The world could lay no biass on his affections, to suborn his judgment, and tamper with his conscience; but he could, and did, with equal affection and resolution, embrace truth, when naked and despised, as well as when attended with honours and revenues: And you yourself know, and so does every man else, that had the happiness to converse with him, that he suffered his remove from his possessions and preferments with greater satisfaction and chearfulness than any man could take them. It was a smart answer that he gave to a person, speaking to him concerning the Revolution, and what were like to be the effects of it; "Well!" saith he smiling, "I can live upon fifty pounds a year," meaning his paternal inheritance; and thereby intimating how little the loss of all the rest would affect him, and what an inconsiderable inducement the highest station of the church was to mislead him, and to pervert his conscience. He had no pride, ambition, covetousness, or luxury to maintain, and consequently was secure against all assaults that could come from those quarters. When a man hath once brought himself to that pass, that he cannot live under so much by the year; whenever such a posture of affairs happens, that he cannot honestly keep his integrity and his incomes too, he is in great danger of turning to the left-hand, of distrusting Providence, and starving his conscience for to keep warm his back and his belly. When ambition and love of the world prevail upon the affections, religion will become art and management, calculated for designs and interests, must vary and alter with seasons and opportunities; and such a man's conscience will observe the wind, and be sure to sit always in that corner from whence preferments come. In fine, whosoever hath not a competent degree of self-denial, mortification, and contempt of the world, religion can have no sure hold of him, nor he of religion, and he lies under an utter incapacity of being true to himself and to his conscience; his principles will be arbitrary and precarious, and follow all the revolutions and mutable contingencies of this world: What therefore our Lord and Saviour said, "Whosoever he be of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple," Luke xiv. 33. This was not so much a command, as a plain declaration of the state of the case: There is an utter impossibility in the nature of things, that a man should be Christ's disciple who is not prepared and disposed to forsake all the world for him, and to put these dispositions into act, upon all just occasions; for otherwise he can be a Christian no longer than his religion and interests agree; for when they differ one must be parted with, and the predominate principle will certainly carry him, and he will determine his choice in behalf of his affections. To be mortified to the world, therefore, is not only to do our duty in that one instance, but to gain a general preservative. The cross is the fundamental principle of Christianity, and secures the honest observance of all the rest.

By this time, sir, I presume, that you perceive how necessary it was to enter upon this last paragraph; it hath an immediate tendency to lead us in the right way, and to direct us how we may follow his steps; if we would imitate his greatness of mind, his Christian fortitude, and admirable constancy, why then we must lay as deep a foundation as he did; we must mortify our pride and passions, and wean our affections from the world; we must endeavour to attain the same measure of patience, humility, and self-denial; and, if this be effectually done, we may then hope to partake of his spirit: but if our appetites remain irregular, if our thirst of the world be yet immoderate and intemperate, we have a plummet at our heels, which will be sure to weigh us down, let our judgments and understanding be what they will, and let the occasion of perseverance be never so just and honourable. The world is and always will be changeable; and if there be room left in our hearts to plant that engine, it will turn us about in spite of the clearest apprehensions and the best resolutions we can make; when we doat too much upon the fortune, we shall forsake our mistress on the loss of her portion, and court another. In truth, without such a measure of indifferency to the world, it will be impossible we should be true and faithful upon any occasion where truth and fidelity are required; we shall abandon our friend or our father, our king or our country, as well as our virtue, in a declining and unprosperous condition: For it is an infallible maxim in morals, and which holds good in all instances, that ambition and levity of principle, that covetousness and unfaithfulness, that love of the world and inconstancy, are convertible; there is never one, without some proportion and degrees of the other.

And thus, sir, I have laid before you these two general observations; and I think I shall not need to remark, how fit and pertinent they are to lead us into the consideration of the last scene of this great man's life. Here we have the picture of his great virtues, of his moral and Christian endowments; and when we shall find his last hand to it, when we shall see it completely finished by himself, it will give a mighty addition to its grace and beauty; the last and finishing strokes are always the fairest, and give lustre and perfection to all the rest. And this is what I have undertaken (according to my poor measure) to give you some account of; and when you cast your eye lower, you will see, that as he lived, so he died. He resigned up his soul in the profession and practice of those very principles which he owned and maintained with so great constancy and vigour all the time of his life, which is the most perfect and unsuspected evidence that a man can give of his entire satisfaction in his principles, and of his great sincerity in the owning them, and living up to them. The hour of death is, of all others, the most unfit season for hypocrisy and dissimulation; and if there be any seriousness and sincerity in men, they will shew themselves on a death-bed. But when a man hath lived unblameably all his days, when the most malicious and critical eye is never able to tax him with deceitful daubing, in the whole course of a long life; when such a man shall come to lie under an apparent sense of his dissolution, if, in the last article of his life, he shall renew the profession of his principles, we have all possible assurance, not only of the utmost plainness and sincerity of that profession, but of the sincerity also of his past actions in pursuance of those principles; for he stakes his soul for the truth of his belief of them, and appeals to God (to whom he is immediately going) for the uprightness and honesty of his former proceedings.

But, sir, that I may proceed in order, I am, in the first place, to acquaint you, that some time after his expulsion from his habitation at Lambeth, he retired into the country, to the place of his nativity, which was the ancient estate and residence of his ancestors for above three hundred years, and where he built a small habitation, but large enough for his retinue and attendants, which were only two or three servants: Here he chose to fix himself in his retirement; here he enjoyed the same chearfulness of spirit, the same serenity of mind, and (in one word) the same good conscience; there was some difference in the outward state, in the splendour and ornament, but none at all in the man; and those who repaired to him from all parts were blessed with the same charming and familiar converse, the same holy admonitions and instructions, and they found exactly the same great archbishop, under a plain roof in a country village, that they used to meet with in his palace. Some receive honour and reputation from the places they hold, and some infamy; the one, as having too little virtue, the other too much vice: But when a man's virtues bear an equal proportion with his station, they are inherent in his person, and remove with it. When he resided at Lambeth, his episcopal virtues had there their residence also; but when he was forced to leave it, he did not leave his virtues behind him to be possessed by the next comer, (and if this needs to be proved, we have ocular demonstration) but they followed his person in all fortunes and places; and we had a most reverend archbishop in Fresingfield, when there was none at Lambeth, nor nothing like it. His obscurity was a new accession of honour to him; it was the effect of a good cause and a good conscience; which, though it added no new virtue, it made it more bright and visible; they were the same virtues he had before, but with greater lustre, and we had with us the very same venerable archbishop; but we had him with the additional characters of his expulsion, and cloathed with the new honours of his constancy and sufferings.

In this just and honourable retirement, he enjoyed all the pleasures and advantages of solitude. A mere quiet from the hurry and business of this world, thereby affording greater vacancy and leisure for the concernment of the next, is, in itself, so desirable, that some have voluntarily stript themselves of all their lofty accessions, on purpose to gain an opportunity of retiring into themselves, and cultivating their minds: But when it is an escape from a spreading contagion, when quitting the world is quitting the sins of it too, it is then not only an opportunity of exercising good things, but a sanctuary and refuge also from those that are bad; but when, to both these is superadded a noble and glorious occasion, when it is the result of piety and principles, the lot of virtue and a good conscience, privacy is then set out to the best advantage; it is both our peace and security, but it is withal our joy and our crown. This was our great prelate's retirement, and in this glorious sphere his virtues moved, during the last stage of his life; for although he needed no sequestration from the world, to learn to know himself, and to search into his conscience, those had been his constant exercises and employment from his youth; although no incumbrances of his station, or emergencies of public affairs, could ever tempt him to rob God of his dues, to interrupt his devotions, and the necessary works of piety, yet the recess his conscience had made him afforded him larger and more frequent opportunities of conversing with God, and with himself; of imploring the divine favour, forgiveness, and assistance; of perfecting his repentance, making up the accounts of his soul, and preparing himself for another world: And these were the companions of his solitude, the fruits and improvements of his sufferings. But, besides his own personal and particular concerns, there were others of a more public nature which he charged himself with, and interested himself in; the groans of a languishing and afflicted church, and the scandal and sins of an apostate one, were each of them sad subjects, and both deserved and excited his Christian compassion, and his earnest address and application to God for grace and mercy, in proportion to the respective states and conditions. These are times of trial and temptation, of defection and apostacy; and, as God knows there was occasion enough, so he suited his petitions to the exigency of the times, that God would be graciously pleased to establish the strong, confirm the weak, reclaim and recover the lapsed; those who deserted his authority as well as their own principles, could not run away from his prayers and charity; and God grant that they may find the benefit of his holy devotions, who would receive none by his influence and example!

But besides these, there is yet another ingredient, which rendered his solitude more triumphant, and that is the reason and occasion of it; it was not the effect of weariness or satiety, of sullenness or disappointment, but founded in just and righteous principles; and the goodness of the cause sanctified the affliction, and made his privacy venerable in the eyes of all, and very comfortable to himself; it was indeed the exercise and safeguard of his virtues; but it was moreover the actual suffering for them, and this gave it life and spirit, changed the stile and denomination, made his meanness his glory, his abasement his honour and ornament; and though he was always a very great man, yet he made a greater figure in the world, and sustained a more honourable character in his privacy and retirement, than ever he had done in the utmost extent of his prosperity and plenty; and this was not only external, and terminated without him, but it was an honour founded in righteousness, the honour that comes from God only, which exerts a mighty power within, and sheds ineffable comforts into a man's own breast. He saw nothing about him but what were arguments of his uprightness, and carried the marks of his sincerity; and this, joined with the internal testimony of his own soul, is perhaps one of the most reviving and cherishing things in the whole world: And here we may contemplate the mighty power of a good conscience, how easily it triumphs over the world, and what unspeakable pleasure ariseth in the soul, from the sense of an honest and resolute adherence to duty: He did not only bear his suffering and low condition with patience, but he exulted in it; it was matter of the highest satisfaction to him, and any man might read the pleasure in his breast, by the constant serenity and chearfulness of his aspect: And, I dare say, that the most greedy worldling never enjoyed half that solid complacency, in the most lucky and fortunate acquisitions, as he did in being deprived of all, and reduced to the mean circumstances of a private habitation.

Thus holy were his exercises, thus heavenly his comforts, till at length it pleased God (in order to perfect and complete them) to visit him with a long and languishing sickness. His disease was at first an intermitting fever; but the fits were so extremely violent, that he was very near dying in the second, and lay speechless and bereaved of his senses for some hours; but, by the help of the *Cortex Peruvianus*, advised and directed by his physician, a third fit was prevented; but however the stopping the fits gave some respite, yet it was without any promising hopes; he had some lucid intervals, but recovered no strength: He lay under a general weakness and decay, and so continued wasting to the last period, till his spirits and vitals were exhausted, and his soul took wing from a dry and emaciated carcase. This distemper, from the beginning to the end, continued just thirteen weeks: He fell sick on the 26th of August, and died on the 24th of November following.

And now, sir, I presume you expect to see the fruits of a good life, the conduct of sincere virtue, when it is to wrestle with the terrors of death; this is the last, and it is the greatest of trials. And here we perceive the wonderful advantages of sincerity, that it standeth us in stead when we have most need, and when all things else fail us; it supporteth us when our spirits are spent, and enableth us to look grim Death in the face not only with confidence but with address. When he had once shewed his physician his wasted and shrivelled thighs and legs, void of flesh and all nourishing juice and moisture, saith he, "And can these dry bones live?" In truth, he was not only contented and willing to die, but he breathed after it with ardency; he desired it, and called for it, but still with the humblest submission and resignation to the will of God. He used to express the sense of his heart in these words of the psalmist, "I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him: I will lay my mouth in the dust." In his greatest extremities and agonies, he used to set before him the great example of our Saviour: "For," saith he, "as a lamb carried to the slaughter, he was dumb, and opened not his mouth." Those great virtues of humility and patience, of trust and affiance in God, of universal charity and good-will to men, which by a long practice, he had made habitual and familiar to him, now exerted themselves most powerfully in this critical season; and we beheld the graces of his life triumphing over the decays of nature, and were both the support and the crown of his death-bed; which plainly teaches us how necessary it is to gain a habit of virtue in the days of our health, that we may not have it to seek when we have the greatest occasion to use it. We saw the admirable humility and patience of his soul, with what quiet and chearful resignation he submitted to the divine will throughout the whole course of his languishing sickness: There was not the least appearance of any disturbance or discomposure; but the same meekness, which had always calmed his passions under former dispensations, was ready now to assist him, and was, in truth, more eminent and visible *in extremis.* That which came the nearest to a complaint, was only a description of his wasting condition, in these pious words: "Thy hand is heavy upon me day and night; my moisture is like the drought in summer:" But even this joined with an act of high trust in God; for, saith he, "I am low, but must be brought lower yet, even to the dust of death; yet, though he kill me, I will trust in him." His great piety (which was always quick and active) was now most sprightly and vigorous; and it was surprising to behold, in the perfect failure of all bodily supports, with what presence of mind he would turn himself to all the difficulties he lay under, with what wonderful dexterity he would meet with and alleviate his extremities by pious and suitable ejaculations, taken out of the scriptures, or breathed from his own pious soul: An acute pain, or dejection of spirit, (the frequent companions of his sickness,) could no sooner approach him, but he was always as ready to obviate them by a divine sentence or holy prayer. It was indeed an unspeakable comfort and satisfaction to us, and we reflected on the mighty power of a well-spent life, the great efficacy of the constant practice of virtue; when we saw him with so much ease and facility overcoming the throes and pains of a mortal distemper, and preventing the terrors and convulsions of death itself. We saw his flaming and ardent charity, both extended and limited, according to the apostle's direction: "To all, but especially to them of the household of faith." His suffering brethren were the principal objects of his charity and prayers, but not exclusive of others; but upon the frequent returns and exercises of his devotions, he suited his prayers to the general needs of men, and recommended them respectively to the divine mercy. In particular, the apostacy of a once glorious church stuck very near to him, and this gave great employment to his charity; he knew that prayers might reach them who were obstinate to all other convictions; and in this he was earnest and frequent, that God would touch their hearts, and reduce them to a sense of their sin, and of the great scandal they had occasioned, and dispose them to repair it by a timely and seasonable repentance. In short, if he had any enemies, they also were included in his prayers; and in particular, a little before his last hour, he solemnly prayed for "a blessing upon his family, and relations and friends, and earnestly begged forgiveness for his enemies, as he desired it of God for himself."

But, sir, I know you expect from me a more particular account of his grace's management of himself in this his last sickness, with respect to the principles which he owned, and for which he suffered: And, sir, I shall answer your expectation, having something very considerable to observe to you on this head; and you will soon perceive how far his conscience and soul were engaged in that matter, and that it was impossible for him to have acted otherwise with the safety of his conscience, and preserving the uprightness and sincerity of an honest man, if you please to consider,

I. That, by his own order and appointment, and with words of his own framing, was inscribed upon his tomb, "At last deprived of all that he could not keep with a good conscience." I shall presently give you the inscription at large; in the mean time, this is as plain and full a declaration as words can make, that the reason and ground of his non-compliance with the present powers was a good conscience. He was deprived because he could not comply, and he did not comply because he could not do it with a good conscience; and it is remarkable that this came from his own hand, and with intentions to survive him; so that we have not only a death-bed declaration, but that declaration perpetuated by himself, his dying testimony recorded to succeeding ages, and to remain a monument to posterity.

II. Throughout the whole course of his retirement, and more particularly during the time of his sickness, he never communicated with the swearing clergy, nor would permit them to officiate; but I cannot express this better than in his own words, dictated to a person who was then with him, some little time before his death, to be sent from his grace to a friend of his, and a copy of which I have kept by me: It is in these words:

"—— My lord is sensible of how great a concernment it is who ministers to him in holy things. We have very few non-swearers hereabouts: Mr W—— hath been with us once, and visited my lord solemnly: Mr E—— hath been here often, and at first visited my lord very solemnly; and it happened to be at a time when there were many swearers and non-swearers in the room: He gave me the absolution of the church, and not long after the holy sacrament: He comes often hither, and, when it is seasonable, performs the holy offices. At other times my s—, who perfectly understands the liturgy, useth as many of the prayers as it is fit for him to do; and we heartily implore God's mercy for the pardon of our defects and indecencies in the performance of his holy service, and hope that we are accepted. My lord never receiveth the sacrament but with those that come not at the parish, and are non-jurors. He never admits any of the irregular clergy to be at the holy offices; as for the rest, if they come when he goes to prayers, he excludes them not: This hath been his course.

"This my lord dictated to me from his own mouth; you see how ready his apprehension and judgment are.

"Nov. 15, 1693."

This, sir, I conceive, needs no application; and here you have your desire from his own mouth, an account of his sense and judgment, together with his particular practice in pursuance of it. You know there were other reports spread with you at London, as if he had received the communion at the hands of a juror, and many such like; and the noise of this came to us in the country, and was a great trouble to his lordship, and, in truth, gave the occasion of representing his own practice in the foregoing letter. He had too just a sense of the unity of the church, and the flagrancy of the schism, to admit such practices: And you may please to observe, that this was but nine days before his death; and, I can assure you, he never altered his course afterwards; nay, he took particular and especial care, that a non-juror should perform the last office of the "burial of the dead," and particularly appointed him by name. I suppose you will make no objection, that the letter above runs in two styles, one in his *own* name, and another in the person of the writer; that is very usual and familiar, when a person dictates what is to be sent to a particular friend; and there was no need, in matters that related purely to his own practice, to be very nice as to the style of the representer: And this difference of the style farther confirms the testimony of the writer, "that it was dictated from his own mouth;" for part of it sustains his own person, and thereby gave credit and authority to the rest, as proceeding from the same fountain, being branches of the same letter, and part of the same representation.

III. The third and last thing I have to remark to you in this particular is, that, drawing near to his end, he said, in the hearing of some of his servants, "that his profession (in the particular case for which he suffered) was real and conscientious, and not proceeding from any sinister ends; that he had the very same thoughts of the present state of affairs which he had at first; and that, if the same thing was to be acted over again, he would quit all that he had in this world rather than violate his conscience:" And, in further confirmation of this, in less than an hour before he died, he put up these two hearty and earnest petitions to Almighty God:

1. "That God would bless and preserve this poor suffering church, which, by this revolution, is almost destroyed."

2. "That he would bless and preserve the king, the queen, and the prince; and, in his due time, restore them to their just and undoubted rights."

And now, sir, you see the make and composition of these his grace's principles and practices; you see their very inwards, and have a window open into his breast; you plainly perceive his conscience and his uprightness in this whole affair, and you have the testimony of his last breath and his expiring prayers: He was so well satisfied both of the eternal truth of those principles by which he acted, and of his own sincerity in living up to them, and suffering for them, that he ventured his soul in the same bottom with them, closed up his life with a profession of them, and made them the subjects of his last recommendatory prayers. I must confess, this inference needs an apology; for if the nature of the thing itself did not sufficiently testify this, (as it certainly does,) I do not believe that any man who knew him did ever think otherwise, or in the least imagine but that he proceeded with the highest sincerity. But, since we live in an age where men oftentimes speak more than they think, and because they themselves are apt to act upon corrupt ends, are willing to charge the same upon others in their own justification, it may perhaps not be altogether unseasonable to make good that by undeniable evidence, although all men, in their own consciences, do already believe it; and if the loss of all this world, and the venturing our hopes in the next, in behalf of a man's principles, be not a sufficient and convincing proof of his satisfaction and sincerity in them, then either there are no such things in the world, or they can never be known.

I am now come to the last period of this great and holy prelate's life; and all that I shall represent to you is, that his memory and intellectuals remained perfect to the last moment, and even his senses also: A very little time before he died, he called for a Common-Prayer Book of the smallest print, and turned to the commendatory prayer, and ordered it to be read; and that being performed, he composed himself more solemnly for his departure: He put his hands and arms down to both his sides, and in a manner laid out himself, and would have his head laid lower, and, with great willingness and chearfulness, submitted himself to the stroke of Death: The time, his age, and other circumstances, you will see in the postscript, when you read the inscription on his monument, composed by himself, and directed by him to be engraved thereon. He was buried in Fresingfield church-yard, against the south-wall of the church, by his own appointment.

And thus, sir, I have given you a true, though very imperfect account of the pious and exemplary behaviour of our late most reverend archbishop, in his last sickness, and of his death: And I desire you would account it (what in truth it is) very defective; and that there are many other passages relating to his abundant charity and beneficence, his memorable edifices and endowments, which equally serve to be recommended to us, and to be transmitted to posterity; and I hope to see a more full and perfect representation performed by a more able hand. I shall conclude with this prayer, "That God would give us grace to follow his steps with the same resolution and constancy, that, in his good time, we may be partakers of the same glory and immortality."

I am, sir,
Your faithful friend and servant.

On the Right Side of the Tomb.

P. M. S.

LECTOR, Wilhelmi, *nuper Archi-Præsulis,*
Qui natus in Viciniâ,
Quod morti cecidit, propter hunc murum jacet,
Atqui resurget. Tu interim
Semper paratus esto, nam quâ non putas
Venturus Horâ Dominus est.

Obiit Nov. 24. *An.* { *Nat. Dom.* MDCXCIII.
{ *Ætat. suæ.* LXXVII.

On the Left Side.

P. M. S.

WILLIAM SANCROFT, born in this parish, afterward, by the providence of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, at last deprived of all, which he could not keep with a good conscience, returned hither to end his life; and professeth here, at the foot of his tomb, that, "as naked he came forth, so naked he must return; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; (as the Lord pleases so come things to pass;) blessed be the name of the Lord."

Over his Head this.

St Matth. xxiv. 27.

"As lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be."

The Case of the Two Absolvers that were tried at the King's Bench Bar at Westminster, on Thursday, the 2d of July, 1696, *for giving Absolution, at the Place of Execution, to Sir John Friend and Sir William Parkens. By Jeremiah Collier, D. D.*

Printed in the Year 1696.

"Upon the breaking of that which was called the Assassination Plot, and the conviction of Sir John Friend and Sir William Perkins, an incident happened which made a very great noise, and deeply affected Mr Collier his whole life after. The fact was this: Mr Collier, with Mr Cook and Mr Snatt, both clergymen of his own opinion, attended those unhappy persons at the place of execution, where Mr Collier solemnly absolved the former, as Mr Cook did the latter, and all three joined in the imposition of hands upon them both. This, as might be very well expected, made a very great noise, and was looked upon as a very high insult on the civil and ecclesiastical government; for which reason they fell under a severe prosecution on one side, in consequence of which Mr Cook and Mr Snatt were sent to Newgate, but afterwards were relieved without being brought to a trial; and Mr Collier, having still his old scruple about putting in bail, absconded, and was outlawed, under which incapacity he remained as long as he lived. On the other hand, both the archbishops, and ten of their suffragans, viz. the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Coventry and Lichfield, Rochester, Hereford, Norwich, Peterborough, Gloucester, Chichester, and St Asaph, published a very strong declaration of their sense of this scandalous and irregular proceeding. To this our author wrote an answer with his usual vigour, and after that several other pieces, in support of his own and his brethren's conduct in this affair."—*Biogr. Brit. ed.* 1789, *fol. vol. IV. p.* 14.

It is said, that upon Collier's publishing his celebrated Essay upon the Immorality of the Stage, the king granted a supersedure of further prosecution against him.

I. For a minister of the church of England to give absolution to a dying penitent, if he humbly and heartily desire it, is a lawful act, as appears by the rubric in the office for the visitation of the sick, which is not only confirmed by, but a part of the Act of Uniformity.

II. There being no particular office appointed in the liturgy for persons to be executed, (whose souls are as precious and as much to be taken care of as the souls of those who die in their beds,) that for the visitation of the sick, which, by parity of reason, is fairly applicable to the case of persons to be executed, who are to be considered as dying men, must be used, or none at all in their case, unless the ministers officiating are left to the liberty of extemporary effusions, which rather become a Calvinistical elder than a presbyter of the church of England. And why is it not as justifiable to use the office for the Visitation of the Sick, in the case of persons to be executed, as to use the prayer in that office publickly in churches in behalf of the sick, which are appointed by the rubric to be used in the sick person's chamber, for which only necessity, and a defect in the liturgy, is pleaded?

III. The circumstances of time and place and ceremony being entirely left by the rubric (where there is neither command nor prohibition concerning them) to the discretion and choice of the ministers absolving, and the penitent to be absolved, how could it be criminal in the absolvers of Sir John Friend and Sir William Parkens, to give them absolution with imposition of hands at the place of execution, which they desired as a comfortable support under the terrors of death, as a *viaticum* in their passage to eternity?

IV. 'Tis entirely left to the absolving minister to judge of the spiritual state of his penitent, whether he be duly qualified or not to receive absolution. *Vide* Rubric, *ut supra.*

V. The minister absolving is to rest satisfied with an account of the general repentance of the person to be absolved, who is not obliged to make a particular and special confession of his sins to the absolver, unless he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter, as appears by the rubric, *ut supra.* To affirm the contrary, is to plead for auricular confession, as it is taught and practised in the church of Rome.

VI. If the person to be absolved makes a special voluntary confession of his sins, the absolver is bound by the canon to conceal it, and keep it a secret from all the world, *vid.* 113 *Can.* If it be objected, that in case of a treasonable conspiracy, which the penitent confesses, the absolver is not bound to conceal it, it may be answered, that in the case of Sir John Friend and Sir William Parkens, there was no treasonable conspiracy so pretended or laid to their charge, but what was discovered and made public, and which they were convicted of.

VII. Suppose, that after the death of the absolved penitent, who dies in his bed by the visitation of God, a paper should be published under his own hand, (which the absolver knew nothing of,) whereby it appears that he was guilty of heresy in the church, and treason in the state, and that he justified both the one and the other, shall this affect the absolver, and make him a criminal in giving absolution? If not, then, with submission, neither could the paper left by Sir John Friend and Sir William Parkens with the sheriff, and afterwards published, which the absolvers were altogether strangers to, any ways affect the said absolvers, or render them criminals in giving them absolution.

Suppose that Sir John Friend and Sir William Parkens had left no paper with the sheriff, and none had been published after their death, 'tis presumed then that the absolvers would not have been questioned or censured for giving them absolution.

IX. Nay, farther, suppose that Sir John Friend and Sir William Parkens had left a paper with the sheriff, which he had afterwards published, acknowledging their guilt, and signifying their repentance as to that particular crime which they were convicted of, then, it is presumed, that the absolver would have been so far from being censured for giving them absolution, that it would have been generally agreed to be a charitable, regular, and lawful act. And if it was, in itself, a lawful act at the time of the performance of it, no subsequent act or circumstance whatsoever, which the absolvers were strangers to, would make it unlawful. Nothing could make it unlawful *à parte post,* which was a lawful act *à parte ante.* But if it was, in itself, an unlawful act at the time of the performance of it, no subsequent act or circumstance whatsoever, how grateful soever to the government, as in the before-mentioned instance, could make it lawful.

Whether the preserving the Protestant Religion was the Motive unto, or the End that was designed in, the late Revolution? In a Letter to a Country Gentleman, as an Answer to his first Query.

This is a most virulent Jacobitical Tract. King William is usually termed the Gentleman at Kensington, because he found his asthma affected by the thick atmosphere of London, and chose to live there for more free air.

SIR,

I CAN give you no better proof of the authority you have over me, than that I am ready to obey you in replying to your questions; though I foresee that I shall thereby not only hazard my safety, but be judged by many to depart from the common measures of discretion: Seeing as I shall be sure to provoke the gentleman whom we have had the folly, as well as disloyalty, to set over us, and to furnish with legions, and also to exasperate his partizans, who, being his copartners in guilt, are likewise sharers with him in the common robbery, so I can hardly escape displeasing others by endeavouring both to undeceive them in matters wherein they have been misled, and to give them a view and sense of their slavery, while they continue fond of their delusions, and proud of their fetters and chains. So that under all the prospect which I am, both of censure and of personal danger by this undertaking, I have but very little hope of awaking and prevailing upon a cheated, impoverished, and enslaved kingdom to recover its wits, reassume its loyalty, and to vindicate its liberty and rights. For who can make them see that wilfully shut their eyes, and who take pleasure in being hood-winked, that they may be led about blind? Or who can rouse those to value and look after freedom that place their contentment in having their ears bored and nailed to Kensington-gates? It is the greatest prodigy of this age, though it hath been fertile of wonders enough, that they who boasted of taking lions by the beard, can submit to be gnawn by mice and rats; and that they who could refuse reverence to princes whom God had set over them, clothed with his own style, and with his divine sanction upon their authority, can dwindle into the meanness, as well as degenerate into the irreligion, of adoring crocodiles and worshipping wolves, which have nothing to make them respected and cringed unto, but that they are brutal and rapacious. Yet how little probability is there of recovering the nation, either to reverence themselves or him whom they ought, when not only those of St Stephen's Chapel, who should be the conservators of our property, freedom, and rights, do value themselves upon being the instruments of the subjects' bondage, and the tools of the Prince of Orange's tyranny, but when the men in gowns of both professions do, the one make the law of which they are appointed guardians, and the other the gospel, whereof they were intended dispensers, means of authorising his arbitrariness and our oppression, and of sanctifying the usurped and illegally exerted power of him whom they have consecrated to rule, and of hallowing the servitude and poverty of the people, over whom they have advanced him? But as I have learned to govern myself by the discoveries of revelation and the dictates of natural light, and by the rules of the civil constitution and society under which and where I was born and do live, and not by other men's opinion, or by little and mean regards to my own profit and fame, so the only, as well as the main thing which I am solicitous about is, that I may discharge my duty to God, my king, and my country, without looking unto, and much less without being uneasy and anxious concerning issues and events. And though I should be thankful unto God, and joyful in myself, to see my countrymen persuaded and gained to relieve themselves, and to save the kingdom and their posterity, by returning to their fealty, and by claiming and asserting the old English constitution in all its parts and branches, and to all the useful, honourable, and legitimate ends and purposes of it, yet should I have the misfortune to see myself disappointed, and to find all my loyal, charitable, and well-meant endeavours frustrated, through the stupidness of some and the bigotry of others, as well as because too many of all ranks are copartners with the usurper in the spoil and plunder of the nation, and in that several have their own ambitions satisfied by him, whose haughty, boundless, and unnatural aspirings they have gratified with a sceptre and a crown, though at the expence of their own loyalty, honour, conscience, and religion,—yet I shall neither be discouraged, dejected, nor murmur, much less be withdrawn from my duty, but shall take up with the peace, contentment, and pleasure which the being conscious to my own integrity will give me, of having done what became an honest man and a good subject.

Now, sir, though your two queries came together, and be each of them of that weight and importance as to require a serious, solid, and well-digested answer, yet you must not expect that I should reply to them both at once, seeing that would not only too much fatigue me to give, and no less weary you to peruse, but would discourage those who do most need the instruction and benefit of papers of this kind from consulting them to receive it, by reason that the bulkiness which such a discourse must unavoidably grow up unto, would challenge more of their time than the complying with their worldly occasions, and the satisfying their lusts, will allow them to spare. However, having in a manner prepared answers to them both before I send you this to the first, you may reckon that the other will be dispatched speedily after it; and that what concerns the second will be ready to overtake this, and to be laid before you, by that time you have sufficiently entertained yourself with what is now put into your hands.

That I may immediately therefore address myself to the answering of your first question, namely, " Whether the preserving the protestant religion was the inducement to the Prince of Orange's coming hither, and the end that was aimed at in the dethroning of the king, and driving him out of his kingdoms?" I must needs say, that the prince's tenderness and zeal for the protestant religion, and his compassionate care to secure it to us and our posterity, when it was in imminent and immediate danger of being extirpated, and which there was no other visible human means to prevent, was then, and continues still to be made, the pretence of his invading these dominions, and of all that afterwards followed, till upon this specious and godly plea he had obtained to be seated upon the throne, as well as of all that has succeeded and ensued since, both in the beginning and in the supporting of this destructive and impoverishing war; by which no benefit was ever intended to accrue to us, but which was entered upon, and hath been hitherto carried on, that others might be rendered safe and wealthy, at the expence of our blood and treasure. However, religion hath been all along alledged as the motive, and made the argument to justify whatsoever hath been done, and to extenuate and sweeten all that we have lost and suffered. This is the principal plea which he bears himself upon for his own vindication; and by which all those seek to warrant themselves, who either invited or attended him hither, or who at first received and joined him at his landing, and on his march to London, or that came in afterwards to cooperate unto, concur with, and approve of what hath been done. This is that by which your judges do decoy on the people tamely to pay their taxes, and trepan and wheedle them to persevere in their rebellion, in their harangues at assizes, instead of entertaining them with those obsolete things relative to law, righteousness, and equity, with which their predecessors used, at those times, to furnish and adorn the charges which they gave; witness Treby's oration at Kingston the last circuit, which wholly consisted of romantic praises of the Prince of Orange, for having so christianly and heroically stept in to save our religion, when at the brink of being lost; and of satire and invective against King James, for having designed to overthrow it; whereof, among other things, he had the impudence and insolency to accuse him, without regard either to truth or decency. This is likewise that by which your mercenary and sycophant divines, who have translated their pulpits into stages, and transformed themselves into Merry Andrews and buffoons, would legitimate the rebellion, and, instead of a sin, bind it as a duty upon our consciences; and cantingly blow us into triumphs of thankfulness and joy, when we lie grovelling and starving under slavery and poverty. Witness, instead of edifying sermons to confirm our faith in the great articles of religion, and to promote our Christian obedience, the many luscious and fulsome panegyrics which have been preached and printed within these six last years, and which are at that distance from decorum, as well as from truth, that they would be the scorn of the theatre, and hissed at by the pit. This they reckon so bright a colour in their limning and drawing the usurpers, that the dull man selected to divert the company at the interment of the late Princess of Orange, and who could dispense with his conscience in saying several things of her above the standard and proportion of truth, but had not wit, nor elevation of thought, to say any thing that was rapturous, decorous, and fine, could not omit the making it one of the main strokes in her picture, and that which was to give the lovely and lively air, and the ornamental beauty to the whole, namely, "That she was a wise and a good queen, and an incomparable wife, and one that had all the duty in the world for other relations, which, after long and laborious consideration, she judged consistent with her obligations to God and her country."[*] Which is as much as if Dr Tenison had said, that if it had not been for the preserving the protestant religion, and the liberties of England, which were in danger to have been subverted, she would have been an obedient daughter to the king, and would not have usurped his throne, and drove him and the virtuous queen, with the royal and innocent infant her brother, out of their dominions, to be as vagabonds in the world, had it not been for the generosity of a neighbouring monarch, who has received, entertained, and succoured them in their calamity, with a deference, respect, and nobleness, becoming his own greatness, and which hath carried in it a recognition of their grandeur and sovereign quality. So that I do grant unto you, that the preserving our religion hath been the great pretence for all the injuries have been done his majesty, and the alledged motives to all the disloyal, illegal, and immoral things which have been perpetrated to compass and effect the late revolution: And I add, that it is still made the topic and plea whereby to justify all the villainies, crimes, and barbarities which have been practised since; and not only that whereby to palliate all our losses and misfortunes, but to be accounted far more than an equivalent of all the distresses, miseries, and mischiefs which have ensued, as the effects and consequences of it.

But should it be admitted, that this was not only a pretended, but a real motive to the revolution, and to all that hath resulted from and attended it, yet it hath not been hitherto made appear, that, according to the rules of Christianity, the fundamentals of our government, and the statutes of the realm, it is likewise a lawful and justifiable one; and all that have written either of ethics or politics, do tell us, and the principles of reason, as well as the discoveries vouchsafed us by revelation, do set it in the brightest light, that neither the goodness of the inducement, nor the piety of the end, will serve to legitimate an action, unless there be both a proper authority to license it, and a goodness either positive or natural in what is to be done, when clothed with all its circumstances; otherwise, men might lawfully rob temples, and plunder banks and exchequers, upon the motive and design of discharging their debts, and of paying their creditors what they owe them: Nay, they may virtuously murder their parents, deflower maids, and ravish their sisters, upon the inducement, and in order to the end, of getting into possession of estates, which they may lavish away upon the saviour of our religion and liberties, and towards the maintaining the sacred war in which he is embarked, and for raising up a new generation of soldiers to defend the Dutch barrier against France. Nor are there any villainies named or practised on the earth, which these late and now common topics of argumentation will not serve to sanctify, and to render them actions highly meritorious. But neither our statesmen, lawyers, nor divines, have thought fit to meddle with this, and much less to take upon them to demonstrate that, by the laws of God, and by those of the kingdom, we are allowed to dethrone princes, drive kings from their palaces into exile, and to involve nations into blood, if our established religion be in danger of being supplanted and overthrown. Though without a clear and uncontroulable proof of this, all they have said, or can say, about his majesty's designs in prejudice of our religion, were there as much truth in it as there is rancour and falsehood, makes not what we have done to be lawful; but only proclaims them to be sophisters in logic, hypocrites in religion, debauchers of the consciences of men, panders to villainy, and the flatterers of criminals in their rebellious wickedness, who have had the irreligion and impudence to plead it. For though I can readily grant that most of the scripture expressions and precepts concerning the duty and obedience of subjects to their rulers, do no further concern us, than as they were either delivered and prescribed unto those that were under civil constitutions of the like species and form with our own; or than as they superadd the divine sanction to human legislative authority, thereby to oblige and inforce us in conscience to yield all that reverence, loyalty, and obedience, to our sovereigns, which the lawful and just laws of the kingdom do impose and exact from us. And therefore and thence it is, that the same texts of scripture do bind and oblige some nations to yield a more universal, unlimited, and unreserved obedience to their rulers, than they can be construed and applied to require of those other countries to perform. For those places of the Holy Bible are designed to influence and operate upon conscience, in proportion to the different degrees of prerogative and sovereignty vested in princes, and according to the respective measures of liberty preserved unto subjects, by the rules and laws of their several and various constitutions. The scripture was not given and designed to teach us politics, or to prescribe the forms of government, and the several limitations of them, farther than that all governments were to be for God, and the good of mankind, and of societies. But all relative to civil government in scripture, is to require and oblige subjects, under the penalty of eternal wrath, to yield obedience in proportion to the respective terms upon which the government is founded under which they live; and according to the several laws by which it is to be upheld and exerted. And the same divine and revealed commands which oblige us in England to submit to monarchy, and be obedient to the king, according to the municipal and statute laws of the kingdom, bind them at Venice to acquiesce in aristocracy, and be in subjection to that authority and power, and to pay obedience to all the laws of the republic, if they be not inconsistent with, and contradictory to the laws of God. No man will say, that the same things were lawful for the Persians or Babylonians to do against their kings, which the Lacedemonians, under the protection and authority of the Ephori, might have done against theirs, or which those of Arragon were heretofore impowered to do at the command and under the jurisdiction of a certain person chosen and appointed to be the *custos* and guardian of their rights and privileges, and who had power, by the law and constitution, to controul and resist their kings, in case of their invading and going about to overthrow them. Whereupon it is no sin in the King of France to take upon him and assume the whole legislation, without the assent and concurrence of the three estates; whereas it would be otherwise in a King of England, whilst he stands limited, as he doth, by the laws of the constitution and government, and restrained by his coronation oath. The French monarch is guilty of no offence in exacting taxes of his subjects, without a previous gift and grant of them by their representatives: But I cannot say, that according to the present form of our government, the King of Great Britain would be innocent, in the sight and esteem of the supreme sovereign, should he levy money of his people without their own antecedent consent in parliament. So that I will affirm, with the utmost confidence, as knowing I do it upon the greatest certainty, that every declaration and intimation in the Bible, relative to the subjection and fealty we should pay to sovereign rulers, are intended to bind and oblige us in conscience, and out of fear of divine wrath, to be obedient to them actively, as far as is enacted and required by the laws of our country, if those laws do command nothing inconsistent with, and repugnant to, the laws of God; and to be passive in all cases, save in those in which the rules of the constitution, and the statutes of the realms where we live, give us liberty, right, and authority, to withstand and oppose them. And I will presume to add, with the fullest assurance that law and reason can give me, that in no circumstances of danger into which our religion and civil liberties could be brought, nor under any hazards we could fall into of losing and having them suppressed, were we either permitted or impowered, by the fundamentals of our government, the rules of our constitution, or by the common or statute law of the kingdom, to rebel against the king, or to dethrone or drive him away. Nor did the having the protestant religion established and secured unto us by law, nor its being incorporated among our franchises, and made a part of our birth-right to possess it peaceably, and practise it openly, authorise us to take arms against the king, divest him of his sovereignty, and banish him from his dominions, though we had been furnished with the most clear and indisputable evidence, that he was fully resolved to extirpate it. For though the laws give us a title to it as our heritage, and a right to claim the exercise of it as our chiefest blessing and most valuable privilege, yet no law or contract, existent in the king's time, had provided that we might fly to arms to prevent its being suppressed, or for the securing the continuance of it to us and our posterity. Yea, instead of that, there were divers express statutes then in being, by which it was made and declared to be treason to take up arms against him upon any pretence whatsoever. So that, had the preserving the protestant religion been the real motive and end of our raising war, and of dethroning the king, yet it was not a lawful nor a justifiable inducement and design for doing it: Nor can it be thought so by any who seriously consider, and look upon the laws of the land as the standard and measure of the people's subjection and obedience; and that whatsoever the municipal and statute laws of our country restrain us from, or confine us unto, provided it interfere not with that which either the laws of nature, or those of revelation, do indispensably require and exact, that thereunto we stand bound, limited, and obliged, by the laws of God, and the doctrines both of the Old and New Testaments; and this upon no less penalty than damnation; which let no man, upon the testimony of a flattering or mercenary priest, or the authority and verdict of a prophane and atheistical statesman, think he will or can escape, without unfeigned repentance, evidenced in sincere and hearty endeavours to restore the king. Nor are you to be surprised to hear this kind of theology and politics from me, seeing, that according to Dr Sherlock's phrase, as no man is forbid to grow wiser than he was, so I blush not, but glory to confess, and have deeply bewailed it, that I have been heretofore misled by false notions, and have entertained hypotheses about government neither reconcileable to our laws, nor to the peace of communities; but *errando discimus non errare.*

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[*] The author would probably have been more pleased with that non-juring divine, who chose for his text on the same occasion, "Take up this cursed woman and bury her, for she is a king's daughter."

And as the preserving the protestant religion could be no lawful and justifiable motive to the late revolution, so "there were no just and sufficient grounds administered by the king why any should have pretended that it was in danger of being supplanted; and much less in any jeopardy of being overthrown." And every wise man was then, and is now, much more sensible that all those noisy and clamorous suggestions, which were so industriously spread abroad, of designs laid and carried on for the extirpation of our religion, were fictions of knaves to impose upon fools; and which were promoted and given out to blacken the king, and to mislead a credulous and unthinking people; the great end of it being to impose upon the understandings, infect and pervert the consciences of the subjects, thereby to undermine the throne and shake the government, by slanders and reproaches thrown upon his majesty. For he was so far from entertaining a thought of this nature and tendency, that he offered his protestant subjects all the legal security they could desire, besides what they actually had by the then established and existent laws, for the preservation of their religion, and for the maintenance of the church of England in its lawful jurisdiction and authority. Nay, at such a distance was he in his intentions from any ill design against our religion, that he was willing, even to the diminution of his own royalty and grandeur, both to have granted a stipulatory law, which should have had the force and virtue of a Magna Charta, or constitutional contract, and to have made it a fundamental in the government in all other reigns. And to give farther evidence of his alienation from, and abhorrency of that with which he hath been so impudently and maliciously charged, he was ready to have gratified the peevish humours, as well as to have extinguished and removed the vain fears and needless jealousies of his subjects, by consenting to a thing not very reconcileable to true politics, but directly inconsistent with any design he was capable of harbouring to the prejudice of our religion; namely, That the Prince and Princess of Orange should have been named and admitted guarantees of what should have been agreed and enacted for the preservation of our religion, on the bottom and with the provision only of liberty of conscience for dissenters. And as there was not the least just ground of suspecting his majesty guilty of any secret intentions of subverting our religion, his open, avowed, and candid behaviour, as well as his public and royal declarations, lying in direct opposition to such a concealed machination, so had it been possible for him to have so far departed from kingly wisdom and justice, and from true English politics, and to have renounced the veracity, compassion, and generosity which are so natural unto and inseparable from him, as to have inwardly entertained and latently pursued a purpose and project of that kind, yet it was so impracticable, and physically as well as morally impossible to be executed, that instead of serving to awaken fears in any discreet and sensible men, it could at most but have administered matter for entertainment and diversion, and provoked us to laugh at the weakness and ridiculous bigotry of those that had suggested such counsels unto him. For surely we will not so scandalously reproach the protestant religion, nor so ignominiously detract from the integrity, zeal, industry, and learning of our universities, national clergy, and of many of our laic protestants, as to imagine, much less to grant, that those of the Roman communion were able to have disputed our religion out of the kingdom, or to have baffled us out of our belief, and have withdrawn us from the faith and worship which we profess and practise by arguments from scripture, reason, or tradition. And indeed, had they been qualified for, and in a condition to have done it that way, I do know no cause, unless we will disclaim both the being men and the being Christians, why we should have taken it ill to be conquered at those weapons, or been angry with them that should gain a victory over us by such honourable and divine means. But this they were so ill prepared and uncapable to effect, that all their essays and efforts of that kind, against our religion, served only to render it the more triumphant, and to confirm us the better in it. And it had been the best policy which the religious of the Roman fellowship could have used, and, I dare say, will be thought so, if ever they should be furnished with such another opportunity, to have confined themselves to the service of their altars, and to the discharge of the devotional functions of their respective orders, and the performing the ministrations incumbent upon them towards those within the pale of their church; or, at most, to have employed themselves about the subjects of common Christianity and of good morals, and not to have disturbed us in the possession of our religion by polemical writings, controversial tracts, and by oral disputes. For those methods were so eminently subservient to the truth and glory of our religion, and to the reputation and credit of our divines, and of other learned persons of our communion, that, if they be wise, they will never venture to tread any more in those paths, unless they have a mind to embark in a plot against themselves, and to lose that esteem which we are willing to preserve for them, notwithstanding all our differences in religious matters. For under all their mistakes, whereof some are of the highest importance, yet we ought to own and respect them as Christians, and to pay them the deference that is due unto them, not only upon the score of the condition and quality of many of them, but upon the account both of their moral accomplishments and of their natural and acquired parts, in which great numbers among them are remarkably eminent. And as there was not the least shadow of probability that the Roman catholics could have disputed us out of our religion, so it is to offer an affront to the common reason of mankind, to believe that they could have "overthrown it by force and violence." For notwithstanding that many have had the malice to say this, and some the weakness to entertain it, yet, besides the impracticableness of the thing, the king had both the wisdom and goodness not only to disclaim it by words, but to disprove it by "signal matters of fact." And unless worldly interest, ambition, passion, and wrath had so darkened and distorted our understandings as either to extinguish or pervert the use of our discursive faculties, we could never have allowed ourselves to think that the king would attempt to do that in a way of force, which there were a hundred to withstand and oppose for every single individual that can be supposed inclinable to have joined in the execution of it. Surely a very little knowledge of the world, and a mean acquaintance with history, would help to instruct some unthinking and half-witted people how difficult, if not impracticable, this has been found in other nations where it hath been attempted. Nor have any that have set about it found it easy to be effected, even where they have had all the advantage imaginable to execute it. And we may be speedily convinced how unfeasible such a design would have been in England, and, consequently, how far from being either undertaken or thought of by a wise prince, if we consider the difficulties which have attended it in Roman catholic kingdoms, where all the craft and power of wise and mighty princes, and all the strength and rage of the body of the people, inflamed by bigotry, have been united to compass it. It is impossible for the king's most malignant enemies, who use to speak of him with the most unparalleled indecency and brutal rudeness, to conceive or believe that he could be so prodigiously indiscreet and weak as to think of banishing or overthrowing the protestant religion, or of bringing in or setting up the Roman catholic by a protestant and anti-papal army; and other he had not, nor ever can be in a condition to have, in this kingdom, if we speak of the bulk of one, or of one that can be numerous and strong. And for a few Roman catholics, mingled here and there in protestant troops, or for two or three regiments, whereof the generality were of the Romish communion, in an army of those of the reformed profession, instead of their giving us just terror of a design for subverting our religion, they only served to animate and provoke those vastly larger number of protestant officers and soldiers to assert their religion with the more courage and avowedness, and to exemplify and adorn it better by their lives. And it is but for those who were in England in 1687 and 1688, to recollect themselves and consult their memories, and they must needs confess and declare, if they have not renounced all friendship with truth, when they disclaimed loyalty to his majesty, that they never observed that zeal in a British army for the protestant religion, nor that open boldness in pleading for it, as when that Roman catholic prince was upon the throne, and some of that communion inrolled among them, and employed with them under the same royal standard. But what clearer and fuller evidence could the king give in matter of fact, that he had no intentions to undermine, and much less to subvert our *religion*, than "the dispensation from penal laws, which he granted unto protestant dissenters, and the liberty which he stated them in the exercise of?" And through his giving it upon the only true principle on which it could be done justifiably, namely, that it is the natural right of every man to choose in what *religion*, and in which way of faith and worship, he will venture his eternal state, he could not in *justice* (abstracting from his friendship) avoid granting liberty likewise to the Roman catholics. *I do know there* are some people whose malice to the king makes them not only take every thing by the wrong handle, but which hath so perverted their reasons as to cause them to draw conclusions directly contradictory to the premises from which they infer them; *who* endeavour to obtrude upon the belief of such as are weak and credulous, that the king's giving liberty was an effect of his enmity to our religion, and done in pursuance of a design to destroy it. But the two poles are not at greater distance from one another than they are from truth and good sense who think the king would have given liberty of conscience, and have set his heart upon the upholding and maintaining of it, if at the same time he had given place unto, and entertained the least thought of overthrowing and extirpating the protestant religion: For that wise, generous, and royal concession of his was so far from lying in the remotest subserviency to such a design, that nothing under heaven can be imagined more effectually contributory to the preventing, resisting, and defeating an attempt of that kind. There are few but know what connivance had been exercised to Roman catholics, and how gently they had been treated, notwithstanding the many laws they were obnoxious to during the last years of King Charles's reign; *while, in the mean time,* vast numbers of protestants were harassed, spoiled, and imprisoned, and this not *only by hounding out,* but by enforcing those of the church of England to fall upon the dissenters, and to execute the laws against them with great severity. Now, by the king's noble, Christian, and heroic act of granting liberty, the peevishness and enmity of protestants against one another was allayed and extinguished; and they were at ease, as well as leisure, to employ their common care and unite their mutual strength against those of the Roman communion, whom they esteemed enemies to them both. And by being taken off from scratching, biting, and devouring one another, they began to mingle counsels, and to join their several interests for obviating and obstructing the growth of a third party that stands in terms of distance, both in opinion and ecclesiastical charity, to the one as well as the other. For though the liberty granted by the king to protestant dissenters did not incorporate them into the communion of the church of England, but supposed the contrary, and provided against the afflictive inconveniences of it, and though it did not entitle them unto, and make them capable of the dignities and emoluments of the church, which his majesty neither pretended nor challenged a power to do, yet, through his suspending the execution of the penal laws, which he was told he might do in virtue of that executive power of laws, and of administration of government which was lodged in him by the constitution, and inseparable from his title, right, and sovereignty, there was not only a cessation of arms between those of the national church and them, but a coalescence in friendship and zeal for their common religion, though they could not embody together for communion in all the parts of Christian worship, and for the exercise of church discipline. And, besides the taking off the reproach and the wiping away the infamy which lay upon our religion, through our persecuting one another, and which made us the subjects of our enemies raillery and the objects of their scorn, there were so many real advantages accruing to it, by the liberty which the king granted, that there cannot be a blacker malice out of hell than to pervert this royal and Christian act of his majesty from being an argument of his innocent and honourable intentions towards our religion, into a topic whereby to insinuate into the belief of those of a narrow compass of thought, that it was only in order first to supplant our religion, and then destroy it. And it argueth an ingratitude, which our language is indigent of words to express the heinousness of, that any protestant dissenters should not only concur in such a sentiment, but value themselves upon the vivacity, strength, and penetration of their judgment, that they could foresee and discover this to be the motive and end of it. But this may be catalogued among other of the thankful returns which some of them have rendered the compassionate and good king for his snatching them as firebrands out of the burning, where he both found them, and might have suffered them to have continued till they had been consumed; and for gathering such vipers (as those I am speaking about) off from the dunghill, where the laws had laid them, and placing them in his bosom till they had recovered life, warmth, and vigour to sting him by those censures and reproaches which are as false as they are black and villainous. And I would ask those persons, if the king cast out and drove away the devil Persecution by Belzebub, or in virtue of so hellish a conspiracy against our religion, by whom has the Gentleman at Kensington, and his tools and co-operators at Westminster, done the same? Is liberty to dissenters not only an innocent and harmless thing, but eminently useful to the strength, glory, and success of our religion under one that finds it his present interest to call himself a protestant, while, in the mean time, it is questionable what religion he is of, if he be of any at all? and must the same liberty, and to the same people, be a plot upon, and an engine for the undermining and blowing it up, and for burying all those that profess it under the ruins of it, when granted by a catholic monarch? Surely it would not unbecome some, nor be unworthy of their second thoughts, to consider, that if the prince, whom they have abdicated for this and other good offices, had not expressed the bowels, and exerted the courage to break the chains, and to remove the heavy and insupportable loads which many peaceable and innocent people had long worn and groaned under, merely for their opinions and practices in matters of pure revelation, how probable it is, if not morally certain, that they would have been still in their old circumstances and conditions of calamity and suffering. Nor would either the Prince of Orange had the inclination and fortitude to relieve them; nor those assemblies since the Revolution, which we call parliaments, have had the compassion and good nature to have consented and concurred to the easing of them. For as the generality of those styled the representatives of the nation, retain still their ancient peevishness and rancour to dissenters, so he whom they have placed on the royal throne, governs himself by no other principle or measures but those of ambition and interest; nor would he, for saving and obliging the dissenters, have ventured upon any thing that might be disagreeable to the humour of the "two houses," or which might have cooled or abated the inclinations of the commons to be lavish in their grants of money. Neither would those sons of Sceva have taken upon them to dispossess the kingdom of the devouring spirit of persecution, if they had not been sensible of the glory which redounded to the king by the example he had set them. Nor was it upon motives of honour and justice that liberty to protestant dissenters came to be established by a law, otherwise that freedom would, upon those very inducements, have been extended to others by the same act; but it was from fear that the retrenching that, which through the mercy of the king they had gotten into possession of, might have lost them the affections, service, and assistance of the whole fanatic party, and have made those people turn Jacobites upon the foot of interest, that have not conscience nor principles of virtue and loyalty to be so.

But besides this proof, arising from fact, by the king's suspending penal laws in matters of religion, and his granting liberty to protestant dissenters, which puts it in a meridian light that he could not cherish any thoughts or intentions of overthrowing our religion, he was pleased to exert his goodness in a second matter of fact, and in a surprising act of grace, which carried convincing demonstrative evidence along with it, that he harboured no such design in prejudice of the reformed doctrine and worship, as has been calumniously fastened upon him: The generous, princely, and merciful act which I mean, was his receiving, entertaining, and relieving the French refugees, which, as he was under no legal obligations of doing, so there were discouragements enough lay before him to have hindered and prevented it. I know, sir, that you cannot have forgotten with what readiness he admitted them into his kingdom, what welcome and compassionate entertainment he gave them; and how he not only invited and required his subjects to harbour and relieve them, but to what measure and degree he exercised and extended his own royal benevolence and charity towards them. Nor was he satisfied with the bare taking them under the wing of his protection, and making them sharers in his own and people's bounty, but he entertained divers of them into his service, and admitted some of them into his friendship and confidence; so that whosoever will allow himself leave and time calmly to consider either the king's own religion, in which he was both sincere and zealous, or the terms of amity he stood in with the King of France, which he had neither reason nor inclination to depart from, will not be able to avoid acknowledging (unless he can reconcile contradictions) that his majesty could have no other inducement for the doing of it, but that he judged it an evil thing, as well as an unwise, for any prince to persecute and drive away his subjects merely for their differing in religious matters from what was legally established, and embraced, and professed by the bulk and generality of the people; and that he esteemed it a duty which he owed to God and to mankind to entertain and succour such as suffer for their consciences in things purely divine: For as the king could not be insensible that it was not very grateful to a great number of his protestant subjects to see so many indigent and necessitous foreigners received into the nation, who would not only by their skill and industry gain away much of the manufacture, traffic, and employ from them, but who, by their frugal and parsimonious living, would be able, and therefore sure, both to underwork and undersell them; so it could not escape his majesty's knowledge and belief, that it would not be very pleasing and acceptable to the French king to see those who carried their resentments against him along with them whithersoever they went, and who will be always meditating and cherishing revenge, to be so tenderly pitied, compassionately received, and safely covered and protected by a prince who was not only his ally but a Roman catholic. Yet under that view, and with a cognizance of all this, did the merciful king admit, entertain, and treat them, with the same royal goodness and generosity as if they had been people of the Romish communion, drove out of some protestant country for their consciences, and exiles here for the religion which he himself professed. Now, can any that live not in an avowed enmity to truth and good sense, either be persuaded themselves, or hope to impose upon the faith of others, that a prince who had designed to root the protestant religion out of his kingdom, would do a thing so inconsistent with and obstructive of it as this was? And yet there are some whose malice against the king hath so distorted their understandings, as that they will not only undertake to reconcile his forementioned behaviour to the French refugees, with the conspiracy he was embarked in for extirpating our religion, but will make use of his kindness unto them as a topic of argumentation whence and whereby to prove and confirm it: But we must beg those men's pardon, if we cannot hinder their insolent flippancy, yet to claim the liberty of exposing and controuling their foolish and ridiculous, as well as false and slanderous dictates: For can any thing lie in a directer opposition to a purpose of subverting our religion, than for a prince who harbours such a project to do all that lies within the circle of his wisdom and his power to encrease and multiply the numbers, whose principles will oblige them to the use of all lawful ways and means at least, if they use not worse, to oppose it, and whose interest and safety consist in hindering it? Surely the great body of native protestants were enough, if not by far too many, either to have been wormed out of our religion by fraud, or to have it wrested from us by force, that there was no necessity for encreasing the honour of the conquest, or raising the glory of the triumph, to have added to our number and strength by the reception and entertainment that was given to foreign protestants. Nor is it credible, that if his majesty had been embarked in such a design as he hath been slandered with, that he would have given encouragement to those reformed which fled hither from France, to have planted and settled in all parts of his dominions where they pleased, when he could not but know and believe that their very presence among us, and our daily sight of them, would awaken our jealousies of what some Roman catholic might think lawful to be done in prejudice of our religion; and who would daily tell us what had been practised for the extirpating it elsewhere: But the good king being conscious to himself that he had no sinister intentions to the legally established doctrine and worship, he envied us no means that might quicken and provoke our care for the preservation of them. And though he regretted, and was infinitely sorry, that there was cause any where administered of publishing how poor people, professing the reformed religion, had not only been decoyed into the catholic communion by the little and mean arts of missioners, and bribed and brought to be converts to the Romish faith by those that managed a public treasure to that end, but had been dragooned into the church by armed troops; yet he was willing we should have such a resident in our several neighbourhoods, who might relate and confirm those things unto us; and he hoped that by his receiving and countenancing such persons in his dominions as would daily entertain us with accounts of this nature, which we could not hear without scandal and indignation, we should have been satisfied and assured that it lay in an antipathy to his nature to imitate any such examples. But no means, how proper and convictive soever in themselves, which the king could use for laying and extinguishing our jealousies and fears of his harbouring intentions against our religion, could be of efficacy to operate upon us with any success, after our having, through plenty, pride, and wantonness, grown weary of tranquillity and ease, and thereupon hid imbibed prepossessions and prejudices against his majesty's person and government, and suffered ourselves to be wrought up and exasperated by a few demagogues and boutefeux, who were bribed by the Prince of Orange, and instigated by his promising them the spoils of the crown, kingdom, and church, to the highest ferment of blind, brutal, and godless rage. Nor has the compassionate and merciful king been requited as he ought and deserved by the French refugees, to whom he made his kingdoms both an asylum and sanctuary, and his own treasure, and the wealth of his people, a fund of succour and subsistence, when they knew not where with safety to hide their heads, nor how to get bread to preserve them from starving; but notwithstanding all the "Hosannahs" they gave him at first, they were many of them in a little time the forwardest to cry "Crucify him;" and, contrary to all the measures of discretion and prudence, as well as of thankfulness and gratitude, they have been some of them the warmest inflamers of the rebellion, and have taken arms in great numbers for supporting the usurper.

But, sir, allow me to subjoin a third matter of fact, by which the king gave all the evidence and assurance to his people, that the most incredulous and perversely obstinate among them could not have desired or needed to convince them in what opposition unto, and remoteness it lay from his thoughts to injure us in the possession of our religion, and much less to rob us of it; and that was by "his refusing those ships of war, as well as land troops, which were offered him by the French king, for withstanding the invasion of the Prince of Orange, and for enabling him to suppress those that might fly to arms, and rise in his own dominions, to disturb his reign, or to join with the unnatural invader in case he landed;" for, setting aside a few things which the judges told him he might do according to law, and some inconsiderable trifles, wherein his treacherous counsellors misled him, by telling him it was to renounce the prerogative which the constitution had vested in him to decline asserting them; so conscious was he to himself of having neither done nor designed any thing whereby his protestant subjects might be tempted to withdraw, with any shadow of reason and justice, their allegiance from him; that no alarms of conspiracies against, or suspected treacheries unto him at home, nor the fullest and most uncontroulable certainty of ships being prepared, and forces ready to embark upon them abroad, to make a descent into his dominions, and hostilely to assault him, could prevail with him to accept those succours which a neighbouring monarch offered him, as well in friendship to himself as in kindness to his majesty. It ever hath, and always will be found true, that whosoever hath been designing, though never so secretly, an injury or mischief to another, he will be constantly suspicious of the person against whom he intended it, and will use all the precautions he can, and lay hold upon every means that offereth, to put him whom he had contrived to wrong out of a condition to avoid the blow, and more especially out of all capacity to revenge it. Ill thoughts and intentions in a prince to his people, though they abide so artificially and industriously concealed that none have detected them, do yet not only continually haunt the projector as informers that his designs are discovered and understood, but are ever counselling him to close with all methods which may obviate and prevent a retaliation. But the king thought his protestant subjects had been as free from rebellious designs against his person, crown, and dignity, (which indeed most of them were,) as he was from any usurping and tyrannous ones against their legal rights, liberties, and religion; and that withheld and restrained him from accepting an assistance in his defence, when there was a plotted, formed, and maturated conjunction between the Prince of Orange and the States of Holland abroad, and too many of several persuasions, communions, and factions at home, to drive him out of his kingdoms, if not to murder him, *which he stood not far out of the danger of*, when, the Sunday night before the Prince of Orange came to London, it was proposed and debated at Windsor to make him a prisoner; but that being opposed by some persons, whom it was not then thought convenient and safe to contradict and disoblige, it was thereupon resolved the night following at Sion-House, to require him immediately, and at a very unseasonable hour, to abandon and withdraw from his royal palace; which was so ordered upon prospect and hope that he would not have complied, and that thereby a pretence would have been administered of sending him to the Tower, from whence his next stage would have been to the neighbouring hill, there being but a few steps between a king's prison and his grave. Nor would he in any likelihood have escaped the snare that was thus artificially laid for him, nor have avoided the danger that was lurking behind it, but that some of those entrusted with the conveyance of the message delivered it with such accent, tone, and accompanying circumstances, as both awakened him to apprehensions of his peril, and guided him to submit to what was so inhumanly and barbarously prescribed unto him. But to return to the enforcement of the argument I am upon, for proving that the king could have no secret intentions, nor have been carrying on any concealed designs in order to overthrow our religion, in that he refused French forces at a season when they were both generously offered, and he extremely needed them, and when, by all the laws of God and the kingdom, he might have received and employed them for the withstanding a foreign army, commanded by an ambitious and unnatural prince, which came to divest him of his sovereign and legal rights; for if the States of Holland might send, and the Prince of Orange bring troops into England, let the pretence be what it will, and the British subjects that invited and gave encouragement unto it be never so many, and of what quality any think fit to have them, the king might with much more justice and right have desired and received Turks and Tartars, as well as French, to oppose and beat them out, seeing both the power of war, and the lawful authority of defending the kingdom, being lodged sovereignly and solely in his majesty, and the ways of managing the one and the other being entirely intrusted with his wisdom, save as he pleased to call for advice, he might, without any violation of the rules of the constitution, have furnished himself with necessary forces from whence he thought fit, for the defence of his person and the government; whereas none of his subjects could raise forces at home, or invite them from abroad, without rendering themselves guilty of the highest disloyalty and treason; nor could the States of the Seven Provinces, being in league and declared terms of amity with his majesty, send or authorise their troops to come hither, without becoming obnoxious to the crime and charge of contemning and violating public treaties, of breaking through all that is sacred, and of trampling upon every thing on which the peace of nations doth depend. And as for the Prince of Orange himself, he being no sovereign prince, but the servant of a late though wealthy republic, he possibly might have the right, as stadtholder, into which he wound himself by perjury and murder, to exercise some authority in his own country, or he might have the privilege to set up for a knight-errant to combat wind-mills and kill dragons, but he had no authority, by the laws of God or nations, to invade and attack a rightful king in the quiet and peaceable possession of his own dominions; and by assuming the insolence, and taking upon him the injustice to do it, he stands proclaimed by all the revelations relative to societies in the Bible, and by the whole civil law, which is the law of nations, to be a robber and an usurper, and to have all the blood that hath been shed in Europe, by reason of, and as an effect and consequence of his invasion, to be charged upon him and laid at his door, and for which he will be made accountable at the great tribunal. Nor can his majesty's authority and right to have received and called French troops be questioned by our revolutioners and abdicators themselves, seeing we allow and suffer the like, and much worse, in that pagan king we have dressed up and erected; for notwithstanding of that vast army of British and Irish troops with which, to the impoverishment of the nation, we continue to furnish him, and notwithstanding he is fulsomely represented in pulpits, and with a flattering as well as a mean cringingness addressed unto by corporations, as the saviour of our liberties and religion, yet he challengeth a right, and we, like a tame slavish people, both connive at and approve it, not only of keeping among us, contrary to his solemn promise given in his declaration, dated at the Hague, several Dutch forces, horse as well as foot, whom he claps and fasteneth upon the nation as a badge that he esteems us no better than conquered vassals. But, if we may believe the prints which come from abroad, he hath sent for ten thousand more outlandish soldiers to insult and triumph over us as his subdued slaves; while, in the mean time, he sends our native forces into Flanders, to perish by famine and sword, as sacrifices to his ambition, and to have the infamy, which he calls glory, of dying in a Dutch quarrel. Nor do I wonder that he will not trust the defence of the kingdom to our own troops, seeing he cannot but be sensible with what arbitrariness he hath ruled over us, and how he hath cheated, impoverished, and ruined us; and that if we had but as much sense, reason, and courage left us, as we have provocation and cause of anger and indignation given unto us, we would revenge ourselves upon him for the wrongs he hath done the kingdom, as well as for those he hath done the king: whereas that injured monarch, being fully assured in himself that he never designed to prejudice us in our liberties, properties, or religion, but that all he aimed at was to make us a free, rich, and glorious people, he cast himself entirely upon the loyalty of his own subjects for the safeguard of his person and crown, at the time when he saw he was to have his dominions invaded, and an attempt to be made for turning him out of his throne; all which designs he might have easily defeated, had he but accepted the French ships and troops that were offered him; but, to his glory and our indelible infamy, he chose rather to be forsaken and betrayed by his own people than to distrust them, as knowing he had always lived in an abhorrence of giving them just and real cause to be false to him: And indeed the misfortune and distress which befel him, upon whatsoever motives they were occasioned, yet they must be resolved into his own uprightness and integrity as the contributing means, and that being an honest man himself, he drew other men's pictures by his own original; whereas he had continued safe and happy, if he had drawn those of a great many people by the reverse of his own. I know that the Earl of Sunderland doth, in a "Letter from Holland to his friend in London," printed March, 1689, endeavour to rob the king of the honour due unto him for having refused the French assistance, and challengeth it to himself, by telling us, "That he opposed to death the accepting of them, and that he was the principal means of hindering the receiving both the ships and the men." But all this was then published to put a merit upon his own treachery to the king, and to reconcile himself to the mercy and favour of the nation, to whose anger and wrath he stood at that time highly obnoxious; for no man can imagine that either the earl, or those other lords, with whom, as he tells us, "he consulted every day, and they with him; and by whom he was helped to prevent the accepting both French ships and troops, which they thought would be a great prejudice, if not ruinous to the nation," would have been able to have prevailed with his majesty to have refused so seasonable and necessary assistance, if he had been any ways conscious to himself that he had been harbouring and carrying on designs which might make him distrust the loyalty of his people, or which might give him cause to apprehend that his subjects had just and reasonable pretences of departing from their fealty, or for denying their aids to defend him: Nor would any thing but a clearness of mind as to his own innocency from any sinister intentions against our religion and laws, have influenced as well as suffered him to reject the offers made unto him at that time by the King of France: But though this was the only motive upon which his majesty could do it, in any consistency with common discretion, yet we sufficiently know upon what inducements, and to *what ends that earl advised him to it; nor hath he been either* shy in concealing of it, or gone without very liberal *rewards for it; for he told* Ginckle, once at his own table, that though it was his honour to have subdued the king's forces in Ireland, and to have wrested that kingdom from his majesty, yet the glory belonged unto himself of having contrived the provocations to the Revolution, and having laid the foundations for deposing his majesty from his royal dignity and throne; and the inward confidence he is admitted into with the Prince of Orange, and the vast sums he has obtained, and continues still to receive from him, are plain evidences, as well as they are thankful recompences, of the counsels which in favour of the prince's designs he gave unto his master: But would any one that hath not lost all common prudence and true sense, as well as renounced his loyalty to his rightful prince, have published in the same letter a thing so visibly false, and so easy to be contradicted and exposed, namely, "That when the first news came of the prince's designs, they were not looked upon as they proved, nobody foreseeing the miracles he has done by his wonderful prudence, conduct, and courage, in that the greatest thing which has been undertaken these thousand years, or perhaps ever, could not be effected without virtues hardly to be imagined, till seen nearer hand;" whereas it was obvious to vast numbers then, as it is now to the whole kingdom, that there was neither prudence, conduct, nor courage, and much less virtues hardly to be imagined, guiding and influencing the Prince of Orange's success, but that his whole prosperity in his undertaking is to be resolved in, and ascribed unto, the disloyalty and treachery of some of his relations, bosom friends, counsellors, officers, and soldiers, and unto the rebellious principles of too many of his subjects; for to omit speaking of the great effects which the Prince of Orange hath so often and wonderfully given in Flanders, of his prudence, conduct, and courage, and other virtues hardly to be imagined, it is but for us to recollect his behaviour at and before Limerick in Ireland, where he became the subject of the derision and contempt of all that were there, and by which he hath furnished us here with matter of diversion ever since, when we have a mind to be pleasant; and we may from thence take the measure and extent with all the dimensions of his political and military excellencies: But the passage I have quoted out of the letter serves to confirm me, that it is an usual and righteous judgment of God upon those that turn knaves to give them over to become fools also: And for the thousand years, or the perhaps ever, that he mentions, wherein the like hath not been undertaken and executed, it is neither for the reputation of the Prince of Orange, nor for the credit of this kingdom, but for the perpetual dishonour and infamy both of him and us, that we should have been guilty of so much treachery and villainy, and he of such an unbounded ambition and unnatural crimes, as there are no examples of, nor precedents for.

And as the king harboured no thoughts, nor drove on any secret designs, for the extirpation of our religion, so I will affirm, that the preserving the protestant religion was so far from being the true and real motive to the late Revolution, though so much pretended, and so often alledged in vindication of those who engaged in it, that most of those that were the first instigators unto, and who principally concurred and cooperated to the bringing it about, are not persons disposed by their judgments, nor prepared by virtue and grace, to be concerned for any religion, farther than as the seeming to own *one* ministers to their secular ends. Now this, if clearly demonstrated, being as likely a means as any for undeceiving the credulous and well-meaning body of the people, and for taking them off from supporting the usurpation, when they see upon what a mistake they were wheedled to join at first with the conspirators against his majesty's person and government, I will lay it before you in the best light I can, without writing a satire upon states and countries, or too much exposing the atheism, unbelief, and immoralities, inconsistent with any religion of particular men, who are divers of them of great rank, quality, and condition in the world. However, it doth not detract from the worth of religion, but rather shews it is some excellent thing, that all men will seek countenance from it to those undertakings, for which they would fear to be otherwise the objects of a keen and general hatred. To which allow me to add, that the being hurried into this Revolution, upon the pretence of saving our religion, shews, that though most who stile themselves protestants are people of very weak and shallow understandings, and that their zeal is much greater than their knowledge, yet it likewise tells us, that many of them heartily love it, in that they think neither the public tranquillity nor their private fortunes too valuable to be parted with in order to preserve it. And this the Prince of Orange and his mercenary tools were sufficiently aware of, and therefore made that the pretence both of the invasion and of the aggressive war we made afterwards on France, as knowing it would bubble us out of our lives as well as our money, and be an engine to open both our veins and our purses. Yet, after what I have said, I will nevertheless add, that as it is no credit, but a disgrace to religion, that some men should pretend to have a concern or regard for it; it being a reproach unto it that they should wear its livery, and a disparagement to be favourably spoken of by them; whereas their reviling it would be its commendation, and their turning their backs upon it would argue it lovely; so it hath been always found true, and ever will, that the making religion a plea whereby to justify that which is evil, does lessen its power over the consciences of men, and hindereth its success in conquering the irreligious and incredulous, and defeats it in its only design, which is the raising glory to God, and the restoring the divine image upon men. Nor can I forbear to publish it as my avowed opinion, that no success or honour that can attend our arms in this war, should we not only be so prosperous as to obtain a safe and honourable peace to Europe, but to subdue and conquer France, will ever be able to countervail the injury we have done the protestant religion, and the disgrace we have brought upon it, by pretending to make the preserving it the motive and inducement for dethroning our rightful king. Nor will all that sea of blood spilt in Europe, as the effect and consequence of it, wash away the blots and stains we have thereby brought upon the reformed doctrine; but they will remain indelible until we have returned to our duty, reassumed our loyalty, and have restored our exiled prince, and until we have taken the ignominy and reproach upon ourselves that we have derived upon our religion, and have by words, writing, and tears, vindicated and acquitted it from having given any countenance to what hath been done, and have charged and lodged it upon our own disloyalty, pride, and covetousness. Nor must we think to salve ourselves, and come off at the great tribunal, by saying, as a certain presbyterian parson in Scotland did, "That if we make bold to offend God in some cases and instances, yet we will be as good to him another way." Now, as to what I am to lay before you in reference to the unconcernedness of those for any religion that contrived and conspired the Revolution, and were the forwardest to promote it, and still continue to be the zealous upholders of this bloody and ruinous war that hath followed upon it, I do not intend it should be construed and intended to affect and blacken all that were accessary unto, and active to the utmost of their power and interest in those designs: For in some of them it proceeded either from the weakness of their understandings, or from their being prepossessed with corrupt and bad principles as to governments and politicks in general, and particularly with respect to our own constitution, and not from criminalness in their wills and pravity of their consciences. For not only people of shallow judgments and of narrow compass of thought are capable of being misled, notwithstanding their endowments with a great deal of probity and uprightness, to be very sinful and bad things in matters of politics and the measures of civil obedience, by those that are acute, crafty, and subtle, and in the meantime believe themselves in the right, and to be doing God and their country good service, but even such as are of better and more discursive parts may, through false notions, as well as through prejudices sucked in and derived from an unhappy education, and the misfortune of acquaintance with ill books, and of intimate conversation with persons drenched in republican and democratical notions, be insensibly carried to the committing very illegal, and, by consequence, very irreligious things. But then such persons are, upon serious and second thoughts, and upon obtaining the happiness of being furnished with the assistance and advantage of clearer and better lights, easily recovered from the power and misleading influence of those principles upon which, through darkness or mistake, they formerly acted; and upon their repentance of such things which they had wandered and been hurried into, and proofs of their conversion to God and their king, they become prepared subjects both for pardon on earth and forgiveness in heaven. But as to the generality of those who were most actively and eminently interested and involved in bringing about the late Revolution, and who remain the unrelenting and obstinate upholders of the usurpation, I do affirm, that they were and are so far from acting upon the motive, prospect, and design of preserving our religion, that they would not wet the sole of their shoes, nor hazard the losing of a single hair of their heads, for saving the gospel, or for continuing the light of it to us and our posterity. For besides that the chiefest and majority of them do glory in courses of life inconsistent with all religions, and which the Alcoran disallows and condemns as much as the scripture doth, and which are directly repugnant unto the hopes that ours giveth unto any man of salvation and eternal life, and who themselves are far enough from taking the gospel to be a spell that will save them, whether they come into the way prescribed by it, and have a mind to be saved, or whether they neither do nor have not: So many of them do ridicule and mock at all revelation, and do pronounce them foppish and silly that account otherwise of the Bible than of a romance, feigned by a conspiracy of rulers and priests, in order to govern the mob, and the better to squeeze money from the credulous. Yea, there are some of them who deride a Deity, and value themselves upon the believing no other being, or modes of one, but matter, figure, and motion. And though I do not know whether many, or any of them, went into the Revolution themselves, and afterwards drew in others, with a purpose to expose and lampoon our religion, yet this I am sure of, that what we have done against the king, and in the involving the kingdoms into a bloody and expensive war upon so little cause and provocation as was administered, is more adapted to render persons anti-scripturists and atheists than all the arguments in Hobbs's Leviathan, or in his book De Cive, are. Was not the late Lord Lovelace, who could not speak without an oath, blasphemy, or execration, or the surviving Fleetwood Sheppard, whose whole wit is employed to burlesque the Bible and mock at an invisible Being, and who had the blasphemous audacity to say to two bishops, who desired leave of him to pass through his lodgings to see the raree show exhibited the other day at Whitehall, "That he would not grant it though the Virgin Mary were there with her child at her back to beg it of him;" and which they had not the zeal and courage for God and their religion as to rebuke him for, lest they should have offended the man at Kensington, who is fond of him for his piety and virtue, *et quem pro Jove habent:* I say, were not those I have mentioned very likely persons to have engaged to assist in the Revolution upon motives of religion, or in order to preserve and defend the reformed doctrine and worship? Can any man think that Secretary Trenchard can be under the influence of religion in any business or undertaking, or can make it the motive or end of what he does, who concerted with the Prince of Orange how to betray and ruin the king, and became engaged to him to use all means he could to do it, and this at the very time when he was suing for a pardon, and who, after the grant and receipt of one, came over, and made his majesty all the promises words could express, of his serving him with loyalty and fidelity so long as he lived? But as there is no necessity now of telling which of these promises he has performed, whether those made at the Hague or those given at Whitehall, that being sufficiently declared by a long and ample series of actions, so I think it will be easily granted, that this man could act under no impression of religion nor upon the motive or to the end of saving or serving it, who could come under two such opposite and contradictory obligations at the same time, as the yielding an unchangeable fealty and obedience to the king, and the undertaking to betray and divest him of his royal power were. Or, is it possible we should believe that my Lord L——, and the honourable speech-maker and haranguer of the mob at Norwich and Lynn, could embark in promoting the late change out of any concernment for the protestant religion, or in order to protect it, who, though they profess to be protestants when they are well and in health, yet who, at every time when they are sick, or when they have apprehensions of dying, do constantly send for Romish priests to administer unto them all the helps, and give them the assistances appointed by that church for men in their last hours? I am loth to multiply many instances in confirmation of what I have affirmed, and the chief leaders and actors in the conspiracy for dethroning the king are so well known that I need not do it. Even they whose character should oblige us to believe that the preserving the protestant religion was the chief, if not the only, motive upon which they acted in the late great turn that was made in this kingdom, were as far from having it in their eye or aim as any other were. Nor will any that know the men allow that either jack boots or cambrick sleeves, embarked in dethroning and driving away the king, out of any regard unto, or concernedness for, the reformed doctrine and worship, but that they did it out of pique and revenge, and upon the motives of ambition and covetousness, in the *one* to get a bishopric, and in the *other* to preserve one. For, not to speak of the rings and seals which the doctor (through an hypocrisy peculiar to himself that weareth cambrick, holland, Scots cloth sleeves instead of lawn) boasteth of as many pledges of the kindnesses of ladies for the services he has done them, can that man live in the practical belief, or be under the awe of a Deity, and much less act upon any sincere motives of serving religion, but merely to serve himself upon it, who, when he was dipped in all the counsels and conspiracies for commencing and compassing the Revolution, could yet, at the same time, in his letters to the Earl of Middleton, not only make solemn protestations of his loyalty to the king, but have recourse for proof and evidence of it to the sermons full of duty and fealty to the king, which he had preached at the Hague as well as at London? And as those letters are in print, to remain records and registers of his irreligion and hypocrisy, so I am mistaken in the rules of physiognomy, if the punishment that waits for him, and which he hath so much deserved, and whereof he hath had advertisement in dreams, be not *legibly* written in his forehead. Nor could any true church of England man, whether ecclesiastic or laic, *have* accession to the invasion and to the deposing of his majesty, or be gained over to *approve them*, without renouncing all the doctrines and principles of that communion which *relate to civil government*, and the duties of subjects to their rulers. And that may serve sufficiently to shew, that they acted not in these matters upon motives of religion, because the very things they did plainly interfered with the whole religion which they professed and owned. And there was such an outrageous rape committed by it upon their principles, and such an open deflowering of the chastity which their church had hitherto preserved in point of allegiance to lawful and rightful monarchs, that were it not that great multitudes of that communion both preserved their own innocency, and have loudly condemned the crime of their *quondam* brethren and fellow-members, their whole church would for ever lie under the same blot and infamy which those very men, namely, your Tillotsons, Burnets, and Sherlocks, &c. have used heretofore to cast and fasten upon others. And as for those called Whigs, which were the warmest promoters of the Revolution, and are supposed, more than others, to have acted in it upon the motive of securing our religion, I will make bold to say of many of them, and that both with truth and justice, that they have no religion but their interest, nor sacrifice to any deity but themselves. The whig party is, generally speaking, a compound of the atheistical of all opinions and persuasions whatsoever; and they can be of any religion, because they are really of none. They will take the sacrament in the church of England to be qualified to get or hold a place, and then will herd with the fanatics ever after, that they may be esteemed partizans for our sovereign lord the people. Upon the whole, whosoever will speak his knowledge or his conscience, cannot avoid confessing, that the promoting the Revolution, the abdicating the king, the crowning the invader, and the lavishing away lives and fortunes to support the usurpation and rebellion, were not entered upon out of fear of losing otherwise our religion, nor continued and persevered in upon inducements of being serviceable to its safety, success, and glory, but that some wanted white staves, to which they thought they might pretend on the foot of merit; and that others had fallen under fines, which, though they were forgiven the payment of, yet they resented, and sought to revenge their being laid upon them; and that all were desirous to fish in troubled waters, in which, though but a few were to catch ducal titles, or blue ribbons and garters, yet something would come as a share to many upon the shipwreck of the government, and out of the spoil of the crown, kingdom, and church. The truest character I can bestow upon them is that which Livy gives those that set up for and joined the *decemviri*, namely, that they did pursue *licentiam suam, non libertatem patriæ*: And indeed the unparalleled treachery that accompanied the Revolution, in most of those that were actively engaged in it, does put it beyond all rational contradiction, that it was so far from being undertaken or pursued upon motives of religion, that they could neither have religion, virtue, nor true honour, who were capable of being guilty of so much falsehood and infidelity, as well as of disloyalty? Is it possible, or to be imagined, in any consistency with common sense, that those persons could come into the design of the Revolution under any views of religion, or promote the late change upon motives or prospects of serving it, who not only abandoned and betrayed the king, with his commissions in their pockets, and while they were eating his bread, but who could beg money of him to form their equipages to serve him, and which he innocently, liberally, and generously gave them, in the midst of his streights and exigencies of money for his personal use? And yet all that they craved it for, and applied it to, was to get into a condition to fight against him, and to drive him out of his kingdoms. But we need no more to proclaim the distance and estrangedness that most of the revolutioners and abdicators live in, both as to the protestant religion and any sincere love to their country; and how little they were swayed in what they did by any regards or concernments for the good of either; but since their getting into offices, places, and commands, as the recompence of their disloyalty, treachery, and rebellion to the king, they have committed more rapines and robberies upon the nation, more audaciously sold the kingdom for pensions and bribes, and have more impudently cozened, defrauded, and oppressed their fellow-subjects, than the worst of men heretofore have attempted or allowed themselves to do, and which highwaymen and banditti would not have the immodesty and injustice to perpetrate. For pickpockets, shop-lifters, or such as take a purse upon the road, are both virtuous and harmless persons in comparison of those that eat the flesh, and drink the blood, and gnaw the very bones of poor soldiers by defrauding them of their pay; of whom, to use Tacitus's phrase, I may say, *Quinis in diem assibus corpus et anima estimantur*; or of those that rob hospitals, in with-holding from widows and fatherless children the arrears due to their husbands and fathers that perished in their service; and I am loth to add, that plunder the subject by the authority and in the virtue of the great seal, and exercise the legislative power in favour of one and in prejudice of another, according as our representatives in parliament are hired and paid for it. Nor are these aspersions unjustly thrown upon the instruments of the Revolution, and the zealots of the present government, or things whereof they are accused at random, without proof or evidence, but they are the effects and testimonies of love unto, and care for preserving, the protestant religion, which the gentlemen of St Stephen's Chapel find one another, and those guilty of, that were the chief assistants in the Revolution, and continue the main pillars of the usurpation. For when a certain sort of people quarrel and fall out, many hidden truths and concealed crimes come to be discovered; and I wish it may have a tendency to every man's recovering his right, that is a true owner. Nor are these things to be thought strange in those employed by this government, seeing they were the very worst men of the nation that contributed most to the Revolution, in whom that of Tacitus was verified, *In turbas et discordias pessimo cuique plurima vis.* And the public liberty was only made a pretence for their pursuing their own interests, at the expence, and to the ruin of their country: For, as the same author observes, *Libertatis vocabulum obtendi ab iis qui privatim degeneres, in publicum exitiosi, nihil spei, nisi per discordias habent.*

Nor did those abroad, that co-operated to the Revolution, and lent their ships and troops to effect it, act any more upon motives that respected the protestant religion than we here did, but purely upon principles and inducements of interest and state: For it is no slander to say that the deputies of the Seven Provinces, who sit governing at the Hague, never enter into war or peace upon any other instigation, or views and ends, save those of a secular concernment: Nor would it move or impress them to see all the inhabitants of these three kingdoms turn Pagans or Mahometans, farther than as it may affect their trade, and disturb their civil tranquillity; and so little do they act under an influence, or with a respect to the Christian religion, and much less with regard to the protestant, that in order to drive the Portuguese out of Japan, where they had a large and beneficial commerce, and to engross the trade of it to themselves, they not only suggested to the natives, and particularly to the ministers at court, and by them to the emperor, that the Christian religion involved treason in it against his crown, person, and estate, and thereby raised a persecution which ended in the extirpation of Christianity out of those dominions, and in the massacre of several hundred thousand souls: but they both permitted, and by a solemn act of state authorised, their subjects that traded thither to disclaim being Christians, and only to own themselves Hollanders, who knew no religion but profit, nor had other ends or aims save to gain and heap up wealth. And, besides many other instances which might be assigned of their abandoning all care and concernment for the protestant religion in other nations, when the doing so is reconcileable to their safety and worldly advantage, it may not be amiss to put you in remembrance of their furnishing Lewis the XIIIth with ships to subdue Rochel, when it was the chief cautionary town, as well as the strongest and most opulent, which the reformed in France had to entitle them to a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of their religion. Nor is it unseasonable to ask, that if *they* embarked to assist in the dethroning of the King of Great Britain, out of zeal for preserving the protestant religion to these nations, how comes it then that they have so little interposed with their confederate the emperor for some lenity and favour to his protestant subjects in Hungary?—and that they have not dealt with their other ally the King of Spain for abolishing the inquisition?—and that he would not continue to make bonfires of his subjects, whensoever any of them turn protestants? Nay, their entering into the conspiracy for subduing and deposing his majesty was so far from being done from motives relative to the honour and safety of the protestant religion, that it was laid and forwarded by the greatest falsehood and treachery that ever either a crowned head or a republic was guilty of: For what can be more inconsistent with good morals, namely, with truth and justice, or less reconcileable to the principles of Christianity, than not only to attack a king upon his throne, with whom they were in league, without giving him warning, or seeking for reparation of injuries, if he had done them any, and without desiring an adjustment of differences and misunderstandings where there were such? But to invade his kingdoms with a naval and land strength, after the solemnest protestations made to the king himself by Cittars, their ambassador here, and the greatest assurances given immediately by the States-General to the Marquess d'Albeville, his majesty's envoy there, that they had no design against him, and that their preparations were not in order to disquiet him on his throne, or disturb the peace of his kingdoms, but that they were for a purpose merely relative to themselves, and in which his majesty was no ways interested; so that after so fraudulent and perjurious an act, the commencement of the war being in violation and contempt of actual and subsisting treaties, I do challenge any man to believe, without doing violence to his mind, that the Dutch are in the practical belief of any religion, and much less that they cooperated to the Revolution out of care to preserve the reformed doctrine and worship to these three nations. Alas! it was upon other inducements that they concurred to involve these nations in war and blood, which we might easily have discovered, but would not: For they no sooner observed the king's putting an end to persecution in his dominions, and thereby doing that which might have reconciled his people to one another, and should have united them all to him; no sooner found that he had too much honour and courage, and withall bore more love and tenderness to his people to suffer them either to be wormed or insulted out of their trade; and had likewise perceived that as he was an admirable œconomist of the public treasure, so he was a great encourager of all over whom God had set him to industry and virtue; but that they grew immediately thereupon apprehensive that we would become more strong and opulent than would be for their interest, or prove consistent with the tricks and rapines they had been accustomed to practise in ways of commerce: And as these were the provocations upon which they desired to see his majesty dethroned, so the ambition of the Prince of Orange, of whom it may be said in the words of Tacitus, that *cupido dominandi cunctis affectibus flagrantior*, that all his lusts as well as his obligations give place to his aspirings after sovereignty, together with the discontents in England, which the means and methods to our happiness had filled us with, administered them an opportunity of stepping in to ruin the king, and to make us miserable, which they easily foresaw would be the effect of it. And as they speedily had the satisfaction to see the *first* performed, so they have now also the pleasure to behold us impoverished and weakened to that degree, which was the *second* thing they longed for, that an age under the mildest, wisest, and justest government will not restore us to that condition, at least in their opinion, as to beget either their jealousy or their envy, or which may hinder them wresting from us what parts of our trade they please; for they are a people that will call it friendship to us to rob us; *et ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*, to borrow another of Tacitus's phrases. Nor will any means in human view prevent our becoming, in a very little time, the contempt of all nations about us for weakness and poverty, and much less raise us again to that state of strength, opulency, and glory in which we were, but the calling home the king with all the expedition we can, and combining together, with united hearts and hands, to shake off the usurper, with his Bentinks and Ginckles; *Qui se partem nostræ republicæ faciunt*, that I may use an expression of Tacitus, but are in an apparent conspiracy with the high and mighty at the Hague, to reduce these kingdoms to a feebleness and indigency, out of which they have a design we shall never emerge.

Nor did the great man who keeps his palace at Kensington bring an army into England, and screw himself to the throne upon any motives of saving the protestant religion, or out of any intentions of kindness and good-will to it, but merely upon the impulse of pride, haughtiness, and ambition, and to gratify his aspirings after a crown. I am not ignorant how he hath been represented and painted forth by your temporizing, mercenary, and sycophant divines, as the saviour of our religion and liberties; and that the godly saint and the heavenly divine man would not have violated all the ties and bonds of nature, and trampled upon the precepts of the decalogue and the sanctions of the Bible, but upon the inducements of zeal for God and his holy religion, which, by examples taken from Phineas and Ehud, transform murder into sacrifices; and by precedents derived from the Israelites borrowing the ear-rings of the Egyptians, consecrate and hallow rapines and robberies. The panegyrics upon him, on this account, of your Tillotsons, Tenisons, Patricks, and Burnets, &c. are more frontless and fulsome than what your Shadwells, Settles, or any of your Grub-street poets, who claim a dispensation of lying for bread, would have the impudence to justify themselves in, when they write to purchase the applauses of the gaping mob, and much less when they purpose to gain the clappings of those in the pit and boxes. But after I have borrowed for a while these gentlemen's pencils, and only dipt them in colours more natural and better adapted to the figure and complexion of the Prince of Orange, I will challenge all mankind, who have not abjured truth and common honesty, to believe any longer, or continue to avouch, that his coming into England was out of any other respect to our religion, save making it the cloak of a stalking horse to his towering and ambitious designs. I need not tell you with what alienation from gratitude, contempt of justice, scornful regardlessness of a Deity, as well as disgrace of all religion, he first came abroad, and set up in the world, when he thrust himself into the stadtholdership of his own country by perjury and murder of two of the best patriots of the Dutch republic; of one of which, namely John de Witt, the late pensionary Fagel was heard and known to say, after he had examined all his papers and searched into the whole of his conduct during his ministry, That the great, if not only, fault he was guilty of was his ardent love unto, and his steady and unshaken service of his country. Nor shall I do more than briefly refresh your memory, how, being of no religion, he can personate any, when it lies in a subserviency to his interest, and that he would with the same readiness, and exterior shews of zeal, have acted the part of a Roman catholic to have obtained a sovereignty over any kingdom of the papal communion, as he hath done that of a protestant, to get into the throne of Great Britain, and to be admitted unto a domination over these nations; for his having been oftener than once at mass, and that not as a spectator out of curiosity, but as communicating in that worship and devotion is known to so many persons of several qualities as well as of different religions, that it will not be gainsaid by any who are acquainted with passages and transactions some years ago in Flanders; and should any be so ignorant of matters of fact at a distance from their own doors, or live in enmity to all truths disagreeable to their humours and interests, so as to deny it, there are those both at Brussels and Antwerp who can testify it, and have not been heretofore shy to do it. It was King Charles's having no children, and the Duke of York's having no male ones that lived, and his own marriage with the said duke's eldest daughter, and therefore coming into some probable and nearer prospects of arriving sooner or later at the sovereignty over these kingdoms, that made him put on the vizard and mask of a zeal for the reformed religion, having before lived in all the coldness and indifferency in that matter that was consistent with his keeping the posts he held in Holland. I am loth to subjoin how impossible it is that that man should be of any religion, and much less act upon real and sincere motives, for the good of the protestant, who can and doth indulge himself in the practice of such abominations as are repugnant to the light of nature and to the ethics of pagans, as well as to the doctrines and precepts of the Bible, and which are made capital by the laws of all nations. Nor can I do it, unless I would offend the eyes and ears of modest persons, and give occasion to the infecting and defiling the imaginations of men and women by mentioning such crimes in paper; for as they are such heinous and provoking abominations as have brought fire from heaven upon whole cities and societies, so they are of that strangeness to our climate, and so little heard of, and much less practised under our meridian, that our law took no knowledge of them till the 25th of Henry VIII. when they were made felony without benefit of clergy. They are *ultramontane* crimes, lately transplanted into our soil, and in which, to the credit of our country, they have not much throve nor grown. But I do reckon it unbecoming both you and myself to enlarge upon this; nor is it necessary to descend to proofs of it in a city and about a court where your Capels are known, and where it is sprung up into a proverb, *In hunc modum fiunt comites Anglicani.* It is enough to tell you, that it is the entertainment of societies of people of the best fashion, where the rallying upon it has a thousand times made the modest, fair, and tender sex to blush, and hath filled the masculine and virile with contempt and hatred of themselves, for enduring a Catamite to rule over them; only I would have those that are the great theological artists in painting blackmoors white, to try their skill whether they can make a beautiful and religious stroke of this in the pictures they draw of their prince; and whether, by all the chemistry of modern priesthood, they can extract out of it an apodictical and convincing argument of their master's zeal for preserving the protestant religion, or distil from it a plea in law to justify his driving his father-in-law from his throne and kingdoms. But it may be, nothing is impossible to those gentlemen, save to speak and act consistently with their own principles, and to practise conformably to the doctrines they have taught their people, and pretended themselves to believe; and undoubtedly they may do this I have named with the same ease, and by the same rules of philosophy, that they have inferred rebellion against the King from the article of non-resistance; and their deposing their rightful and lawful sovereign from their celebrated tenet of passive obedience. To which it may not be amiss to add, the antipathy which that man must unavoidably live in to all religion, who after his declaration prepared and printed at the Hague, for wheedling the credulous people of England into a belief that he came to save them *from* popery and tyranny; and in which he makes the supposititiousness of the *Prince of Wales*, or at least the questionableness of his legitimacy, one of the mighty grounds of his quarrel with the king, and the chiefest provocation upon which he was about to invade his kingdoms; yet that even then, and until a few days before he actually embarked on that design, he had the royal babe prayed for in his own chapel, by that distinguishing and princely title. And as I will never henceforth think it strange, that he should allow himself to hood-wink, impose upon, and mislead nations, who durst with that open boldness mock and deride the omniscient, almighty, and righteous God, both to his face and in his own instituted worship and service; so it satisfied me, and may do all others, that one who could be guilty of so much public atheism as well as hypocrisy, as that was which I have now mentioned, can have no other designs concerning either the protestant or any religion but the making it a stale for the better compassing his own ends: And suffer me upon this occasion to entertain you with a passage of Bentink (who is the earl said to be made on *the new* foot of merit that I have mentioned) to a certain gentleman in a private conversation between them. For the gentleman having asked him why they did not discover and make appear the illegitimacy and supposititiousness of the Prince of Wales, seeing as the belief of it had served more to draw the nation into the interest of the Prince of Orange than any thing else, so a legal and parliamentary proof of it would inseparably link most men to him, and preserve them in a perpetual alienation from King James? Bentink told him, by way of reply, that they neither questioned the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, nor were concerned about it, for that the Prince of Orange was now got into the throne, and was resolved to keep it so long as he lived, and cared not who ascended it when he was gone. Nor did his letter to the army and fleet, for debauching them from their duty, and by which he courted them to revolt from the king, savour of, or stand in consistency with any religion, but proclaims him both highly impious and atheistical, it being not only to countenance breach of trust and disloyalty, but to advise and authorise perjury. And whosoever tempts others to forswear themselves, have been accounted by all nations as despisers of a Deity, supplanters of the only *ground* of all human commerce and conversation, and the subverters of the foundation upon which all societies are established: And his inviting those to desert and forsake his majesty, who not only eat his bread and received his pay, but who stood bound to him both by their allegiance and oath of fealty, as they were his subjects, and by a military oath as they were soldiers enrolled under his banners, shews his own irreligion that advised it, as well as theirs that hearkened unto him; and may be it will sooner or later return upon him, wherein not only God will be righteous, but those that forsake the standards of the Prince of Orange justifiable, provided they do it from a just and penitent sense of their crime, in violating the lawful and righteous oath they were under to the king, from the sanction and obligation whereof no human power can ever acquit them; and also from a conviction of the unlawfulness of that oath which they have taken to the usurper. I might add, that the pretending to have come hither for the safety, honour, and interest of the protestant religion, will appear the most shameful banter that ever was upon the understandings of a whole nation, if we consider the treaty at Ausbourg, and with whom the Prince of Orange concerted the invasion that was to be made upon the king; For they must have forfeited common sense, as well as moral honesty, who can be prevailed upon to allow that the many catholic princes who approved of that undertaking, could design any good to the protestant religion, or believe that any advantage could accrue unto it by that attempt. It is to buffoon us, and treat us in ridicule, to endeavour to impose upon our belief, that the late Prince-Palatine, who, together with the Prince of Orange, was the original contriver of a descent upon England, or that the Emperor, King of Spain, Elector of

Bavaria &c. who concurred unto and countenanced it; or that old Odescalchi, and Innocent XI. who winked and connived at it, though against both a catholic monarch, and the first of the Romish communion that hath sat upon the thrones of Great Britain for above these hundred years, could do it in kindness to the protestant religion, or foresee that it was undertaken by the Prince of Orange upon any motive relating to the safety of it. No, they very well knew that there was nothing of religion in this case; but they were willing to make use of the ambition of the Prince of Orange to seek their own revenge against France, and to raise a war of interest and state upon his haughty aspirings after a crown, and on our being bubbled into it through a foolish credulity that it was entered upon in behalf of our religion. Nor is it unworthy of remark, that the last duke of Brandenburgh, who was one of the wisest and bravest princes in Europe, and one of the sincerest and most zealous for the protection, glory, and advancement of the reformed religion, would neither embark in a design against the King of England, nor suffer the Prince of Orange to enter actually upon it so long as he lived; which made his death to be received and entertained at the Hague as a happy and seasonable providence, in that his son who succeeded would not have the prudence to avoid being ensnared into it, being withall under the influence of those mighty expectations he stands intitled unto, as he is the Prince of Orange's cousin-german, and thereupon rightful heir to all his personal and hereditary estates. And what can put it more beyond all reasonable contradiction that the Prince of Orange did only sham, abuse, and banter mankind, in pretending to come hither upon motives of favour and kindness to our religion, than that the only two protestant crowned heads in the world did neither antecedently concur unto it, nor have they to this day engaged in the war with France, which was the immediate and natural consequence and effect of that undertaking?

But to advance a little farther, Does not the whole tenor of the Prince of Orange's public government, as well as his personal and private conduct, lie in a direct contradiction to his being under the impressions of any religion, and much more to his being under the efficacy of what we call the protestant? I am not at leisure to give you the full history of his usurpation, which some are pleased to stile his reign, but there are those who will do it to purpose in due time, it being necessary that the virtuous memory of the hero, and of our folly, should be recorded for the instruction of posterity. All therefore I shall do at present is, to bestow a few strictures upon his administration, there being no more needful to my purpose. Let me then ask, Whether he hath done any thing for bettering our laws and enlarging our liberties, which were some of the main things he came hither for? Or hath he not, on the contrary, more avowedly superseded and departed from our known laws, and put more negatives on public bills prepared by both houses for the royal assent, than any of the kings that went lately before him did? Has he performed any one thing he undertook, and which was expected from him, that he could avoid the doing of? Hath he kept one promise he ever made, that he has been in a condition to evade? Has he proved true to any one friend that trusted and served him, save as they have been slaves to his will, and tools of his arbitrariness? Hath he, from the time he came in to this day, been known to discern or reward merit? All his policy is trick; and his pretended kindness fraud and deceit. Instead of increasing our wealth, he hath utterly impoverished us; and that not so much through necessity, as choice resulting from hatred. In the place of making us more opulent than we were, he hath brought us into contemptible poverty. Whereas we hoped he would have protected us from the enemies he created us, he hath upon design, as well as from laziness, given us up to them as a sacrifice. And whereas it would have become him, had he been either a good man or a just king, to have discouraged and prevented bribes, especially when persons only sought and sued for their right, the privy purse hath been the receptacle of most of the scandalous bribes that have been given; for it is thither that what we call our House of Commons has traced them. But that which is base and criminal, beyond what any language can express, unless it be Dutch, is his purchasing so many members of both houses to sell their country. This being a direct subversion of the constitution, if any thing could make a lawful king forfeit his right, this would stand fairest to do it. For the sovereign having no other ground of claim to any power or prerogative, save what he hath from the constitution which hath settled and vested them in him, that prince who goes about to overthrow this, does all he can to cancel his own right, and to cut the bough on which he stands. And yet we who have had the folly and madness to abdicate a legal king for some few little mistakes in the administration, have not the wisdom and courage to call an usurper to account for trampling upon all the fundamentals of the English government. The king's closeting some peers and gentlemen, which was only to address their reason and understanding to consent to a matter which the crown had in all ages been in possession of, until about twenty years ago, and which was never thought hurtful unto, and much less inconsistent with, the safety of our religion till of late, filled the whole nation with complaints and clamours of his majesty's designing to alter the government, and run the people into that brutal fury which produced the woeful effects that soon after followed: Whereas we sit still, and with a stupid tameness endure the Prince of Orange to steal away all our rights from us, by his bribing those to betray and give them up, who were chosen by their country to be the guardians of them. And he who dares not in a way of fortitude and bravery fight us out of them, is endeavouring to strip us of them by an assassination. Surely, if he that poisons an individual person be out of the purliens of mercy, and from under the protection of the laws, there can be no severity great enough to be exercised against him, that hath not only endeavoured, but in a manner effected, the poisoning of the whole kingdom. And if the murderer of the meanest subject be obnoxious to capital punishment, what should he be made liable unto that murdereth a parliament? who, that he may the better rob and plunder a nation, gives others a share in the spoil. For the jackalls, that hunt and run down the prey, are allowed to eat the remains of the flesh, and to gnaw the bones, when the creature which they have cloathed with a lion's skin hath sucked our blood, and fed himself upon us. *He had soon learned, and as soon practised,* the pouring a little water into a dry pump to make it suck *below* and give forth above, whatsoever quantity he needed, or was pleased to call for: Witness his parting with the chimney-tax from the crown, for which he hath made reprisal on the kingdom in divers methods of raising money that have been more dishonourable as well as more grievous to the nation than that was. He hath more debauched the kingdom from all principles of virtue, honour, and justice, in a few years, than all the kings either could do, or attempted, from the first William till his coming, by usurpation, to be stiled the Third of the same name. Sardanapalus never more neglected the grandees of Persia out of effeminacy, and that he might spin and card with his ladies, than the Prince of Orange despiseth the greatest peers of England, out of haughtiness and sullen pride. And it is but lately that he hath treated those of the nobility and gentry that came up from Scotland to attend him about the affairs of their nation, with so unparalleled contempt and scorn, as no monarch in Europe would have used the like to his pages and grooms. For while he was conversant not only hours, but whole days together, with his Bentinks and Capels, they could hardly, in two months, obtain access to him; nor were they then allowed the favour of a few minutes for representing unto him what they came about, but were dismissed with all scorn imaginable, and are commanded home under all the conceivable marks of reproach and disgrace. For he published with an openness, that they all became acquainted with it, that "he was more troubled with the beggarly Scots than he was with all mankind besides." Nor is it to be questioned, but that after he has impoverished the English, which, through squeezing five or six millions yearly out of them, as he is in a fair way of doing, he will have the same compliment in reserve for them, with the addition of sots and fools to the bargain. Only I cannot avoid saying, that if the Scots have not courage and honour to resent it, and to make him feel the effects of his haughty folly, and of their just indignation, all the world will think that they deserve a worse character than that of beggarly Scots, and will account them a rascally and dastardly people. I am sure their ancestors would not have borne the like from the greatest monarchs that ever sat upon the throne; nor were any of their kings so ill bred as to treat persons of quality, and some of them of as ancient families as the house of Nassau itself, with so much rudeness and disdain. But a Dutch education authorizeth many things; only let the Scots remember, that much patience emboldens oppressors. *Et nihil profici patientia, nisi ut graviora tanquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur*, as Tacitus says. If they have the spirit and bravery of their predecessors, they will chuse war or death rather than submit to this slavery, and will say, *Esse sibi ferrum et juventutem, et promptum libertati, aut ad mortem animum*, that I may use another expression of the same Tacitus. Now, unless these things, and more of that kind which it were easy to mention, are to be accounted arguments, and held for evidences of the Prince of Orange's acting upon motives of love unto, and care for, the protestant religion, in the invading his uncle's kingdoms and usurping his crown, there are none else discoverable in the whole course of his administration; and they must either be more sottish than the Soldanians in Africa, or more irreligious than the cannibals in America, who can conclude from the foregoing practices, and from such other as stand in affinity with them, that be has any religion at all, or that he acts for any end but the satisfying his ambition, or upon any motives save pride and haughtiness. To which let me add, in the last place, that if his errand hither had been to take care of the protestant religion, he might have done it effectually without driving his majesty out of his dominions: Seeing there was not that security that could have been wished or desired in order thereunto, but what the king was ready to have consented unto; and that more from his own choice and goodness than from the influence of the condition he was in. And as all things of which his enemies accused him, and whereof they took advantage, into which he had been misled, were rectified and redressed by acts of his own wisdom and grace, before ever the Prince of Orange came out of Holland, so he had ordered the issuing out writs for calling a parliament, in which the nation might, in the ancient and legal way, have made what provisions they had pleased for the preserving and securing our religion and liberties. Nor is there that man in England who retains the least measure of reason and good sense, let his malice to the king be never so furious and obstinate, but he must acknowledge, that if the Prince of Orange had come hither upon any other design, save that of dethroning the king and usurping his crown, he might have easily compassed all the ends published in his declaration, either by way of a private treaty with the king himself, or by the method of a parliament, freely and indifferently chosen, and permitted to sit without an armed power and military force upon them. And as this would have redounded to the honour of the prince, and gained him the admiration of his enemies, and the praises and benedictions of his friends, so it would both have prevented a great deal of distress, calamity, and bloodshed in Europe, and have left these kingdoms more safe and opulent than they now are, and without that heap of guilt and infamy upon them under which they are brought. But instead of treading in those paths of truth to mankind, reputation to himself, and justice, as well as kindness to these nations, it is known with what neglect and scorn he received the proposals carried from his majesty to him by the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Nottingham, and my Lord Godolphin; and how he put the Earl of Feversham under restraint, and made him a prisoner, when he came to him at Windsor with a message from the king. Nor needs there more to discover how remote he was from sincerity in all the pretences upon which he came hither, than that he would never hearken to any overtures which might lie in a tendency to the making one word of them good.

Thus, sir, I have with all the brevity the subject would allow, endeavoured to answer your first question; and if the stile, in some places, be a little piquant, the scribblers for the usurper and usurpation have set me the precedent, and who have been commended and rewarded for treating both his majesty and the king of France with ribaldry, as well as below their sovereign qualities; whereas there is nothing here indecent, though some things may appear sharp. Nor would it have answered the majesty and justness of the theme to have handled it flatly, and without a warm correspondent to the injury done our holy religion, in making it a cloak to so much villainy as hath been committed. And it would have been an indecorous thing to have looked grave upon baboons, or have hunted wild boars without a spear or weapon. Yea, it were to frustrate the great end of languages and speech, and to quarrel with the rules of good sense, to ascribe mildness to tyrants, honesty to robbers, or truth to liars. Adieu. I am,

Sir,

April 18, 1695. Yours, &c.

A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty: or Whiggish Loyalty and Church Loyalty compared.

Anno 1700.

This defence of whiggish loyalty seems to have been written by the celebrated Daniel De Foe, a conjecture which is strengthened by the frequent reference to his poem of the True-born Englishman.

In all the unhappy contentions among parties and factions in this brangling nation, the champions of the church of England, as they would have themselves called, have laid it down as the distinguishing mark of their hierarchy, that it is her practice, and has been derived from her very constitution, as well as doctrine, to fix in all her members principles of unshaken loyalty to her prince, entire and undisputed obedience to all her commands, and an abhorrence of the very thoughts of those hellish principles, "That it can be lawful on any account whatsoever to resist the established power of their kings."

'Twould be endless to quote the Reverend Dr B——ge, who, from the text in the "Resist not the powers, &c. for whatsoever powers are, be ordained of God; whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God;" tells us, "That if the king should by his royal command execute the greatest violence upon either our person or estate, our duty was to submit by prayers and tears first to

God Almighty, to return the wrath of his vicegerent from his servant, and by humble entreaty to beg his majesty's grace and pardon; but 'to lift up the hand against the Lord's anointed, or resist the evil of punishment he thought fit to inflict,' this were a crime unpardonable either before God or man, and a crime (says the Reverend Dr) which we bless God the very principles of our ever loyal mother, the church of England, abhors and detests.

"Let incendiaries, phanaticks, and bloody peace-breaking whigs (says another learned divine) nourish the viporous principles of treason and rebellion, and let them meet the due reward of their factious doings in the resentments of a righteous, but provoked, nation: But, God be praised, our mother the church of England has always brought up her sons in an unspotted loyalty and obedience; none have been found lifting up their hands against their sovereign, or possessing the rights of the anointed of God," &c.

"The very being and life, the original and principles of the church of England, (says another 30th of January sermon) is loyalty and fidelity to God as the immediate supreme, and to the king as the lively image of divine authority, whose power is immediately derived from, holds of, and is accountable to none but to God himself."

To avoid prolixity of quotation, the reader is desired to accept of these as sufficient proofs of what I lay down upon this condition; nevertheless, that, besides the general appeal which I might make to the memory of most men, I oblige myself upon demand to produce ten thousand fair quotations out of the writings of our late modern authors since the Restoration, wherein the doctrines of non-resistance of princes, passive obedience, and the divine authority of the kingly power, is owned and declared to be an essential part of the profession and practice of the church of England; and upon this foot, which I hold to be sufficient, I think I cannot be censured if I take it for granted.

Now, as this too much divided nation has always been composed of two contending parties, those parties have been distinguished, as in like cases, by names of contempt; and though they have often changed them on either side, as cavalier and round-head, royalists and rebels, malignants and phanaticks, tories and whigs, yet the division has always been *barely* the church and the dissenter, and there it continues to this day.

As the church of England party have boasted of their own loyalty, so they have branded the dissenter with rebellion and faction, not only in their nature, but in their very principles; they have laid it down in their writings and sermons, and multitudes of their ignorant hearers believe it, that "the very doctrine of the dissenter is made up of principles in their own nature tending to confusion and rebellion; they won't be content that we should own there may be men among all parties of bad designs, and who would on all occasions embroil their native country, but it must be woven with the very articles of faith, and that 'tis the religion of a dissenter to disturb government, kill kings, and oppose laws.

"The phanatical enemies of our king and church (says the learned Dr P——n) *drink* in rebellion as water; 'tis the very substance of their schismatical doctrine to overwhelm and destroy; and commonwealths and confusions are the doctrines they preach."

"He that lays out one groat with a dissenter, (says the worthy Sir Roger in one of his famous Observators,) contributes just so much as the profits of that groat amounts to in trade towards the subversion of the monarchy, and erecting a commonwealth; for the very nature and tendency of their profession is destructive of kingly power, and the government of the nation."

This has been the opinion of the church of England, both of themselves on one hand,

and of the dissenters on the other hand. I should be glad if I could only say, *It has been,* for we find 'tis still too much their opinion.

Let no man say, that the author of these sheets is either widening or keeping unhealed the breaches of this nation; for if I can make it appear that there is really no occasion of such unnatural divisions, and that neither the extraordinary opinion of themselves, nor the contempt of their neighbours, as to the matter of loyalty, is a becoming principle, no, nor a rational one neither: For that as to loyalty, passive obedience, non-resistance, &c. there is really no great difference between one side or other; I go as far towards healing the breach as any man; for there can be no better way to end the strife on both sides, than to prove that neither side has any just cause to contend.

To examine the matter on both sides seems very useful at this time, in order to reconcile parties, and settle the universal character of the nation.

The government of England is a limited monarchy, composed of kings, lords, and commons. Each have their several, their separate, and their conjunctive powers, which acting in concert makes the harmony of the constitution. I shall not invade the province of those learned gentlemen who have undertaken to set forth the branches of the constitution in all their powers, limitations, and prerogatives: 'Tis enough to say the constitution is known, the government is confined by laws, the crown limited by statutes, and the people's right confirmed by the concession of ages.

To this government, all distinction of names set apart, I am of the opinion all parties have in their turns been equally loyal; I was going to say, equally disloyal: And if I were to use the language of late times, it would be a very proper way of speaking.

Affirming without demonstrating is an absurd way of arguing, and therefore it will be needful to come to particulars, and to examine the several acts and deeds of both parties when the kingly prerogative has shocked or clashed with the people.

In order to this 'tis needful to examine the date of the difference, and so to enter a little into history.

Our first reformation from popery was in the days of King Edward the VI.; I call it the first, because 'twas under him that the whole nation and the government embraced the protestant religion: this protestant religion was established by that zealous king, and by his parliament, backed with the force of laws, and confirmed by all the sanction of authority it was capable of; and here it began to be called the Church of England.

Some enquiring Christians were for making farther steps, and carrying on the reformation to a higher degree; and if that good reforming king had lived, his zeal and integrity was such that there was no doubt he would have gone on to perfect every thing he had begun, as new light, or more knowledge, had encreased; but the return of popery under Queen Mary put a stop to the work in general, and went very far towards overturning the whole structure of the Reformation.

Queen Elizabeth restored it again; but as she was a zealous protestant queen, yet she was not for subjecting the Reformation to any amendment. Not that she believed it perfect, but she was a politic princess, surrounded with enemies that were not to be dallied with, and she was loth to suppose such defects in the Reformation as were alledged, because 'twas to lessen the reputation of it, and consequently her interest in the world.

Those who insisted upon the further Reformation were then called Puritans, because they set up for a greater purity of worship, and they separated themselves from the established church, because, as they said, their consciences informed them they could serve God more agreeable to his will.

I shall not meddle with the arguments made use of on both sides, either to defend or expose this principle; 'tis sufficient to acquaint my reader that this is the true original of the dissenters: We are now to examine a little further back. Before this Reformation there was no such thing as church of England; it was then the church of Rome that was the established national church.

The protestants, under the titles of Lollards, Wickliffians, Hussites, &c. what did they do? Did they, as our modern people say every body should, conform to what the government commanded? No, the present church of England party were the dissenters, the schismaticks, and phanaticks in the days of King Henry VIII. who were persecuted for not coming to church; many of them put to death, and always treated with scorn and contempt, as enemies to the government, broachers of new opinions, and contemners of authority; as in the case of that famous proto-martyr of Christ's church, John Lambert, and others.

In the next ages these come to have the power in their hands, and forgetting that they had found it "righteous in the sight of God to obey God rather than man," they treat those whose consciences oblige them to dissent from them, with the same contempt which themselves had received from the Roman government.

Thus far they are upon even terms as to obedience to their superiors.

The dissenters have the first occasion, after this, to show their submission under extraordinary pressures. Queen Elizabeth discounteranced them continually; and, as good a queen as she was, put some of them to death. King James I. hunted them quite out of the kingdom, thousands of them fly into Holland and Germany, and at last to New-England.

During the long reign of these two princes we find no charge of treason or rebellion upon them; they bore the displeasure of their princes with patience and passive obedience, if I may be allowed that ridiculous phrase; being persecuted in one city, they fled to another; they bore illegal prosecutions, and things contrary to their right as Englishmen, but never took up arms against their prince.

Under the reign of King Charles I. the case altered, the king and parliament fell out about matters of civil right, and an invasion of the liberty and properties of the people, the puritans or dissenters, call them what we please, fell in unanimously with the parliament.

And here 'tis worthy remark, that the first difference between the king and the English parliament did not respect religion, but civil property; nor were the majority of the house puritans, but true church protestants, and Englishmen, who stood upon the rights of the people as Englishmen; and none were more zealous in the first disputes than the Lord Digby, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and such as were afterwards deep sufferers for the king.

But the parliament finding the puritan party stuck close to their cause, they also came over to them when things came to a rupture, and so the war begun on the score of right, invasion of liberty, breach of the laws, private leagues, and mal-administration, a game we have seen played over again by the very same church of England that exclaimed so much against it, so damned it, and so damned themselves, by oaths, declarations, tests, and God knows what, against it.

'Tis allowed here the puritan broke through his loyalty and his former obedience, and fought his way to the liberty he demanded. Well, the war ended to his advantage, he subdued his sovereign, and brought him to the block, to the astonishment of the whole world.

I won't dispute here which or which party did or did not do it, but to give the enemy all just advantage, I am willing to grant it in the largest sense that the dissenters, or phanaticks, or whigs, call them as you please, did embrue their hands in the blood of the Lord's anointed, put to death that blessed martyr King Charles the I. whom a learned divine, in a sermon on the 30th January, before the parliament, compares both in the manner of his sufferings, and the people by whom, to our Saviour and the Jews.

and boldly runs on in the blasphemous parallel, to shew that the indignities and sufferings of King Charles exceed those of Jesus Christ.

I think I have granted as largely as a fair adversary can desire; for I have yielded for peace-sake to several things which I could fairly disprove.

Nor shall I return to a repetition of the ill usage the dissenters have received from the contrary party on this account for above 30 years; the constant reproaches they and their children after them have met with from those gentlemen, who on all occasions have (as I hinted before) particularly taken care to extol their own unshaken fidelity to their prince, till at last an occasion presents to touch them in the same most sensible part, their right and property; and, alas! their loyalty, what became of it? Truly the faithful, passively obedient, unshaken loyal church, returned to the original nature of their neighbours, and did the same thing exactly which the whigs, the factious rebellious whigs, had done before.

"No, that's false, (says a disciple of Dr Sherlock's,) we did not kill our king, we did not dip our hands in royal blood, nor hurt the Lord's anointed."

No, that's true, but the Lord's anointed may thank himself for that; for my part I think the difference only lies here; the whigs in 41 to 48 took up arms against their king, and having conquered him and taken him prisoner, cut off his head, because they had him: The church of England took arms against their king in 88, and did not cut off his head, because they had him not. King Charles lost his life, because he did not run away; and his son, King James, saved his life, because he did run away.

'Tis such a jest, such a banter, to say, we did take up arms, but we did not kill him: "Bless us! kill our king, we would not have hurt a hair of his head!" Why, every bullet shot at the battle of the Boyne was a killing the king; for if you did not, 'twas because you could not hit him.

If a highwayman fires at you upon the road, when he is taken and brought upon his trial, our learned recorder, before he pronounces sentence of death, harangues him in this manner: "And besides all this, sir, you are plainly guilty of murder; for you not only assaulted this honest man in order to take away his money, but you endeavoured to murder him; for you shot at him, in order to kill him; and the intention of murder is equally criminal in the eyes of God with the act itself."

Now who did we shoot at the *Boyne*? 'Tis true, King James generally stood out of the way; but who did we shoot at? What! was our orders to fight against both small and great, and not against the king of Israel? Had your bullets commission to shew their loyalty, and not to touch the Lord's anointed? If he had charged in the first squadrons of his horse, had you not killed him if you could? I think this needs no further proof.

Nay, if arguments may be allowed to have equal weight on both sides, the whigs have been the honester of the two; for they never professed any such blind, absolute, and undisputed obedience to princes as the others have done.

It has always been their opinion, that government was originally contrived by the consent, and for the mutual benefit of the parties governed, that the people have an original native right to their property, the liberty of their persons and possessions, unless forefaulted to the laws; that they cannot be divested of this right but by their own consent; and that all invasion of this right is destructive of the constitution, and dissolves the compact of government and obedience.

They have always declared, that they understand their allegiance to their governors to be, supposing they govern them according to the laws of the land; and that if princes break this bond of government, the nature of it is inverted, and the constitution ceases of course.

Buchanan in Scotland, and Algernoon Sidney in England, have set their names, and the latter his blood, to this doctrine, and the author of the True-born Englishman is worth quoting in the case:

> "The government's ungirt when justice dies,
> And constitutions are non-entities:
> The nation's all a mob, there's no such thing
> As lords or commons, parliament or king:
> A great promiscuous crowd the hydra lies,
> Till laws revive, and mutual contract ties:
> A chaos free to chuse for their own share,
> What case of government they please to wear.
> If to a king they do the reins commit,
> All men are bound in conscience to submit;
> But then that king must by his oath assent
> To postulatas of the government,
> Which if he breaks, he cuts off the entail,
> And power retreats to its original."
> *True-born Englishman*, p. 74.

This has been the avowed doctrine of the dissenters, and is indeed the true sense of the constitution itself; pursuant to this doctrine they thought they had a right to oppose violence with force, believing that when kings break coronation oaths, the solemn compact with their people, and encroach upon their civil rights, contrary to the *laws* of the land, by which they are sworn to rule, they cease to be the Lord's anointed any longer, the sanction of their office is vanished, and they become tyrants and enemies of mankind, and may be treated accordingly.

Now 'tis no wonder to find people of these principles vigorously withstanding their governors, when they tread upon the tender sore places of the constitution; 'tis nothing but what they all along pretended to, and declared to be their opinion.

But to find the church of England men, whose loyalty has been the subject of a thousand learned authors, and *numberless* sermons, whose character and mark of distinction has been chosen more for her *steady adherence* and *fidelity to her prince* than to God Almighty; whose obedience to her monarch has been declared to be inviolate and immoveable; and who pretends to be famous through the whole world for her faithfulness to kings; for her, as soon as ever the king did but as it were seem to aim at crushing her authority, as soon as he did but begin to call her clergy to an account, and clap up her golden candlesticks for disobedience; for her to wince and kick, fly to foreign princes for protection, and rise in arms against her prince, O Pello! O Brady! O Sherlock! *O hominem! O mores!*

Where's the worthy Dr B——ge's loyalty now? His immoveable loyalty, that after all his absolute submission is so far from being a martyr to his own doctrine, that he could not lose a small benefice for it?

Where's the famous Dr S——k, who, having stood out long in his old antiquated doctrine of passive obedience, and confirmed the faith of his suffering brethren by strong and wonderful arguments, at last, at the powerful instigation of a *wife*, and a good salary, has sold all his loyalty for a mess of pottage; solving his honesty with the wretched distinction of a power *de facto* and a power *de jure*, as if the church of England's credit could be saved by such an impotent shift, or as if he could make amends to the prebendary for his helping him to sacrifice his brethren to father his conversion upon reading honest Dr Overall, whose doctrine, 'tis well known, the doctor knew before, but that he was loth Dr South should have the honour of bringing him over to such old phanatick principles?

Behold the loyalty of the church of England; now let's examine their conscience, as to taking oaths; and if I do not bring them to be all whigs and forty-one-men, or else prove them all perjured, then I do nothing.

The clergy, all the magistrates and officers of the household, of the civil or military government, were members of the church of England, otherwise they could not be employed; the sacramental test has done the dissenters this kindness, that 'tis plain all the managing hands in the kingdom were disciples of the church; and as an additional circumstance, the oath of allegiance which they took, and which was (God be praised) of their own making, bound them to that same absolute blind obedience which they profest, and confined it to the king, his heirs and successors.

If this oath be considered literally, I am content to be silenced when one fair argument can be brought to evade it; the declaration followed it, wherein they detest and abhor that devilish doctrine, that 'tis lawful *on any pretence whatsoever*, (mark the emphasis) to take up arms against the king; this (equal to an oath) is declared in the presence of God, and the particulars being material to our purpose, are as follow:

"I, A. B. do declare and believe, that it is not lawful on any pretence whatsoever to take up arms against the king; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against those that are commissioned by him. So help me God."

Notwithstanding this, you have taken up arms against, deposed, and as far as you were able, put to death your lawful king, the very king you swore allegiance to.

Now pray, gentlemen, give commission to some worthy champion of your church's loyalty, to bring you fairly off of your oath and declaration if you can; and till you do, be not angry with us for making one of these conclusions from the premises, and you shall chuse for yourselves.

First, That this doctrine of absolute, passive, and non-resistant obedience, is an absurdity of itself, contradictory to the nature of government and allegiance, and politically introduced by state engines into the church of England, to abuse her and betray her members into unforeseen mischiefs and inconveniences.

Or, Secondly, That the members of the church of England are all apostate from the very fundamental doctrine of their church, perjured in the very sight of God and man, notorious hypocrites, and deceivers; who, having sworn obedience without reserve to their prince, are become traitors, rebels, and murtherers of the Lord's anointed, and their lawful sovereign; and not having the fear of God before their eyes, have deposed and traitorously dethroned their rightful king, God Almighty's vicegerent, accountable to no earthly power, supreme under God, absolute, and from divine institution, undoubted sole Lord of them and their country.

Or, Lastly, That they only are the true church of England, who, according to their avowed profession, having firmly adhered to their king in all his sufferings and solitude, have never blackened their consciences, nor gone from their obedience, forgotten their oaths, nor sullied their reputation, with the horrid crimes of treason and rebellion, as they think it to be.

Now, as a fair disputant, I am willing the respondent shall chuse which of these three consequences he will stand by in behalf of the church of England's loyalty; but if they would take the advice of a friend to the honest part of them, I would recommend the first conclusion to be fittest for them, for the following reasons:

1. Because since human infallibility is (and with good reason) disowned by the church of England, both for herself and every body else, it can be no diminution to her reputation, when she has found herself mistaken, and imposed upon, to acknowledge her error; a wise man will always own rather than defend a mistake.

2. Because 'tis my opinion that their way is hedged up against other pretences, evasions, or reservation, and therefore 'tis with me the only thing that charity can lay for them, and must remain so, till I find something else said that is more to the purpose.

But the mischief of all is, that if this be honestly acknowledged (as is doubtless most true) that the church of England was mistaken, and imposed upon, to espouse a [illegible] absurd principle, contrary to the nature of government and allegiance, &c. why then they come over to this consequence;—

That government and allegiance are both conditional, and oaths of subjects are always to be considered in a constructive sense, with conditions of protection, and the like; a thing which is without question the real meaning of all oaths of allegiance; otherwise subjects may be put under an absolute necessity of perjury, or state martyrdom, by often swearing what may be impossible for them to perform.

The town of Aeth in Flanders hath been about six times, and the town of Rhinebergh in Gueldre about twelve times, taken and retaken; and as often as new masters had possession of the place, so often the poor inhabitants have sworn to their new lords: What can the meaning of such an oath be, but that they will be faithful to them so long as they keep possession of the place? 'Twould be ridiculous to imagine the imposers of the oath required any more.

If our zealous churchmen worded an oath contrary to the nature of swearing allegiance, let them answer for it who first made it, then took it, then broke it: But the nature of the thing can leave room for no other suggestion that I know of.

Till, then, some further argument is produced, it must rest here, that the church of England was mistaken, imposed upon, &c. that she finds when the laws are broken, the right of the people invaded, the root of the government struck at, church and state undermined, and despotic tyranny at the door, the native right of the people is superior, and they may assume a power to right themselves.

And so we are brought back to Whiggism, and 41; and, gentlemen, there is no remedy for it, help it if ye can.

Where now is the difference between church loyalty and whiggish loyalty, roundhead or cavalier, churchman or dissenter, whig or tory? All are alike; they are pleased, when legally governed; quarrelsome and unruly, if oppressed, and will defend themselves, if assaulted; though it be by their kings, or any body else.

Why then is the difference kept up? Methinks they might all be friends together, for they are all alike; the dissenters have been in their times as loyal, and the church of England in their time as disloyal, as one another. *Vice versa*; the dissenters have been as disloyal, and the churchmen as loyal as one another upon the same occasion; they have been both sufferers, and have submitted to the government; ay, to the oppressions and persecutions of their superiors and sovereigns; and again, upon the like occasions, they have both of them been rebels, if their own language may so far be used; they have both of them, in their turn, taken arms against and deposed their rightful and lawful kings.

So that, in my opinion, with a latitude to all that think otherwise to think as they please, the church of England, and their neighbours the dissenters, have nothing to quarrel with one another about as to loyalty; as to other matters I have nothing to say to them, nor shall not mingle it with this discourse.

Nor do I think I am writing a satire against the church of England, nor is it at all intended to be so; and to stop all pretences that way, I take the freedom to say here has been no crime, the church of England has been in the right of it, not in taking arms, but the error was in espousing, crying up, and pretending to a blind absolute obedience to princes, be their commands never so absolute, tyrannical, or illegal; this neither the doctrine nor practice of the church of England, nor of any church or people in the Christian world, ever pretended to; and therefore the fault lay in those people, who, being themselves of the church of England, suffered themselves to be deluded by state ministers, to foster a tenet upon the church which her original constitution never pretended to, and then call it the doctrine of the church of England.

The first beginning of their pretended doctrine was found in Manwaring's and Sibthorp's libels, in the days of King Charles I. cajoling the king, and then to please him, endeavouring to wheedle the people into a belief of the divine right of kingly government; and affirming, that the king was not obliged by the laws in the administration of the government.

Upon this preposterous foundation they built the illegitimate structure of absolute undisputed obedience; for if kingly power were once proved to be immediately derived from divine authority, absolute obedience would be a consequence nobody could dispute, since the same obedience without reserve would be due to the delegated power as to the power delegating.

And though this is a point easily enough confuted, yet being willing to keep the present dispute within as small a compass as we can, I think our argument has nothing at all to do with it.

Whether government be of divine original or not seems not the question here; for if it be not so, then, as before, the church of England have been mistaken, and imposed upon; and if it be so, then the church of England has trampled under foot their own doctrine, turned rebels to God, and apostates from the faith they have profest, have sacrilegiously and traitorously taken up arms against their prince, assaulted the Lord's anointed, resisted the powers which are the ordinance of God, deposed their lawful sovereign, broken their allegiance, and consequently are a parcel of perjured rebels; every jot as bad as the worst roundhead regicide and rebel of the year forty one.

What more or less can be said I profess I know not, and am in great expectation of something new in the matter; for I cannot find in all the writings I have met with any thing to contradict it.

The bringing government and obedience to the proper circumstances of mutual compact between king and people, seems to me to be the only method to unravel this skein of entangled principles; the nature of government has made it the necessary consequence of all arguments relating to power; and I could give instances of all the nations in the world, that, some time or other, even the right of succession to government, which must be as sacred as the power, has been interrupted and limited by the people, in case of tyranny and illegal government; and every nation, and this among the rest, has oftentimes deposed their princes for the preservation of the state, when either incapacity for government, tyrannical usurpation, or other mal-administration, has been the case.

But this I think also needless here; every one that is versed in history can read the numerous examples in the Roman, Grecian, and Persian histories; even sacred histories, where kings were more particularly of divine right than any where, are full of them; the histories of Spain, Portugal, Lombardy, the empires of Germany and Muscovy, even the papal chair, have suffered convulsions and revolutions, their deposing and displacing their sovereigns, when the people's good, which is, and ever was, the soul, the center, the end, and the cause of all government, came to be in dispute.

But to return to the principles of the two parties we are now discoursing of; the whigs, as before, have always asserted this to be their notion of government and governors; and the church of England, however some among them have topt an empty notion upon them, have all along, and now at last once for all, owned it by their practice,

That kings, when they descend to tyranny,
Dissolve the bond, and leave the subject free.

True-born Eng. Man, p. 47.

The act for the further limitation of the crown past in the last parliament, and the right of the people therein declared and recognized, I would ask my opponent whose act and deed it was? Will they say it was a whiggish act, made by a phanatical House of Commons? I dare say there was not ten dissenters in the house; let them descend with us into particulars, let them draw out a black list of members, who in that loyal, honest, English parliament gave their hands to the last settlement and declaration of right, and let us tell noses, and put a brand upon the phanaticks among them.

Will they tell us it was a phanatical parliament that set the crown upon the queen's head? I hope they will own her majesty and their lordships the bishops are part of the church of England; for if the head and the principal members are not, we know not who are.

Will they tell us that Sir E. S. Sir B. S. Sir J. B. Mr H——y, Sir C——r M——ve, and a hundred more of that side, were whigs and commonwealthmen?

How comes it to pass in England that no papist can inherit? Divine right ought to supersede all precautions, and the young prince of Savoy, not the house of Hanover, ought to reign with a *non obstante* to all human limitation, if all was from heaven: Where are our right-line-men now? Why, truly the reason is plain, the church of England, people of England, a church of England parliament of England, have thought fit to declare, that for the good of the people, to which all right of power must give way, because from them all power itself does derive, and by the voice of that people (in which authority sufficient is legally grounded,) it is unanimously agreed that we will not have a papist to reign over us.

All this is too plain to admit of a dispute; and now to me it seems preposterous why any man should keep up the distinction between parties as to loyalty, when indeed there is no manner of difference in the case.

I have talked several times of bearing, suffering, being persecuted and oppressed, as the dissenters in their time have been more than enough, and again in their turn the church of England have been persecuted too; for, as I noted before, they were once the schismaticks, the whigs, and the dissenters. Now I think 'tis not very foreign to my argument, to examine whether of the two behaved themselves under their sufferings with the greatest submission, who shewed most absolute obedience to their superiors, and who first or oftenest rebelled against their *lawful sovereign*.

The protestants under Henry VIII. were the first dissenters; they were kept under, persecuted, and put to death as rebels and schismaticks. Now upon due search it will be found, that under the protection of two protestant queens, wives of King Henry VIII., they had more than once formed such interest at court, and in the kingdom, as to begin to be formidable to the popish powers then reigning; and the fall of the Lord Cromwell was thought a necessary policy in King Henry, to prevent the plots of the phanatical church of England hereticks, a long account of which may be read in the life of that prince.

King Edward the VI. a zealous and pious prince, made no scruple for the propagation of the protestant church of England, of which he was the glorious founder, to set aside the lawful and undisputed succession of his own sisters to establish the crown in the Lady Jane Grey, who he knew would carry on the work of Reformation.

There's an instance of the zeal for succession in the right line, in the first protestant head that ever the church of England had.

After this the gospellers, that is, the church of England protestants of Suffolk, having some sense of the injury done to the Princess Mary, and willing to have the succession go on in the right line, provided they could both preserve their religion and loyalty too, capitulate with her, and promise to stand by her, provided she would promise to preserve and make no alteration in their established church of England.

Here the church of England men owned the liberty of their religion to be superior to their loyalty to her, and that they had a right to submit, or not to submit, as their liberty was or was not secure; and accordingly conditioned with her before they would acknowledge her to be their queen.

And we see how heaven punished them for venturing on the word of a prince when their religion and liberty were at stake.

In this queen's time the church having been again suppressed, and popery erected, Sir Thomas Wyat, an honest church of England protestant, with a very good body of men, took up arms against their lawful prince for breaking his word, in defence of their dear religion, established by blessed King Edward, which were the very words of the manifesto they published: The Londoners, with 800 men, sent by the queen against them, thought it no treachery to desert their lawful popish queen, and go over to their protestant church of England brethren.

We have nothing to do with the justification of this fact; 'tis sufficient that so it was, and that these were protestants of the church of England in the first and purest part of their principles, and let them justify the fact if they please.

Queen Elizabeth succeeds, and then the church of England shone in its meridian glory, and then grew up some, who aiming, as I said before, at a further reformation, and the church refusing to hearken to it, formed a new party of dissenters, and these were called puritans, and since that phanaticks.

Now I challenge the defender of this cause to tell me one disloyal act, one plot against the government, one disturbance of the civil peace, among these dissenters, from the beginning of this queen, which was their own beginning, to the reign of King Charles I. which was a continued term of 80 years, and yet during this time they suffered all manner of indignities, reproaches, finings, imprisonings, banishment, confiscations, and corporal punishments.

So that hitherto the passive obedience of the dissenters hath far exceeded that of the church of England. These had but five years oppression under Queen Mary, and in that five years they once capitulated with their sovereign to make her queen upon conditions, and once took arms against her after she was queen; and by that I must always understand, that if they did not depose and destroy her, it was because they could not; and if they had done it, no doubt they had cause sufficient to justify them before God and man. The puritans after this suffered all that their too cruel brethren of the church of England laid upon them during three tedious reigns, before they so much as made the least offer at doing themselves justice; and for 80 years together exercised that passive obedience which they never pretended to.

At last they took arms; and when they did, they did it to purpose, carried all before them, subdued monarchy, cut off their king's head, and all that.

After the Restoration things began to return to their old channel, and 30 years more the dissenters endured another Egyptian servitude, were persecuted, plundered, indicted, imprisoned, plagued with impositions, stigmatized with a thousand reproaches; their meeting-houses demolished, their estates confiscated, their persons excommunicated and anathematized, sworn into plots they never heard of, and into crimes they never committed, dragged to gaols, gibbets, and scaffolds, and the like. All this while passive obedience, if there were any such thing, was found among them more than any where else; for here were no rebellions, no insurrections, nor breaking of the peace by the dissenters, notwithstanding all these opinions.

After this comes King James the Second to his crown, and he turned the scale, and, together with invasion of liberty, falls upon the church, begins to rifle her of her trophies, for no essentials had been touched, and how long did she bear it? Not 80 years, not 30 years, no, not so many months.

What did she do? Truly nothing but what she ought to have done; defend her liberty and religion by force against unjust invasion and tyranny; nothing but what all the nations in the world have done, and would do again if they could.

The only error we charge upon the church of England, was setting up pretences of what they really would not practise; crying up themselves for fools, when we knew they were wiser men; calling themselves humble slaves, but when the trial came, proving stubborn, refractory, liberty-mongers, even as bad as the worst whig or phanatick of them all.

For the future then, if a humble moderator might be permitted to give advice to the gentlemen of the church of England, it should be in these short and friendly terms:

Pray, gentlemen, never be imposed upon, to pretend to more loyalty and more slavish principles than you intend to practise.

Never pretend to more obedience than your sovereign requires. Our late king, who I am not ashamed to show as a pattern for future ages, required; and her present majesty, without affront to her majesty's authority it may be said, requires no further obedience from the people of England than the laws of England require.

To govern according to law is a full satisfaction to the people, and to obey according to law is a full satisfaction to the sovereign. The laws are the test both of the royal authority and of the subjects obedience; and to pretend to more obedience than the law requires, is abusing your prince and abusing yourselves.

Never be ashamed to own with your brethren the whigs, that you are willing to submit to authority, but that you expect to be governed according to the laws and statutes of this realm.

Let the Scotch motto be set upon your liberties, and according to your constant practice, as well as ours: Let all men know you design to make it good. *Nemo me impune lacessit.*

And as it really never was the principle of the church of England, nor were a hundredth part of the members of the church tainted with it, so for the future 'tis hoped you will not suffer such to mingle themselves among you, or to act in the name of the church of England, who pretend to a blind absolute obedience to princes.

And lastly, gentlemen, a little more modesty to your humble servants your protestant brethren, the dissenters, or whigs, I mean as to matter of loyalty; for in truth, gentlemen, we do not see any reason you have to reproach us in that matter, you being in every particular as faulty that way as your neighbours.

A true and exact Account of all the Ceremonies observed by the Church of Rome, at the Opening, during the Progress, and at the Conclusion of the next approaching Jubilee, in the Year 1700. *Taken and translated into English from the Latin Original, printed at Rome, by Order from the Pope.*

At the approach of the jubilee, the popes of Rome cause the bill of jubilee to be published with a great deal of pomp and magnificence. This ceremony is always performed on Ascension-day, in the great portal of St Peter's church in the Vatican, where for this purpose are placed two rich chairs, from whence the ministers chosen by his holiness read with a very loud and distinct voice, the brief or bull of the jubilee in Italian: After this publication four several copies of the said bull are affixed to the east, south, west, and north corners of the city of Rome, as it was practised in Pope Urban VIII.'s time, who, in the year 1624, upon Ascension-day, which then fell upon the 16th of May, appeared in person in the church of St Peter's, and commanded Signior Don Austin Durando to read the before-mentioned brief in presence of some of the clerks of the apostolick chamber, and some other officers, but neither any of the cardinals nor of the canons of St Peter assisted at the ceremony. The Sunday next following, the said bull was likewise published in the same manner in the other churches, where, according to ancient custom, they are used to open the Holy Gate.

This being done, briefs or letters are dispatched to all the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, and other superiors of all the provinces in the kingdoms, to notify the celebration of the jubilee, and to exhort the prelates to be more than ordinary zealous in their duty to instruct, either themselves, or by their ministers, the flocks committed to their care, by which means they may qualify themselves to obtain the happy effects of the approaching jubilee; just as the jubilee instituted by Moses, according to God's order, was published before the seventh month under the sound of trumpets.

The solemnity of the jubilee itself begins upon Christmas-Eve, just before the vespers, by a ceremony which deserves particularly to be taken notice of, which is the opening of the Holy Gate. For the better understanding of which, it is to be known, that this Holy Gate is one of the gates of St Peter's church in the Vatican, which is always shut, nay, even bricked up during the interval betwixt the jubilees, which always begins by the opening of this gate.

On the 24th day therefore of December, which is the eve of the nativity of Christ, all the gates of these four churches, where there are any Holy Gates, are shut up by his holiness's order, so that nobody can pass through till such time they are opened with the accustomed ceremonies.

After dinner, about the time of the vespers of this great eve, a most solemn procession is made, at which assist the ambassadors of foreign princes then residing in Rome, the magistrates of the city, all the penitentiaries and prelates abiding at Rome; all the chapters, fraternities, the Roman clergy, the college of cardinals, and the sovereign pontiff in person, each according to his rank and quality. Thus they go in procession with a great cross before them to the chapel of the apostolic palace, where the whole company being entered, the holy father, with all there present, fall upon their knees before the sacrament; in the mean time that many officers are employed in lighting flambeaus for the cardinals to hold, as a sign of joy. Then the pope throws some incense upon a chafing-dish, with a most profound reverence before the altar; after which, he begins the hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, which is continued to the end by a concert of music, and sung distinctly, to represent the holy fathers in Limbo. From thence, this procession goes on in the same order as before to St Peter's church, being followed by the holy father in person, who is carried in a chair, to the Holy Gate, which, as well as all the rest, is kept close shut up. Every body having taken his place, the holy father gets out of his chair, and, with a lighted wax-taper in his hand, walks up three steps to another chair, placed for that purpose, just by the Holy Gate. After he has reposed a little, he arises, and turning himself towards the Holy Gate, he knocks with a silver hammer on the Holy Gate, which is to be opened, and sings likewise three several times the following verses, unto which the musicians who compose the chorus answer at each time.

V. *Asperite mihi portas justitiæ.*	V. Open unto me the gates of justice.
R. *Ingressus in eas confitebor Domino.*	R. When I am entered I will praise the Lord.
V. *Introibo in Domum tuam Domine.*	V. I will enter, O Lord, into thy house.

R. *Adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum, in timore tuo.*	R. I will adore thee in thy fear in thy temple.
V. *Aperite portas, quoniam nobiscum Deus.*	V. Open the gates, because the Lord is with us.
R. *Quia fecit virtutem in Israel.*	R. Because he has made known his strength in Israel.

Then the pope sits down in the chair again, and says,

V. *Domine exaudi orationem meam.*	V. Lord, hear my prayer.
R. *Et clamor meus ad te veniat.*	R. Let my cry reach thy ears, O Lord.

At the same instant that the pope goes from the Holy Gate towards his chair, the masons begin to demolish the wall wherewith the Holy Gate had been bricked up, and as they are carrying off the materials, the pope goes on thus:

V. *Dominus vobiscum.*	V. The Lord be with you.
R. *Et cum Spiritu tuo.*	R. And with thy holy Spirit.

OREMUS. *Actiones nostras quod sumus Domine,* &c.

This prayer being done, the chorus sings the psalm; *Jubilate Deo omnis terra, servite Deo in lætitia,* &c.

During which time the people, which crowd up as near as they can to the rails, and the penitentiaries in their sacerdotal vestments, wash the head-piece, posts, and the threshold, and, in short, the Holy Gate, with holy water: which being done, the pope, as he is approaching to enter the Holy Gate, says the following verses, and is answered by the chorus:

V. *Hic dies quam fecit Dominus.*	V. This is the day the Lord has given us.
R. *Exltemus, et lætemur in ea.*	R. Let us rejoice in it.
V. *Beatus populus tuus, Domine.*	V. *Happy is thy people, O Lord.*
R. *Quid facit jubilationem.*	R. Which enjoys *this jubilee.*
V. *Huc est porta Domini.*	V. This is the gate of the Lord.
R. *Justi intrabunt per eam.*	R. The righteous are to enter it.
V. *Domine exaudi orationem meam.*	V. O Lord, hear my prayer.
R. *Et clamor meus ad te veniat.*	R. And let our cries reach thy ear.
V. *Dominus vobiscum.*	V. The Lord be with you.
R. *Et cum Spiritu tuo.*	R. And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

O Lord, who, by thy servant Moses, didst institute among the children of Israel the jubilee and year of remission, grant through thy goodness, to us, who have the honour to be called thy servants, to commence happily this present jubilee, ordained by thy authority; and in which it has been thy will to set open to thy people in a most solemn manner this gate, through which to enter into thy temple, to offer their prayers in the presence of thy divine Majesty; that thereby having obtained plenary and absolute remission of all our sins, we may, at the day of our departure out of this world, be conducted, through thy mercy, to the enjoyment of the heavenly glory, through Jesus Christ. Amen.

This prayer being ended, a cross is given into the pope's hand, who, kneeling down in the Holy Gate, sings the *Te Deum Laudamus, &c.* and afterwards, as he is entering through the gate, the chorus go on singing, *Te Dominum.* He is no sooner entered through the gate into the body of the church, but the chairmen cloathed in red, attending for that purpose, take him up in a chair, and carry him streightways to the great altar of the church of St Peter; where being set down, he arises out of the chair, and, after some time spent in prayers before the holy sacrament, he mounts a throne erected on purpose for this use, and begins the vespers, which, according to custom, are sung for the feast of the nativity of our Saviour.

On the same day, and at the same hour, his holiness deputes three cardinal legates to go and open the other holy gates of the churches, to wit: That of St Paul, that of St John de Lateran, and St Maria Majori, which is performed with the same ceremonies and prayers as have been mentioned just now. This choice falls commonly upon two archbishops and the dean, who go from thence with a most magnificent cavalcade to perform this function, which is like a proclamation to all the Christian world, that the treasure of the church is set open, and distinguishes the true catholics from the heretics and Jews. It must be confessed that the first origin, as well as the true creation which gave birth to this solemn ceremony, is somewhat obscure, but out of the bull of Pope Alexander VI. which begins *Inter curas, &c.* it is evident that the same has been practised for many ages past in the church, and which has been mentioned by St Anthony in his chronicle, as a very ancient ceremony. Some derive this opening of the Holy Gate from a custom practised in the primitive church, where those who had incurred the censure of the church, by reason of some enormous crimes and scandals, were enjoined to perform certain public penances, and were excluded from the entrance of the church on Shrove Tuesday, by shutting the doors upon them; but on the Holy Thursday, after a general absolution given to all the penitent sinners there, by opening of the gates, re-admitted and received into the bosom of the church, if they had accomplished the enjoyned penance; if not, the door was shut against them again till the next following year, and sometimes for their whole life-time. The church aisle, therefore, having from ancient times been the place assigned to those who underwent the church penance during the time of the church office, this has introduced the custom of opening the Holy Gate at the beginning of the jubilee.

But there being four several churches, which each have a Holy Gate, this has occasioned some dispute, which of them ought to have the precedency in the performance of this ceremony. The church of St John de Lateran is both the first in rank, and enjoys some prerogatives before all the other churches in the city of Rome, as appears by the constitutions of Pope Gregory XI. and Pope Pius V. However, when any of these pontifical functions, which have a more strict relation to the pope's authority, dignity, and majesty, are to be performed with the utmost splendour, such as the canonization of saints, the coronations and benedictions of kings, the church of St Peter has always had the preference given her before all the rest. And it is upon the same score, that this church claims the preference in this most just ceremony, both as to the time and other circumstances; the Holy Gate of St Peter's church being the first that is opened by the pope's own hands. It has also been called in question by some, whether any other person besides the pope himself has any authority to open the Holy Gate; where it is to be observed, that in case the jubilee has already been published before by the deceased pope, and the cardinals are not entered into the conclave in order to proceed to the election of a new pope, it belongs to the Cardinal d'Ostia, dean of the church, to open the first Holy Gate in the pope's stead, as then their cardinals represent the pope's person when they open the Holy Gates of the other three churches; the reason is, that because this ceremony is not essential, but only an accidental part of the jubilee, which might be celebrated without it, and was by some thought fit to be omitted, for fear of giving scandal to such, who perhaps look upon the jubilee as imperfect without it, but it is my opinion, that if the jubilee be not promulgated before the face of the sovereign pontiff, the same cannot be published, and consequently the Holy Gate is not to be opened; the authority of giving plenary indulgence to the whole church belonging only to the pope and the general councils. However, it is to be observed, that this jubilee being established every 25 years, by many preceding popes, especially by Paul II. Sixtus IV. Alexander VI. Julius III. Gregory XIII. and Clement VIII. this plenary indulgence, I say, being so often published, confirmed, approved and renewed by their authority, there is no question, but that the cardinals, in case of a vacancy of the chair, may supply the pope's place, and consequently also open the Holy Gate; and the dean of the church may send his circular matters throughout Christendom, to notify that the jubilee, established and confirmed by the authority of so many preceding popes, being near at hand, they ought to prepare themselves to receive the benefit of it, and to invite them to undertake this holy pilgrimage, this being not to be accounted a new grant of indulgences, but only a publication of what was granted before by a legal authority. Thus Pope Julius III. in his constitution, *Si pastores, &c.* declares, that without any further publication, the jubilee begins with the feast of the nativity of Christ in the holy year. And, whereas his exaltation to the papal dignity did not happen till after Advent, in the year 1549, when the holy year was actually begun, he published a bull, dated the 23d day of February, 1650, in the first year of his pontificate, in which he declares, that the jubilee had actually commenced with the next preceding feast of the nativity of our Saviour.

But having entertained you sufficient with the Holy Gates, and the ceremonies belonging to them, we must also take a short view of those transactions which are performed in the city of Rome, to obtain the happy end of the jubilee. As those who hope to reap the fruits of a plenary indulgence must qualify themselves for it by many acts of charity, a true penitence and other good works, so I must needs tire the reader's patience, if I should pretend to give an exact account of those who flock from all parts to Rome, to make their confessions and appear before the highest tribunal of penitence; it will suffice to say, that both day and night all the churches of that great city are filled up with innumerable multitudes of people, who offer up their prayers in the presence of God Almighty. I may say it without vanity, that there is no street, no not as much as a by-lane in this vast city, which, being formerly the capital empire of the world, is now the capital of God's kingdom upon earth, where you may not see most evident marks of an unfeigned piety; here you meet those who make it their whole business to give alms to the poor with so much profusion, that you cannot imagine otherwise, but that they are giving away all they have the better to follow Christ; others you may observe to bestow most of their time and substance in giving a good reception to those pilgrims, who come from all the corners of Christendom, to partake of the happy effects of the jubilee. You will meet, as well in the streets as in the churches, vast numbers of both sexes, who, touched with remorse for their past crimes, appear in miserable dress and a most abjected posture; some are clad in long coarse gowns, others covered only with sackcloth, some cover their hands and faces with ashes, others knock their breasts with their fists; many there are who tear the flesh all over their bodies by the violence of the discipline; and, to be short, there is scarce any kind of mortification invented to give satisfaction to, and appease God's anger, which you see not put in practice at that time. Neither must you imagine that those exercises are performed by private persons only; no, you will see whole fraternities and congregations, composed of a considerable number, who, all animated by the same spirit, strive to excite one another to the performance of them by their mutual examples. Thus you may behold entire chapters and colleges of canons, and other societies, enter in procession the city of Rome; nay, whole parishes, with their curates at the head of them, who leave their habitations to pay their adoration to the Lord and his Son Jesus Christ in that church, where, as it may be said, God has erected his tabernacle, and honoured it with his particular protection, and which claims a prerogative before others, by the death of the chief of the apostles and his fellow sufferer. With this kind of people you see all the streets and other public places of this vast city crowded, going in procession from one church to the other, some singing, others sighing and shedding tears. For whilst some are busy in singing the litanies and psalms appointed for that purpose, others offer their prayers with their eyes fastened to the ground, and when they approach the churches, especially that of St Peter, you may see many of them crawling upon the ground to the foot of the altar, where they continue for a considerable time in saying their prayers.

These and such like devotions are practised at Rome throughout the course of the whole jubilee; when a few days before Christmas Eve, (the last day of the holy year) proclamation is made, that upon the next eve of the nativity of Christ, his holiness intends to shut up the Holy Gate of the church of the Vatican; which day being come, a procession is made from the apostolic palace to St Peter's church in the same manner as has been mentioned before; and, after some time spent in prayers before the holy sacrament, the vespers are sung, and three cardinals deputed to shut up the Holy Gates of the three other churches. No sooner have these three prelates and their company received the benediction from his holiness, and are marching in a most splendid cavalcade to perform this function, but the pope and cardinals, who assist at the ceremony, being presented with lighted wax-candles, they march in good order with the cross before them, towards the Holy Gate which is to be shut up, the pope being carried after them in a chair under a canopy, and as they pass by their chapel where the holy sacrament of the altar is deposited, he offers up his thanks to God for the happy conclusion of the holy year; which done, the holy pontiff begins the anthem, *Cum Jucunditate*; whilst the chorus is singing this anthem or psalm, *Nisi Dominus edificaverit domum*, the procession moves from and towards the Holy Gate, where, after some prayers, the pope standing under his canopy, turns his face to the Holy Gate, without his mitre, and a wax-candle in his hand, and thus imparts his benediction to the materials, which are ready at hand to close up the Holy Gate, in the following words:

V. *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.*	V. Our help is in the Lord.
R. *Qui fecit cælum et terram.*	R. Who has made heaven and earth.
V. *Sit nomen Domini benedictum.*	V. The name of the Lord be praised.
R. *Ex hoc nunc, et usque in seculum.*	R. Now and for ever.
V. *Lapidem quem reprobaverunt artifices.*	V. The stone which was refused by the artificers.
R. *Hic factus est in caput anguli.*	R. Is now become the corner stone.
V. *Domine exaudi orationem meam.*	V. O Lord hear my prayer.
R. *Et clamor meus ad te veniat.*	R. And let my cries reach thy ear.
V. *Dominus vobiscum.*	V. The Lord be with you.
R. *Et cum spiritu tuo.*	R. And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

Great God, who protects the highest, that is in the middle, and the lowest, who sanctifiest thy creatures, bless those thy creatures, the stones, the mortar, and sand; through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

After which, the high pontiff, the clergy, and all the rest that assist at the ceremony, come out through the Holy Gate, just before it is going to be closed up; and the holy father besprinkles the materials with holy water and some incense, and putting again his mitre upon his head, with a linen cloth round his middle, he gives thereby to understand, that he professes himself to be the servant of the true servants of God, and that, after the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, he is not exalted to the papal dignity, and put in St Peter's chair to be served, but to serve others. In this posture the grand penitentiary presents to him a silver trowel, gilt, wherewith he takes up three several times some mortar out of a basket, carried by the master of the ceremonies, which mortar he spreads and plaisters all along the lower part, upon the threshold of the Holy Gate; according to the vision of the prophet Amos, which saw the Lord with a mason's trowel in his hands. The threshold being thus covered all over with the mortar, the pope throws upon it, both to the right and the left, as well as in the middle, several medals of gold and silver, representing the triumphant Jerusalem, the walls of which are described, Apocal. c. xxi. to be built of precious stones. The pope after this covers the mortar and medals with three square stones, and whilst he is busy in performing this function, says, with a low, but intelligible voice, these following words:

In fide et virtute Jesu Christi Dei vivi, qui Apostolorum Principi dixit; Tu es Petrus, et per hanc Petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam, collocamus lapidem primarium, ad claudendam ad huc portam sanctam ipso tantum modo, Jubilei anno reserandam. In nomine Patris, &c.

In the faith and by the authority of Jesus Christ, the only son of the living God, who did say to the chief of the apostles, "thou beest Peter, and upon this rock I will found my church," we lay this last stone towards the closing of the Holy Gate, which is not to be opened again till the next jubilee. In the name of God the Father, &c.

After the pope has fastened these three square stones with mortar, and the master mason has drawn his line, the grand penitentiary with a trowel in his hand, lays likewise a stone upon those laid before by the pope, being assisted by the other penitentiaries there present, to convince the world that they are the pope's co-adjutors in the administration of the sacrament of penitence. For each of them, in his due order, lays hand to the work, under the direction of his holiness, and raise the wall, which is to close up the Holy Gate, to a considerable height, whilst the chorus sings the hymn: *Cœlestis urbs Jerusalem*, &c. Which being ended, the sovereign pontiff washes his hands, and says these following words:

V. *Salvum fac populum tuum Domine.*	V. Lord save thy people.
R. *Et benedic hæreditati tua.*	R. And bless thy inheritance.
V. *Fiat misericordia tua Domine super nos.*	V. Let thy mercy appear unto us.
R. *Quem admodum speravimus in te.*	R. According as we have put our hopes in thee.
V. *Mitte nobis Domine auxilium de Sancto.*	V. Lord send us thy help from thy sanctuary.
R. *Et de Sion tuere nos.*	R. And defend us from Sion.
V. *Domine exaudi orationem meam.*	V. O Lord hear my prayer.
R. *Et clamor meus ad te veniat.*	R. And let my cry reach thy ears.
V. *Dominus vobiscum.*	V. The Lord be with you.
R. *Et cum spiritu tuo.*	R. And with thy holy spirit.

OREMUS.

Deus, qui in omni Loco Dominationis tuæ clemens et benignus existi, exaudi nos quæsumus, et præsta, ut inviolabilis permaneat hujus Loci Sanctificatio, et Beneficia tui Muneris in hoc Jubileo Anno, Universitas Fidelium, impetrasse lætetur; per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, &c.

Let us pray.

Great God, who at all times and at all places gives us innumerable proofs of thy mercy and goodness, hearken unto our prayers, and grant that this place may always be sanctified before thee, and that all faithful Christians may rejoice in having been partakers of thy mercies in this jubilee, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

This prayer being ended, the holy father sets himself upon the throne, and whilst twelve bricklayers, to wit, six on the right, and as many on the left hand, are busy in closing up and raising the wall to the top of the Holy Gate, the chorus sings, *Lauda Jerusalem Dominum lætatus sum in his,* &c. and other such like psalms. The wall being finished by the masons, the high pontiff concludes the whole ceremony, by imparting his benediction with a plenary indulgence of the jubilee to all there present, who are not sparing on their side in their acclamations of joy, and making ten thousand vows for the prosperity and preservation of his holiness. Which being done, the *Te Deum* is sung for a thanksgiving for the many mercies received by the people in this jubilee, who thus well satisfied, and filled with spiritual joy, return to their respective homes, as the holy father retreats to the apostolick palace.

His Majesty's gracious Message to the Convocation, sent by the Earl of Nottingham, 1689.

A Convocation was summoned to meet in the first parliament of King William and Queen Mary; but they were no sooner assembled than the heats which broke out between the high and low churchmen announced to William the impossibility of carrying through his favourite plan of making such alterations in church ceremonies as might include the dissenters within the pale of the church.—*This Tract and the following should have preceded page 388, where there are several tracts on the subject of the Convocation, to which the reader is referred.*

WILLIAM R.

His majesty has summoned this Convocation, not only because 'tis usual upon holding of a parliament, but out of a pious zeal to do every thing that may tend to the best establishment of the church of England, which is so eminent a part of the Reformation, and is certainly the best suited to the constitution of this government, and therefore does most signally deserve, and shall always have both his favour and protection; and he doubts not but that you will assist him in promoting the welfare of it, so that no prejudices, with which some men may have laboured to possess, you shall disappoint his good intentions, or deprive the church of any benefit from your consultations. His majesty therefore expects, that the things that shall be proposed shall be calmly and impartially considered by you; and assures you that he will offer nothing to you but what shall be for the honour, peace, and advantage both of the protestant religion in general, and particularly of the church of England.

The humble Address of the Bishops and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury, in Convocation assembled, in Thanks to his Majesty for his gracious Message.

We your majesty's most loyal and most dutiful subjects, the bishops and clergy of the province of Canterbury, in Convocation assembled, having received a most gracious message from your majesty by the Earl of Nottingham, hold ourselves bound in duty and gratitude to return our most humble acknowledgements for the same: And for the pious zeal and care your majesty is pleased to express therein for the honour, peace, advantage, and establishment of the church of England. Whereby, we doubt not, the interest of the protestant religion, in all other protestant churches which is dear to us, will be the better secured under the influence of your majesty's government and protection. And we crave leave to assure your majesty, that, in pursuance of that trust and confidence you repose in us, we will consider whatsoever shall be offered to us from your majesty without prejudice, and with all calmness and impartiality: And that we will constantly pay the fidelity and allegiance which we have all sworn to your majesty and the queen; whom we pray God to continue long and happy to reign over us.

His Majesty's most gracious Answer to the Address of the Bishops and Clergy, delivered by the Lord Bishop of London, President of the Convocation.

My Lords,

I take this address very kindly from the Convocation: You may depend upon it, that all I have promised, and all that I can do for the service of the church of England, I will do: And I give you this new assurance, that I will improve all occasions and opportunities for its service.

His Majesty's Letter to the Right Reverend Father in God Henry Lord Bishop of London, to be communicated to the Two Provinces of Canterbury and York, 1689.

WILLIAM R.

Right reverend father in God, we greet you well. Whereas the advancement of the honour and service of Almighty God, and of the protestant religion, which by his wonderful providence hath been preserved and established in these kingdoms, ought to be the chief part of our royal care: In order to this, as we have oftentimes declared, that we would take the church of England, by law established, into our particular protection and favour, so we take this occasion to renew these assurances, being resolved to do all we can for the support and strengthening of it; preserving withal the liberty of conscience to all our other protestant subjects, which by our laws they now enjoy.

And because the welfare, peace, and honour of this church depends so much upon all persons faithfully doing their duties in their several places and functions, we therefore first of all charge and require you the bishops of this our church to apply yourselves with all diligence and zeal to the duties of your episcopal function, according to the word of God, the orders of this church, and the laws of this our realm.

More especially as to ordination of ministers, we require you to use all possible care and strictness, in examining and enquiring into the lives and learning of such persons as desire to be admitted into holy orders, and herein constantly to observe the[1] canons relating thereunto, the neglect whereof we shall strictly enquire into, and take care that it be punished according to law.

We also charge and require you to keep a strict watch over all the clergy in your respective dioceses, to see that they be duly resident upon their livings, according to the laws in that case provided, and that there they be constant and diligent in their duties, performing the publick offices of worship gravely and devoutly, preaching the word of God plainly and practically, without running into needless controversies, and administering the holy sacraments frequently with that reverence which is due to the institutions of Christ: Also catechising the youth, visiting the sick and distressed, and doing all such things in their stations as may tend to promote the honour of God and true religion, together with peace and charity among all their neighbours; themselves giving a good example to their flock, by walking before them in all holy conversation and godliness.

And the more effectually to prevent the scandals that may arise by any disorders in the lives of those who ought to be examples to others, you shall admonish them religiously to observe the [2] canon entitled, "Sober Conversation required in Ministers." And you shall severely and impartially proceed, by ecclesiastical censures, against all such of your clergy as shall be found guilty of any notorious violation of this, or any other law or canon relating to their duty.

And for the better encouragement of deserving men, as we intend to make it a rule to ourself, so we also require it of you, in disposing of church preferments, to have a special regard to such persons as by their piety, learning, diligence, and peaceableness do most promote the honour of God, and the edification of his church.

And because, as our duty requires, we most earnestly desire, and shall endeavour a general reformation of the lives and manners of all our subjects, and being that which must establish our throne, and secure to our people their religion, happiness, and peace, all which seem to be in great danger at this time, by reason of that overflowing of vice, which is too notorious in this as well as other neighbouring nations; we therefore require you to order all the clergy to preach frequently against those particular sins and vices which are most prevailing in this realm: And that on every of those Lord's days on which any such sermon is to be preached, they do also read to their people such statute-law or laws as are provided against that vice or sin which is their subject on that day; as, namely, against [3]blasphemy, swearing, and cursing; against [4]perjury; against [5]drunkenness; and against [6]prophanation of the Lord's day: All which statutes we have ordered to be printed, together with these our letters, that so they may be transmitted by you to every parish within this our realm.

And whereas there is as yet no sufficient provision by any statute law for the punishing of adultery and fornication, you shall therefore require all church-wardens in your dioceses, to present impartially all those that are guilty of any crimes in their several parishes; and upon such presentments we require you to proceed without delay, and, upon sufficient proof, to inflict those censures which are appointed by our ecclesiastical laws against such offenders: In doing whereof, according to your duty, you shall not want our effectual assistance and support.

And for the better carrying on of so good a work, we do, in the last place, charge and require you to preach frequently yourselves, to confer often with your clergy, and to enquire by all proper means into all abuses and corruptions in your dioceses, in order to a full and speedy reformation. And all this, not only as you shall answer it to us, but also as considering the great charge that God hath committed to you, and the account that you must give him for it at the great day. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

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[1] Can. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36.
[2] Can. 75.
[3] 21 Jac. Cap. 20.
[4] 5 Eliz. Cap. 9.
[5] 4 Jac. Cap. 5. 21 Jac. Cap. 7.
[6] 29 Car. II. Cap. 7.

Given at our court at Whitehall, the 13th day of February, 1689-90, in the second year of our reign.

By his majesty's command,
SHREWSBURY.

Reflections on a late Pamphlet, entitled, Priestcraft in Perfection.

—— *Antiquam exquirite Matrem.*

THE author of a late pamphlet, entitled, "Priestcraft in Perfection," has taken a great deal of pains to prove, that the clause of the church's power was not contained in the imprinted book of articles that was established by law; which, in my opinion, was not absolutely necessary to his purpose: For upon a strict survey of the words of the act of parliament, and calling to mind some passages I had met with in books, I find that none of the articles contained in that imprinted book were confirmed by law, except those articles which "only concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments;" and that the articles contained in the said imprinted book which relate to discipline, and to such doctrines as concern not the essence of the Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, were not passed by the parliament. And therefore that author might have inferred, that the clause of the church's power could not be confirmed by law, though it was contained in the imprinted book ratified by parliament, because that clause relates only to discipline. I wonder that a gentleman so willing to destroy the credit of church-authority should overlook this consideration, when it tended not only to serve his purpose of proving, that the clause of the church's power was not established by law, but to take off from the legal authority of so many other articles of the church, which are now universally thought to be established by law. But few men's acuteness is equal to their zeal; and therefore our author has, throughout his book, supposed, "That all the articles contained in the imprinted book, referred to by the act of parliament, are established by law." But to carry on the matter further than he has done, I shall produce the very words of the law, and then confirm the sense I shall give of it by some undeniable authorities. The articles confirmed by law[1] are, "All the articles of religion, which ONLY concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in a book imprinted, entitled, 'Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London, in the Year of our Lord God 1562, &c." Which words plainly confirm only those articles comprised in the imprinted book, which can be reduced to these two heads, viz. "Articles that concern only the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments;" and exclude all other articles which fall not under these two heads.

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[1] 13 Eliz. c. 12.

This seems to me to be the obvious sense of the words of the law; and if the reader will but consider, when he reflects on the words, that in Queen Elizabeth's time matters of discipline and ceremony were esteemed of high consequence, and disputed of with great vehemence among the protestants of England, and I may add, with a zeal equal to that which we see at this day in relation to passive-obedience, it is impossible to imagine, that the parliament would not have mentioned articles of discipline (which ran so much in their heads) as well as articles that "concerned only the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments;" unless they had excluded all the articles that related to discipline. And the same may be said in regard to other doctrines contained in the thirty-nine articles, which fell not under the two heads mentioned in the act of parliament.

I do not expect that the sense I have given of the law (how just soever it is) should of itself convince men who are already strongly engaged in the common opinion. But when they come to consider what I have further to say, and join what I have already said with it, I am not without hopes of convincing all unprejudiced men, that I have given the true sense of the law.

1. In the first place, I shall produce the authority of that great lawyer, Mr Selden.

He tells us, "There is a secret concerning the articles:[1] Of late ministers have subscribed to all of them, but by act of parliament, that confirmed them, they ought only to subscribe to those articles which contain matter of faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, as appears by the first subscriptions. But Bishop Bancroft (in the convocation held in King James's days) began it, that ministers should subscribe to three things, to the king's supremacy, to the common-prayer, and to the thirty-nine articles; many of which do not contain matter of faith. Is it matter of faith how the church should be governed? Whether infants should be baptised? Whether we have any property in our goods, &c.

These words not only declare Mr Selden's opinion of the meaning of the law, but make him testify a matter of fact that confirms his opinion, and puts the truth of his opinion beyond all doubt: For if the first subscriptions were only to such parts of the thirty-nine articles as contain only matter of faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments, it must be because the law was at first understood to relate only to such of the thirty-nine articles as come under one of those heads.

Whether the fact be true or no that Mr Selden relates, may, I suppose, at this day be put out of all question; for I doubt not but there are places where the first subscriptions of the clergy to the articles are kept. I am not skilful enough in ecclesiastical matters to say where; but wherever they are, I do, upon the opinion I have of Mr Selden's great integrity, appeal to those subscriptions for the truth of what Mr Selden affirms.

2. But besides the authority of Mr Selden, as a lawyer, and a witness of a matter of fact, whereby it appears that the parliament did confirm only some of the thirty-nine articles, I will present the reader with a passage that I find among the Journals of Parliament, published by Sir Simon D'Ewes, in a speech of Peter Wentworth, Esq. one of the burgesses for the borough of Tregony, in Cornwall, made in the parliament of 1575, wherein, among abundance of other things worthy of remark, it is affirmed by him, p. 239, "That he had heard of old parliament-men, that the banishment of the pope and popery, and the restoring of true religion, had their beginning from this house, and not from the bishops; and he had heard that few laws for religion had their foun-

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[1] The table under the head Articles.

dation from them.—I was, says he, amongst others, the last parliament, sent to the Bishop of Canterbury for the articles of religion that then passed this house. He asked us, why we did put out of the book the articles for the homilies, consecrating of bishops, and such like? Surely, sir, said I, because we were so occupied in other matters, that we had no time to examine them how they agreed with the word of God. What, said he, surely you mistook the matter; you will refer yourselves wholly to us therein? No, by the faith I bear to God, said I, we will pass nothing before we understand what it is; for that were but to make you popes: Make you popes who list, said I, for we will make you none. And sure, Mr Speaker, the speech seemed to me to be a pope-like speech; and I fear lest our bishops do attribute this of the pope's canons to themselves (*Papa non potest errare:*) for surely if they did not, they would reform things amiss, and not spurn against God's people for writing as they do."

1. These words of Mr Wentworth are a plain evidence of the matter of fact, "That the parliament put out, or did not confirm several of the thirty-nine articles." For this speech was delivered in parliament in 1575, about five years after the parliament established the articles; and therefore it is not to be imagined that Mr Wentworth should have affirmed that any articles were put out by the house, unless they really were put out, when there must, of course, have been so many members of parliament present, who were members in 1571, (when the articles were established) able to contradict him, had not what he said been true.

Besides, Mr Wentworth was stopped in the progress of this speech for his great boldness, and afterwards examined before a committee of the house (to whom he gave it in writing) on the account of some exceptions taken to some passages which he had delivered; but no notice was taken of this particular, as appears from his examination, printed immediately after his speech, in the journal of Sir Simon D'Ewes, and consequently it is reasonable to imagine, that the committee was conscious that what he delivered in that particular was true.

2. The words of Mr Wentworth are not only an evidence of the matter of fact, that the House of Commons put out, or did not confirm, several articles contained in the imprinted book of articles, but do so fall in with the expressions of the act of parliament, as to leave no reasonable doubt but that the parliament passed not several articles contained in the imprinted book.

For the articles put out, according to Mr Wentworth, were "the Article for the Homilies, the Article for consecrating Bishops, and such like;" which is as much as to say, articles relating to such doctrines as were not fundamentals, or of the essence of Christian faith, and articles relating to discipline. To which heads, if you add these two mentioned in the act of parliament, viz. "Articles that only concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments," you have all the heads under which matters of divinity are usually ranked. So that the words of the act of parliament, and of Mr Wentworth, are like tallies to one another. Wherefore I think I may conclude, "That several of the thirty-nine articles were not confirmed by the parliament." For, since the words of the law have so plain a relation to the distinction of articles into different kinds, and since a distinction of articles into different kinds is confirmed by matter of fact, and since that distinction is a common distinction in divinity, I think the words of the act of parliament ought to be understood conformably to it. For why should any one suppose the parliament expressed themselves inaccurately, and that they meant all the articles comprised in the imprinted book, when they speak of those "ONLY which concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments," comprised in that imprinted book, while, taking the words in the obvious sense, and in the sense agreeable to matter of fact, and the nature of things, makes them use the most accurate expression in the world?

How many of our thirty-nine articles are struck out from being established by law by the foregoing comment on the law, cannot be known with that certainty as if we had the imprinted book of articles recorded, as our other laws are. Then, perhaps, we should have seen what articles were confirmed, and what were not confirmed. But since we are deprived of that light about religious matters established by law, that we have in civil matters established by law, we have no other way to find the articles established by law, but by running over the whole thirty-nine articles, and considering the nature of them. This I do not propose at present to take upon me, but only beg leave to observe, that we may be sure we have no homilies by law established. For the homilies are no otherwise supposed to be established by law than as they are a part of the thirty-nine articles; the thirty-fifth whereof affirms them "to contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times." And Mr Wentworth directly says, "the article for the homilies was put out by the house." Though he had not mentioned that article, the matter would have otherwise been very plain. For how can an article which affirms that thirty-three sermons or homilies "do contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times," be one of the articles of religion which "only concern the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the sacraments?" The articles which "only concern the confession of the Christian faith, and the doctrine of the sacraments," are no more concerned whether there should be any homilies, or whether these sermons or homilies "contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times," than they are concerned in the numerous sermons and books, cited by Sacheverell's counsel in behalf of passive obedience.

What I have said is, I hope, sufficient to carry the point further than the author of Priestcraft in Perfection has done, who has argued on the supposition, that all the thirty-nine articles are established by law; and to convince any man that is more concerned for truth than his own opinion, not only that the clause of the church's power, in the beginning of the twentieth article, is not confirmed by law, "but that there are several of the thirty-nine articles not confirmed by law."

The Case of England, and the Protestant Interest.

SINCE the present condition of the kingdom, and the whole protestant interest by the conjunction of France and Spain abroad, and a more horrid combination of several at home, must needs affect with the most melancholy reflections all true English hearts, all such as have any real love or zeal for their religion, or their native country; I cannot think it amiss to present a short and impartial view to such as have not considered the same.

In the beginning of the last age, the protestant interest in Europe was more than a match for the Roman Catholick; the kingdom of Bohemia was almost all protestant; near half the subjects of Hungary, of Austria, and Moravia, were protestants, (and did many times defend themselves by force against the emperor himself, when oppressed by him for the sake of their religion.) That, in Germany, the houses of Newburgh were protestants of the strictest sort; the Saxons all of them protestants, and being hearty and unanimous, and seated in the middle of Germany, were a bulwark and defence to the protestants of many other lesser states, as often as they were oppressed for their religion, by their own or their neighbouring princes: That many of the subjects of Bavaria, Bamburgh, Cologn, Wurtzburgh, and Worms, were protestants. Besides these that were protestants, and which were so powerful as to maintain eight or nine thousand men in defence of their religion, and always came off with advantage, the Vaudois in Italy were all of them protestants, and great numbers of the Spanish Low-countries were of the reformed religion; besides, England and Holland, and the northern kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden, and duchy of Brandenburgh, were entirely protestant. But now, instead of this, is not the protestant power destroyed almost over Europe? The whole kingdom of Bohemia entirely popish? Are not the protestants of Poland, Austria, Moravia, utterly destroyed? Is not their destruction now carrying on, and almost finished in Hungary? In Germany, the Newburghers, of protestants are become fierce enemies of the protestant religion. The protestants of Bavaria, Bamburgh, Cologn, Wurtzburgh, and Worms, are all destroyed. In France, the Spanish Low-countries, Savoy, and Vaudois, after long and mighty struggles, the religion is utterly extinguished. Against the poor Palatinates the persecution is now carrying on with its usual barbarity, and their neighbours, the Saxons, are so far from being able to help them, that they are under the fearful apprehensions of suffering the like from their own prince, (lately turned Roman Catholick to obtain the kingdom of Poland,) so soon as his wars with Sweden and other troubles created him by his Polish and Lithuanian subjects will give him leave. Beside this, two northern princes have given great cause to suspect their conversion to the Romish religion: That Sweden, by its separation from the rest of Europe by the Baltic, is unable to give assistance to the protestants in any part of Europe, without the consent of the German princes bordering on the Baltic, which will never be granted by papists in favour of protestants.

Thus the protestant religion, which had spread itself over almost all Europe, which had gained the entire possession of some countries, the greater part of others, and mighty interest in most, has, through the restless malice and endeavours of its enemies, been subverted and destroyed in country after country, till it is at last reduced to a little corner of what it once possessed, (England and Holland.) And do we think our enemies will not accomplish (what they have thus prosperously carried on so far,) our utter destruction? Is it not high time then to think ourselves in danger, to look about us to enquire what it is hath thus weakened us, brought us so near our ruin, what measures will certainly accomplish it, and what we must take for the prevention of it?

The Romish methods of converting the protestants have been in all countries the same, viz. confiscation of their estates, gaols and imprisonments, fire and sword, dragooning and massacring, and inflicting the most inhuman torments that rage and fury could invent upon such whose resolution and zeal for their religion could not be moved by the former means. If this be the true case of England, and the protestant religion, what is wanting to give the finishing stroke to our destruction, but only an ability in the French king to break the powers of England and Holland? And if we consider how, in the year 1672, the French king marched his army through the midst of Flanders, fell directly upon Holland, then unprovided, entered their strongest towns like open villages; some without defence or almost denial, most of them without any blows at all, and all of them with very few, and made himself master of three parts of Holland in two months time; for which Sir William Temple, King Charles II.'s ambassador (then in Holland) tells us the reason was, that the Dutch, then not suspecting such a thing, had no field army sufficient to encounter their enemies, or succour any town; that walled towns will not defend the men within, unless the hearts of the men will defend their walls; that no garrison will make any resolute defence without the prospect or hopes at least of relief. It is true, that the French king having then all Flanders on his back, garrisoned with Spanish troops, (then his implacable enemies) a powerful army of the German princes marching upon him down the Rhine, Spain and

England (alarmed by his successes) preparing to attack him on all quarters, was glad to vomit up all again, and return home with as much precipitancy as he had invaded them, lest the provisions and retreat of his army through Flanders should be cut off. But now the case is otherwise; he has possessed himself of Flanders, extended his dominion to the very frontiers of Holland, Spain is all united to him, some German princes (then his enemies) are now become his friends, others entered into a neutrality with him; and should he now, by a fatal battle, (which God of his infinite mercy forbid) break the Dutch army which they have with infinite charge and matchless vigour gathered up from Denmark, Brandenburgh, and other remote countries of Germany, might he not enter the heart of their country? And whence then can their strong cities and towns depend upon relief? May he not, as formerly, possess himself of their whole country in less than one campaign? It was the opinion of that great statesman, Sir William Temple, that Holland would make a stout resistance in any quarrel remote from their own doors; but that which enables them (their wealth) to carry on a foreign war with vigour, would, in a war at home, render them defenceless; rich and populous towns are not fit for sieges, or were ever known to make any long and resolute defence. If this be our case, if the whole power of the protestant religion rests now in a manner in England and Holland; if the destruction of England, as well as of our holy religion, must inevitably follow the loss of Holland; if Holland, by one unfortunate battle, might happen to be lost in one campaign, or less, are we not in a most sad and deplorable condition? If we find some men are without their fears, have we not the greater reason to fear for ourselves, our religion and our country? What shall we then think of those who tell us, it is too early yet for England to declare? The enemy has raised his armies, furnished his magazines, and it is too early for us to think of raising a man. The enemy is before our out-works, and it is too soon for us to prepare ourselves to be on our guard: Will not those men tell us when Holland is lost, it will then be too late? To what purpose (will they say) now do you think of raising forces? Is not the French king master of Holland? Possessed of all their ports? Where will you land them? To what use will you put them? Does not such language as this plainly shew the intention of the authors? Is it not plainly to deliver us blindfold, bound hand and foot, into the enemies hand? Is not their design now so visible as not to be disguised? Do not some of the party begin to throw off the mask and tell us, it will not be well with us till our old master returns, till the government return to its natural channel. And are not those that were the very tools and instruments of popery and arbitrary power in former reigns, and that owe their lives to acts of indemnity in this, industriously represented by some as the patriots of their country; and, by a strange kind of paradox, those that have been always hearty for the church, and were for defending of it when others were for pulling it down; that were hearty for the king's accession to the throne, and to his person and government ever since, are represented as betrayers of us, as having sold us to France: Would it not be a piece of rare refined policy, if France should hang up our greatest enemies, under the notion of her dearest friends, and give encouragement to her ancient friends under the notion of being her enemies?

Let us therefore while it is yet in our power, (as we tender our religion and our country) use our utmost endeavours, by all legal ways, to assist his majesty and his government, against all his and our enemies, both at home and abroad; and in the words of our liturgy, let us offer up our most fervent prayers to God Almighty, 'Give peace in our time, O Lord! because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God!'

The Character of the Wisest Men. 1696.

They are persons of a moderate and healing temper, of catholic and comprehensive charity: They do not baptize their religion with the name of a sect, nor espouse the interest of a party, but love all good men that fear God and work righteousness.

They are not guilty of the Corinthian variety, in crying up a Paul, an Apollos, or a Cephas, but look upon it as the great design of Christianity to make men good, and where it hath not that effect, they know it matters not what church such a man is of, because a bad man can be saved in none.

They shun the dangerous extremes, and keep the regular mean, and in divine worship prefer a reverend decency before pompous superstition, or popular confusion, neither bowing down to the altar of Baal, nor admiring the calves of Bethel.

They are true primitive Christians, and think it lawful to hold communion with any true church of Christ that is sound in the substantials of religion, notwithstanding some circumstantial differences in the external modes of administration; and then they suspect it sinful and schismatical to separate from any true Christians, who agree in apostolical doctrine, and maintain the discipline of the purest ages.

They prove all things, and hold fast only that which is good, and are persuaded those Christians are most in the right, who choose out of all parties whatsoever things are just, &c. and not they that think every thing to be so that's maintained by their own party.

They place religion more in the serious practice of piety, than in the observance of ceremonious forms; they are neither fond of needless rituals, nor yet molested with groundless scruples, but long for the Philadelphian state of the church, wishing that all the world might with one mouth glorify the eternal God.

They pay a great deference to antiquity, yet they are not so fond of error as to fall in love with it merely for its gray hairs, but make use of their own reason to judge of the reasonings of men; though they apply themselves to spiritual guides, yet they love to enquire the way to Sion, and not follow them in the dark, except they carry a lanthorn in their hands.

They refer the decision of all the differences amongst good Christians primarily to the sense and meaning of the holy Scriptures; and they know every man must judge for himself; therefore, where they see men do all they can to find out the truth, to please God, and to save their own souls, they give them liberty of interpreting, as knowing themselves not to be infallible.

They know there are many controversies amongst Christians, of that intricacy, that the day of judgment must determine who are most in the right; therefore they dare not judge men's final estates, or of the sincerity of their hearts by their speculative opinions, or the different relishes of things, because every man must believe what he can, and not what he will.

They admire to see some Christians so egregiously mistaken in the notion of true catholicism, as to confine salvation to their particular communion, and they think it strange to hear men contend for "an infallible guide," when Moses and the prophets, Christ and his apostles, do with one consent declare, that the way to the blessedness of the righteous, is by observing the rule and exercise of holy living, from a principle of divine life.

They never charge other men's doctrines with such odious consequences as they never intended, nor asperse their persons with such invidious names as they never deserved; but make charitable allowances for their different educations, constitutions, and apprehensions of things, supposing that other men may differ from them with the same sincerity they differ from others, and sometimes from themselves.

They are for a religious loyalty, and prefer the wisdom of publick authority before their own private judgments, in all such matters as are not determined by the sovereign pleasure of their maker: And if in any thing they differ from the wisdom of their superiors, they do it with great modesty and reservation, and are always ready to change their minds when better information leads them to it, not thinking they undervalue their judgments by so doing.

They are afraid of being infected with the heresy of bigottism, and have great cause to fear, that if the merciful God should damn us all for such things for which strait-laced Christians condemn one another, none could be saved. They think there is no particular human form of ecclesiastical policy so acceptable to the great God, as the exercise of mutual charity under our different forms.

They neither make their opinions, articles of faith, nor their modes, terms of communion, but believe those principles, and practise those precepts, which wise and good men are all agreed in, well knowing if they should happen to be mistaken in those things wherein they differ, they could not lose the way to heaven, whilst they sincerely love God, believe in Christ, and obey the motions of the Holy Spirit.

They are of peaceable and reconciling dispositions, and neither call for fire from Heaven, nor kindle fires upon earth, to destroy all those that follow not them; as well knowing that truth cannot be engraven in the minds of men with the points of swords, nor can their understandings be illuminated with flaming faggots.

They neither make the way to Heaven broader nor narrower than the head of the pillars of the universal church have made it: And they walk on "soberly, righteously, and godly" in that path, which, upon great consideration, they take to be the right, without rudely jogling those whom they fear to be in the wrong.

They think the best way to find out to what mother the child of truth belongs, is to make use of Solomon's test, viz. To give up the cause to them that first lay down the sword of division: When one party saith, "Lo here is Christ in this church," and another saith, "Lo he is there," they believe what Christ himself hath told them, "That where two or three are met together in his name, there he is in the midst of them."

They do not think their zeal lukewarm except it burn up their discretion, but can join the prudence of the serpent with the innocency of the dove; and are grieved to observe men contend so eagerly about the pinnacles of the temple, as that they threaten to overturn the foundations of the church.

They take more pains to make good their baptismal covenant, than to dispute about the manner of its administration, as if they were baptized with the waters of strife; and they are more frequent in a devout participation of the Lord's Supper, than in metaphysical contests about the real presence. They know there's nothing required of man as necessary to salvation, but what is clearly revealed and beyond all dispute.

They choose rather to take up the cross of Christ, than wrangle about it; and more solicitously observe the complexion of their own souls than the colour of ministers garments: Nor do they so contend about the number of the elect as to reprobate themselves for want of charity; but endeavour to perform the *Whole Duty of Man*, and in so doing, they know they are in the way to *Saints Everlasting Rest*.

[*] *The true Cause of all our Miseries, discovered in their visible Effects; as I find it (to my great Satisfaction) most manifest in the Layman's Religion, lately published. Licensed October* 1, 1690. *Which vindicates the Doctrine of the Church of England, (above all others,) to allow Liberties of Conscience, according to the Tenor of the Gospel: Unveils the undermining Jesuit and designing Sectary, and detects the grossest Frauds and Cheats imposed on the Honest and Well-meaning, under the most sacred Vizors and Pretences. Worthy to be received and seriously considered of Ministers of State, Lords and Commons, as well as all other inferior Subjects, (of every Persuasion,) in order to our lasting Safety and Settlement.*

As God Almighty hath various ways and methods to reform and discipline his children, according to their various tempers and dispositions, so the devil by his janisaries, designing hypocrites, and time-servers, (who can readily take any impression in religion, be of two or three persuasions at once, to promote their own interest,) puts himself into various shapes, and baits his hooks with various objects suited to men's different inclinations, that he may catch both Pharisee and publican; as well the spiritually proud, as the debauchee, that no fish may escape his net, and (if it were possible) the elect too should be cheated by him.

Thus he baits the luxurious with pleasure, the avaricious with riches, and the ambitious with pride, dominion, and worldly design.

When he deigns to subvert a kingdom, or overthrow a government, he doth not appear immediately in arms and open hostility; but first, under a disguise of zeal for reformation, which he generally prosecutes, by removing all foundation laid in the first principles of religion, and then proceeds to create various opinions in the minds of honest and well-meaning persons, of easy and credulous dispositions; continually raising niceties and scruples, (before any foundation be laid in fundamental knowledge of the first principles of our religion, contained in the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commands, and the Creed,) and those niceties and scruples are more and more irritated by subtle and designing teachers, under a disguise of liberty of conscience.

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[*] "We find it impossible to prevent the sly and subtle whispers of designing hypocrites; who, in secret, do misrepresent the best of their majesties subjects, to create a misunderstanding of them, and their best actions, only to gain a good opinion of themselves, and to carry on their own designs. But none (without a forehead of brass) dare openly question such experienced truths, as have been exemplified in bloody tragedies, within the compass of our own memory. Therefore it must be acknowledged, that whoever is the author of that book, he deals plainly and impartially with all; beginning at home with censuring the criminals of his own party, both clergy and laity; exposing hypocrisy and immorality (as the two extremes) in all. And therefore I have singled out this sheet, as the best service I can do their majesties and the government; heartily wishing it might be distributed throughout the whole kingdom, for instruction to all, in order to secure and transmit our civil and religious rights to posterity: Which therein thus follows, page 21."—*Orig. Note.*

God forbid liberty of conscience, (if regulated by the standard of the Scriptures,) as it is the birth-right of every Christian, should be denied to any that in sincerity desire it, to live peaceably under the government in all godliness and honesty; because many persons of honest and well-meaning principles, may, from their education in foreign parts, or in families of different persuasions, either misapprehend, or not rightly understand, the truth of our doctrine and discipline established among us.

And many others, in the simplicity of their hearts, when they see the vicious lives and actions of some of our members, or the scandal of some of our clergy, in things that are open and manifest, may be imposed upon by jesuitical whispers on the one hand, and private insinuating teachers on the other hand; as to imagine that our religion established must either countenance or allow of such evils in the professors of it; which is the case of the gospel itself.

Now, forasmuch as our government is founded in the law of God and nature, and our religion established, is settled and framed from no other model or original but God's revealed will in the Scriptures, and so both may be a just standard for all other governments: It must therefore be a strain of great arrogance and presumption in any state mountebank to propose any foreign precedent for alteration of either.

And to silence all complaints but theirs, whom nothing less than all will satisfy, as our religion and government so established do allow a peaceable and innocent liberty of conscience, the grand charter of Christianity itself; (which we have found, by experience, no other differing persuasion but ours would ever allow any longer than they wanted power to restrain it,) so none can deny it to be both prudent and just in the government, (from the law of self-preservation,) to take care of and secure itself against all abuse of so great a blessing, by such who have pure religion only in their mouths, but the rankest poison of ambition and worldly design in their hearts, making no scruple (as opportunity serves) to devour widow's estates, as well as the houses and patrimony of them and all others, to make way for their own ambitious designs; for we find it most certainly true, by woeful experience, that it is impossible to secure any government in the world on a lasting foundation, but by annexing it to the religion established, so as to make them inseparable, according to the policy of New-England; (where liberty of conscience first planted their law-makers.) They that do not first approve of, and embrace our religion established, ought to have no share in our government.

But such as would come into the government on other terms, have liberty of conscience only in their mouths, but ambition and worldly design in their hearts; which they carry on by multiplying sects, under several leaders, (each ambitious to be head of his own party,) who, by their influence on credulous and well-meaning persons, inclose them, as in so many peculiars, each pastor to incline and lead his own flock; the only method to divide, and consequently to weaken both the government and religion established; that whenever their interest is in danger, they may easily (as hath been practised in like cases,) by the same art dispose all to unite (for the same end) against the government they live under.

And thus one and the same common (though invisible) enemy of mankind, putting himself into various shapes, and baiting his hook with proper objects, suited to men's various inclinations and dispositions, (which all centre in self-love,) can first divide and weaken, and again unite and destroy the best religion and government in the world; though the designing party are ever lurched in what they aim at, which is dominion and rule.

For no sooner is any party gotten uppermost, but the same principle of ambition and worldly design animates the rest (that are under) to supplant that, in order to advance themselves into the government; so that their whole Babel of designing and contriving ever ends in anarchy and confusion; which hath caused many of their chief builders (convinced by their own woeful experience) at last to acknowledge their error, and to declare, that "to seek a kingdom in this world by carnal means and weapons is no true badge of the blessed Redeemer's followers."

What clearer demonstration can we have, that there is always such a designing party at the bottom, under the most specious vizor of zeal for reformation, and liberty of conscience, than to see those who pretend to the greatest purity and sanctity, (though of several persuasions,) all to unite and diligently to apply themselves to such patrons and leaders, whose interest and influence may best promote their design, though they all know them to be of no religion at all, nay, such as are guilty of the greatest immoralities;[1] who can thunder out bloody oaths without reluctancy, and make use of their power and interest to oppress others, and ingross the widow and orphans estates. Such men as these are proper objects of all the courtship and address of those consecrated politicians; for they well know they are adapted for their turn, who readily prostitute their conscience to their interest, can be most serviceable to their ambitious designs. And as they are favourites in the highest station, so they are capable of the greatest acts of oppression and injustice therein; as they may (by alienating the hearts of subjects) contribute more to dethrone a monarch, or subvert a government, than ten thousand armed men, especially as these designing hypocrites manage it to their own advantage; who, though they always carry the flattery of a loyal all-hail in their mouths, yet, by secret trumpets in every corner, they arraign the prince himself, as author of all acts of injustice and oppression, done by such his ministers to render monarchy uneasy to the people; and at the same time, with no less industry, both in public and private, expose the most faithful and loyal counsellors and magistrates, who are most true to the church and government, and the very pillars and security of the throne, as betrayers of their country, their laws, and liberty; rendering them odious to the prince and people, that they may remove them, in order to get champions and agents of their own faction, into all places and offices of trust and power in the government.

This discovers plainly that the patrons and clients are both governed by one and the same principle of self-love, which ebbs and flows with their own interest, the vital part of their religion; and so disposeth them to divide or unite against that which opposeth their designs, and at length to quarrel among themselves about (what they all aim at) dominion and rule.

The Result of all which may be this, To put us upon a modest Enquiry,

What endeavours have been made by all the separate congregations in general, towards an universal reformation of manners; and allaying our heats to heal our divisions, in order to union among ourselves; the only means under Heaven to secure us, in these perilous times, against our foreign enemy.

And wherever christian charity and purity of life, (farther than in the cheap and easy fruit of the lips,) hath appeared in dissenters, or those that separate from our national communion, and pretend to extraordinary call and conversion, so as to distinguish them by any visible change in their lives and conversation, from those of our communion, who live according to the doctrine and discipline of our church, or from what they themselves have ever before been in their life-time.

And also, what visible effects the late indulgence granted to dissenters hath wrought for the better, in procuring more meek, humble, and peaceable spirits; or abating pride, murmuring, or discontent; railing against and censuring of others,

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[1] *Flectere si nequeo superos, acheronta movebo.*—Orig. Note.

(even among their own party,) in order to heal our breaches and compose our differences.

Nay,[*] we may modestly enquire whether the scope and tendency of all endeavours in the leading party among them, hath not been more after dominion and rule here below, than to advance the kingdom of Christ in the hearts of men? And, in order to that, whether they have not, with the greatest subtilty and partiality, improved their factories and agency by human policy, to direct, order, or influence the choice of magistrates and officers in every colony among us, from whence the greatest heats and disturbances have arisen, let the visible effects speak for themselves?

And when we have so done, we may (from the history of the last age) reflect upon that happy union, which continued among protestants in this kingdom, in the open practice of piety, sobriety, and righteousness, from the first time of the Reformation; but especially during the forty-four years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, when all (as one soul) joyfully and constantly assembled together, at the set times appointed by the church, to celebrate divine service, and hear the scriptures daily read; as the only means to keep up a venerable awe and sense of the holy majesty of God in the world, and in the mind of every individual person; and to maintain and increase christian charity and brotherly kindness, (the alone medium of union in a kingdom,) as being all fully persuaded in their minds, it was a service most acceptable to God; without any other discipline or way of worship, than what had been so settled among us by those pious and learned martyrs, (the founders of it,) who carried their own faggots, (not loving their lives unto death,) to bear their testimony for it.

By which means that happy queen so long reigned in peace, (by love,) in the hearts of all her subjects, and a terror to all her enemies; whereby our national church became the envy of Rome, and the only sanctuary for all distressed protestants abroad.

All this plainly demonstrates, That pure and undefiled religion, founded in piety, sobriety, and righteousness, may be easily known of all, as it consists in humility, self-denial, and sincere practice of what we know, (all epitomized in good living,) and not in profound knowledge, needless disputes, long prayers, or fruitless discourses.

If these things were laid to heart, so as to be well weighed and considered by all sincere and well-meaning Christians, who now separate from our public communion, into private congregations; that from thence they might be awakened to examine, and (with me) seriously enquire into the truth of things, they would soon find how miserably they have been imposed upon, and drawn into prejudice, and an ill apprehension of the purest and best established religion on the earth, by such designing leaders as can be contented to sacrifice the peace and safety of the whole kingdom, to promote the interest of a party, in order to gratify their own ambition and worldly design, though under a disguise of liberty of conscience; when, in truth, by separation from us, they do but exchange one shell of religion for another; for so I reckon (and so our church doth esteem) the most refined discipline, or outward way of worship, to be; and lays no more stress on it than decency and order requires. Therefore, it is no wonder that the most ignorant and short-sighted, and such as look no farther into religion than the outward appearance, but are never capable of discerning the vital substance, should, from the scandal of some wicked members (from which the gospel itself was not wholly exempt,) be so apt to despise our established discipline, and yet at the same time idolize another form or way of worship, as if God was more pleased with one shadow than another.

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[*] It is manifest our religion and government is undermining: Therefore, O England, England! consider, in this thy day, the things of thy peace, before it be too late. At last for shame, lay aside passionate heat and furious zeal for particular interest, and (as becomes Christians) calmly consider the public weal. Be wary (in choice of magistrates) of the two extremes that poison all religion and morality; the designing hypocrite and the profane atheist. Chuse men fearing God and hating covetousness; such as have been sincere and constant to our kingly government and religion established: And be wise as serpents, to countermine and evade the most glorious and specious pretences of all others.—*Orig. Note.*

Whereas we esteem our outward discipline no otherwise than as outward means, composed and adapted by the most pious and learned men, from the sacred fountain of the scriptures, suited to every capacity through a whole kingdom, the least knowing, as well as the most learned, that all may join together. In which, the pious and well-disposed Christian may worship God in the beauty of holiness; and the youth and ignorant, as with a leading-step, may be trained up from the first principles of religion to the greatest perfection; and whereby also the profane and loose are, by a venerable authority, influenced and reclaimed, at least kept within some bounds, from scoffing at religion, which is daily occasioned by the separation of such who are still subject (with their neighbours) to the same infirmities attending human frailty, as well as to pride, ambition, self-love, (in the inordinate love of the world,) railing at, and censuring of others, and yet, puffed up with a false conceit of their own way, do herd and distinguish themselves, under their several leaders, into so many and various ways, opinions, and persuasions; (I wish it were not so near a resemblance of the several orders in the church of Rome;) and all under conduct of their peculiar guides.

From whence it comes to pass, that vain and loose persons, beginning first with light thoughts of religion, and by degrees declining the public prayers of the church and private family-duties; and from thence giving scope to boundless lusts, at last cast off all religion, and become downright debauchees and practical atheists.

This may satisfy any but such as are in love with a false persuasion, and beforehand resolved to know no better, that the offence is taken, and not justly given, by those that thus separate from our national communion, especially when they may be all so clearly convinced that the original cause of separation from our communion did not arise from any thing either in our doctrine or the discipline of our church, but from what was acted by temporal rulers (as they were steered by jesuits and popish interests) in ecclesiastical courts, procuring a toleration of sports on the Lord's day, and indulgence to be granted in other matters, which our holy and pure religion expressly condemns and abhors; which could not but be very offensive to many honest and well-meaning persons, especially when so industriously improved by subtle jesuits and whispering sectaries, (the secret enemies of our church,) who insinuated into the minds of the easy and credulous, that our religion did countenance such evils, and thereby drew them into separate congregations, whereby they had opportunity to introduce so many strange doctrines and variety of persuasions, the seed and cause of all our heats, divisions, and animosities on the one hand, and of practical atheism, debauchery, and immorality on the other; both which (as gross hypocrisy and bare-faced impiety) do equally expose us to the divine vengeance, and lay us open to our foreign enemies. For it is most plain, the enthusiastic as well as the debauchee, when thwarted in their designs, have an equal tendency to rebellion and treason.

I say, were sincere, (though mis-persuaded,) well-meaning persons but fully sensible of these great truths, and of the unavoidable necessity of their returning into our communion, as the only means left to unite and save us, by restoring true piety and Christian charity in sobriety and righteousness among us, it is impossible they should sleep quietly one night before they returned into this bosom of safety: For (God knows) I fear there is no other cure left for our universal distemper, and it is high time to begin so happy a work.

Wherein their leaders, if they have (as they all pretend to have) the spirit of primitive Christianity, may (as faithful in God's vineyard) outstrip all our idle labourers in painful and powerful preaching; and especially by their exemplary and holy living, so influence their doctrine on the mind, as to reclaim many profane persons who now take occasion, from their separation into so many forms and shadows of religion, to inveigh and rail against them all.

And the lay-members, if they return into our communion, and live up to what our holy religion (which is defective in nothing but good living) doth most plainly and powerfully teach, may boldly reprove (by our church-authority) and put to silence many open transgressors and evil-doers, who now take occasion, from so many fashions of religion among us, to deride and scoff at all religion in general; and also (to their great comfort) may thereby shame a scandalous clergyman into a reformation of his life, by saying, (with the spirit of meekness) in the language of the holy prophet, "I have more understanding than all my teachers; for thy testimonies are my meditation," Psalm cxix.

And this (I bear witness) is countenanced by all our reverend and pious fathers and pastors, who would have all come to the knowledge and practice of the truth, and who (it is most manifest) are willing and ready to comply with any thing that may tend to heal our breaches, and to purchase union with their dissenting brethren, if desired in such a way, and to be done in such a manner, as may preserve peace and unity in the church.

Which we can never reasonably hope should be done, without some orderly application of such as must own themselves inferior to those whom the government (under which they live) have made their superiors, which nothing can hinder or obstruct but pride, obstinacy, and worldly design; all which are directly contrary to the meek, yielding, and self-denying temper of primitive Christianity.

And here I may with an humble confidence inforce this argument from the greatest example, and the most excellent pattern; even that of his sacred majesty, now on the throne, the head of our government and chief of our communion, whose incomparable perfections (whether we consider him as a man or as a Christian) are sufficiently known to the whole world.

Who, to give us the clearest evidence of his zeal and sincerity, hath exposed himself to the greatest dangers for defence of the reformed religion. And though his education was in a different persuasion, (the discipline established in his native country,) yet, to demonstrate both his piety and prudence when he had searched into, and was fully satisfied, that the vital part of that religion wherein he was bred, and the doctrine here taught in our national church, was one and the same, he was neither tenacious in his own opinion, nor bigotted to the outward form or persuasion, (which is but the crust and shell.)

But, (as best became the head of his people,) he, together with his royal consort, (as one soul,) do openly profess our established religion; the greatest blessing heaven could bestow, if we know our happiness. And, Oh! that all their majesties subjects would regard it accordingly!

And farther, I might urge another eminent instance in his Royal Highness the Prince of Denmark, whose education was most strict in the Lutheran church, (the established religion of that kingdom,) where the discipline is as different from that of the Calvinists in Holland as ours is from both; and yet, from the same christian principle, founded in the vital substance of truth and goodness, and not wedded to the shell and shadow, finding the pure doctrine still the same, he joins himself with his sacred majesty in the same communion.

Who both, during their late expedition abroad in the defence of their religion and country, have constantly, and in a devout manner, offered up their morning and evening sacrifice at the public prayers, according to the discipline established in our church.

From whence we may appeal to all impartial Christians herein, whether such as are natives of our own country, and fellow-subjects with us in one kingdom, and do all pretend to hold unity in doctrine with the reformed churches abroad, and with us too in our national church, and can so readily conform to the fashions, garb, and attire of the present age, and are apt enough to insist upon the least minute particle of precedency (with the rest of mankind) in honour, according to order and decency in temporal government; yet are so tenacious in their opinion, and wedded to their own outward form or shadow of divine worship, as, by a continued separation, to sacrifice our religion, and the peace and safety of our government, our laws, our liberties, and our lives, as a prey to our foreign enemies, rather than with those most illustrious persons, and many other eminent modern instances, (who were all as strictly bred in different persuasions under foreign governments,) to embrace that holy and pure religion, so here established and settled among us from the first reformation by those pious and learned martyrs, the founders of it; I say, whether this stiffness and obstinacy doth not arise from ignorance and prejudice in the honest and well-meaning, who are seduced and imposed upon; and from self-love, ambition, and worldly design in the leaders and seducers, rather than from any pure principle of primitive Christianity, I leave to *all* persons concerned herein to be themselves judges of the matter.

I shall only add (to compleat this discourse) these following paragraphs, out of the Second Part of the same Layman's Religion, published since the First. Licensed Nov. 13, 1690, page 13.

I do not hereby charge all non-conforming clergy as culpable herein; (God forbid:) For I am fully satisfied there are many reverend, pious, and sincere Christians of that number who have great veneration for our established religion, yet have so far engaged themselves in their different persuasions, as they judge themselves uncapable (*salva conscientia*) entirely to communicate with us, without some accommodation in those things which have hitherto obstructed so happy a union; to which it is well known the most holy and learned fathers of our church have been, and still are, readily and most willingly inclined, if such application were made as, according to the decent rules of civil and religious order in government, is required.

And to stop the mouths of such as endeavour to render such an accommodation either unpracticable or impossible, whoever shall read and will consider the 34th article of our established religion, may be fully satisfied, that as the pious founders of it took care nothing therein should be repugnant to the word of God, so they never intended the rites and ceremonies, (which are the shadow, or crust and shell of divine worship,) established in our church, should (like the laws of the Medes and Persians) be unalterable; thereby declaring plainly, that as these rites and ceremonies might be changed, according to the diversity of countries, times, and manners of men, so every particular or national church, (not particular parties or private judgment,) hath authority to ordain, change, or abolish them, so as all be done to edifying.

But it cannot be reasonably supposed such an established discipline (the alone medium of unity, and the nerves and sinews of all government) should be so from time to time changed, much less abolished, to gratify every leader or founder of a sect, or different persuasion, that separates from our public communion into gathered churches, (though on never so specious pretences,) no more than may be reasonably required of a master of a family to alter the economy of his household to gratify the humour of every petulant servant; or of magistrates in corporations to endanger the peace and safety of their civil established government by a change or alteration therein, only to remove or prevent the murmurs or complaints of every discontented citizen, that, through ignorance, interest, or design, shall scruple or refuse to comply with the rules and orders made, long before they were there inhabitants, for the safety and well-being of the place. Every reasonable and unbiassed person that shall seriously consider these things, and well weigh the consequence of it, must necessarily conclude, that such a condescension in superiors herein would quickly unhinge all government, and turn all settled order in the best constitution in the world into anarchy and confusion.

How infinitely happy then would it be for this kindom, if all that are men of learning and parts, and every way fitly qualified for their high and holy calling, (to whose judgment I humbly submit the consideration of these great and growing evils,) would labour after such an accommodation, in so sacred and weighty affairs; that they might all, as fellow-labourers, join in the promoting and endeavouring after so desirable a blessing, as harmony in divine worship; the only means to heal our divisions, and effect an universal reformation of manners among us.

For as it is most plain, separation was the original cause, and hath increased all our miseries, so nothing but such an union can heal and effect our cure.

God grant all their majesties subjects may approve themselves herein, as worthy members of such a communion, (in order thereto,) by following the royal pattern and example of our sovereign, and chief member, himself, now on the throne.

But after all, I would be so understood, (as I have plainly, in the First Part, already declared,) that I do not aim at (in any thing I have said) the least abridgment of that honest and innocent liberty of conscience, (the Christian's birth-right,) which all ought to have and enjoy; who, from education, or mis-persuasion, cannot conform to our established discipline; but do desire and endeavour to live peaceably under the government, in all godliness and honesty. But still I say, it is both equal and just, that till such persons shall be so rightly informed and convinced in their judgments, as to conform to our religion established, they ought to be content with such liberty of conscience, and indulgence, as the law allows them, and not to make it a stalking-horse to serve their worldly interest, or design; for it is from Lucifer, and not from heaven, if they aspire after, or attempt to share in the government, upon any other term.

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